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THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
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PALÆOROMAICA,

OR

Historical and Philological Disquisitions :

INQUIRING

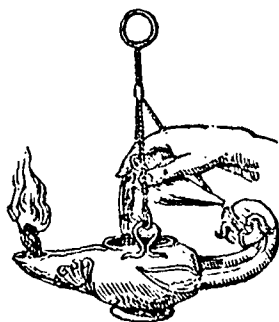
WHETHER THE HELLENISTIC STYLE IS NOT LATIN-GREEK?
WHETHER THE MANY NEW WORDS IN THE ELZEVIR GREEK
TESTAMENT ARE NOT FORMED FROM THE LATIN?

AND

WHETHER THE HYPOTHESIS, THAT THE GREEK TEXT OF MANY
MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IS A TRANSLA-
TION OR RE-TRANSLATION FROM THE LATIN, SEEMS
NOT TO EXPLICATE NUMEROUS PASSAGES: TO AC-
COUNT FOR THE DIFFERENT RECENSIONS: AND
TO EXPLAIN MANY PHENOMENA HITHERTO
INEXPLICABLE TO BIBLICAL CRITICS?

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" Non affirmo, sed quod suspicor, cum pace aliorum simpliciter annoto " *de*
MUSCULUS.



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P R E F A C E.

~~THE~~ following production will, it is hoped, be considered not as a dogmatical but a conjectural, not as a theological, but as a philological, work. The main object of its Author, indeed, is humbly to inquire of persons skilled in the Greek language, whether the Greek text of some MSS. and printed copies of the New Testament, does not bear very strong marks of being a version from the Latin. This seems to be a fair subject for critical research; a question, indeed, purely critical, such as an examination would be whether the *Peshito*, or ancient Syriac New Testament, is a primitive text or a version. In such investigations the subject of the Sacred Books, though in itself of infinite importance, is only of secondary consideration; in the same way as the subject of a work is not taken into account in an investigation with respect to its typographical execution.

Wetstein and various other critics of great name are of opinion that all the most ancient MSS. of the

Greek Testament Latinize*. The Bishop of Calcutta, a very orthodox writer, considers the *Codex Bezae*, which is usually regarded as the most ancient MS. of the Gospels and Acts, as either a version or at least altered throughout from the Latin†. Treschow is of opinion that the Vienna Codex, published by Alter in 1787, Latinizes‡. Is there any thing in the edition of Elzevir, more than that of Harwood or of Alter, which should secure it from discussion? It was published subsequently to our received version [A.D. 1624]; and the editor, and perhaps the materials which he made use of, are unknown||. If Biblical Critics, therefore, have not scrupled to accuse the most ancient and venerable MSS. of the New Testament of Latinizing, there surely cannot any offence come in making a similar charge against this modern and anonymous edition. Even should I affirm that all known Greek MSS. of the New Testament are versions from the Latin, the assertion would be less startling than some which have been lately made by the most orthodox writers. Not to mention Mr. Nolan, who seems to consider the whole Greek MSS. at present known as of less weight than

* See *infra*, p. 365 *et seqq.*

† See *infra*, p. 378.

‡ Michaelis, *Introduction to the New Testament*, by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 356. Lond. 1802.

|| See *infra*, pp. 83, 209, 378, 381. See also Griesbach, *Nov. Test. Prolegom.* p. xliv. Lond. 1809. Valckenaer asserts, of all our editions, "Editiones nostræ N. T. fluxerunt e perpaucis codicibus." *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 48.

the Latin *Codex Brivensis**: the learned and pious Bishop of St. David's is of opinion that all our present MSS. of the New Testament are corrupted, with the exception of the very modern Montfort Manuscript. In contending against the opponents of 1 John v. 7, he asks, "What do their arguments amount to?"...

"That it is not found in any of the four ancient Manuscripts now extant; and therefore it never was read in any of the hundred or thousand Manuscripts that are lost."

"That it is first quoted at large by a Latin writer who lived nearly four hundred years after the death of St. John; and therefore it was never known to the more ancient Greek Fathers: though the Spartan Decree against Timotheus is found for the first time in a Latin writer at least a thousand years after its promulgation."

"That it is not found in any Greek Manuscript extant, but one; and therefore it never will be, though the Hymn to Ceres has been found at Moscow two thousand years after the time of Pausanias,"

* See his *Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate*, p. 177, &c. Yet of this *Codex Brix.* the opinion of Griesbach repeatedly expressed is, that its author "versionem Latinam a capite ad calcem conformavit Græco libro, iis quos interpretes olim adhibuerat longe juniore, passim interpolato." Griesbach, *Comm. Crit.* Part. ii. p. 104. Jenæ 1811. These are his latest sentiments upon this subject, and already in 1777 he had said, "Brixianus certe Codex apud Blanchinium ad librum Græcum juniorem refectus est." *Cura in Hist. Text. Græc. Epist. Paul.* p. 77.

who last quoted it, and of which no other copy is known to be extant*.”

This learned and pious prelate often argues in this manner against existing MSS., from MSS. which *may* have existed, but which are now lost or at least lurking. “If it be asked (says he) Why the verse was not quoted by almost all the Greek, and many of the Latin Fathers? the objection amounts to no more than this:—It was not quoted by them, *because it was omitted either by accident or design in their copies*, and probably in the generality of Greek MSS. and many of the Latin. But this does not affect the certainty or the probability that the verse was extant in other copies. If it be again asked, What is become of the MSS. that contained it? we may reply by asking, what is become of the many hundred MSS. of this second period, containing the Catholic Epistles, of which only four remain to this day? In the last century of this period, the ninth century, many valuable works were extant, of which we have now only Latin translations, or fragments of the originals, which have been preserved in the inestimable *Bibliotheca* of the most learned Patriarch of that or perhaps of any other century, Photius of Constantinople. The last remaining copy of Cicero’s Work *De Gloria* is said to have perished in a fire at Canterbury, since the invention of printing.” He

* *Vindication of 1 John v. 7, from the Objections of M. Griesbach*, p. 69. Lond. 1821.

tells us, however, that he is "inclined to think that the stores of antiquity are not yet exhausted, that ampler researches... among the uncollated Manuscripts in the libraries of Europe and Asia, will bring more and more evidence of this verse*." The same hope or expectation had been formed by Bengel†: and I doubt not that when such MSS. are discovered, they will be found quite free from Latinisms and solecisms. In the mean time the charge that a work is a translation, is surely less severe than that it has been wilfully mutilated and corrupted.

The object of the Author of the present work, is

* *Vindication*, pp. 37. xv.

† "Bengelius at last begs leave to hope that in due time, if not St. John's own autograph, yet some very ancient Greek MSS. containing the verse, may be found hidden in the shelves of Divine Providence." To which pious hope Wetstein answers in the words of Cicero: "*Hic tu tabulas desideras Heracliensium publicas, quas Italico bello, incenso tabulario, interisse scimus omnes. Est ridiculum ad ea quæ habemus nihil dicere; quærere quæ habere non possumus.*" Porson, *Letters to Travis*, p. 396. Wetstein, *Prolegom.* vol. i. p. 169=429 ed. Semler, who [Semler] tells us in his note, that Whiston on the other hand hoped the like discovery would be made by Providence of Eusebian MSS. in order to overthrow the sway of the Athanasians. The discoveries of Maius &c. render the expectation that MSS., or at least fragments of very ancient MSS., may be discovered, less chimerical than it once seemed. Father Simon, mentioning that according to Jerome the version of Daniel in the Septuagint is that of Theodotion, says, "Quelque soin qu'on prenne de chercher tant dans l'Orient que dans l'Occident, soit le Grec, soit le Latin de ce Prophete, tel qu'il étoit avant que la version de Theodotion fût reçuë dans l'usage public des Eglises, je ne croy pas qu'on les puisse trouver." *Diss. Crit. sur les MSS. du N. T.* p. 95. Since that time, "*Daniel secundum LXX.*" has been discovered, and was published in 1772 at Rome, fo. Gr. et Lat. See *infra*, p. 117.

to solicit the opinion of abler scholars than himself upon a subject of great importance. He has collected facts with unwearied industry, stated them with as much fairness as he can, and exerted his best powers in judging of them. If, contrary to his wish, the work is to be deemed not merely philological but theological, he must premise that he is not the Pope, but a very humble Protestant, and consequently has not the slightest pretensions to infallibility. He professes not to be free from error, but only from partiality; and that though the inferences in the present work have been the result of assiduous meditation and research, he offers them not as corollaries, but problems. The hypothesis which he submits to the reader, may after all be the dream of a hermit, who has no opportunities of literary intercourse, and no method but the press of having his conjectures confuted or confirmed. If he has been betrayed into mistakes by want of knowledge, or misconception of any kind, they shall be corrected with promptitude as soon as pointed out.

The work which the Author thus offers to the candid criticism and correction of the learned, consists of Six Disquisitions, of which a summary may be found in the Table of Contents subjoined to this Preface. He may here very shortly remark, that in the first of these Disquisitions he examines the opinion, that a knowledge of Greek was general and almost universal in the age of the Apostles: an opinion which is, perhaps, proved to be at once con-

trary to probability, and contradictory to facts. In the second and third Disquisitions it is submitted, that considering that at least one of the Gospels, and several of Paul's Epistles, were addressed to Latins, it might have been expected that such portions of the New Testament should have been sent to them rather in Latin than in Greek. Whatever was the primitive language, however, in which the Books of the New Testament were originally composed, and admitting that it was Greek, it is shown by numerous phenomena that at least our Elzevir text or its basis, and, indeed, that of several other copies of the Greek Testament in the Author's possession, (none of them, however, so old as our received English version,) bear marks of being a version from the Latin.* It is submitted, that it seems not improbable that a translated or re-translated text may (as in Matthew's Gospel and various other remarkable instances which are exhibited) have supplanted the original; and that the Elzevir Testament may, like the *Aldine Simplicius*, be a Greek re-translation from the Latin of an original Greek work*. This the Author proceeds to corroborate, in the fourth Disquisition, by a list of words, phrases,

* By this the Author trusts he will not be supposed to mean that the Greek text of the Elzevir edition, 1624, was translated from the Latin by the editor of that edition, or by any other person in the seventeenth century. Let the Elzevirs be supposed, if the reader chooses, to have printed from a Greek MS. of the third century; this will not in the slightest degree affect the conclusions in the subsequent work,

&c. arranged into twelve different classes, all (if he mistakes not) tending to establish, that what is named the *Hellenistic* style is not Hebrew, but Latin-Greek; and all seeming to support the conclusion, that the peculiarities of words and style in our Elzevir or Greek Vulgate are to be derived from a Latin original. In this Disquisition the origin of whole cohorts of Roman-Greek words, which have been singly the subjects of long dissertations, will be shown; and many of them which have frightened philologists by their portentous shapes, will be recognised as old acquaintances somewhat mutilated and disguised.

The Author in the fifth Disquisition, after attempting a solution of some apparent objections to, or difficulties in his hypothesis, proceeds to show how much it seems to be supported by the sentiments and statements of some of the most distinguished Editors of the New Testament. It will be found that of these some have proceeded on the assumption that even the Latin Vulgate (itself a version from the Greek) is of greater authority than the modern Greek text; while others accuse the most venerable Greek MSS. of the New Testament, and indeed in proportion to their antiquity, of Latinizing. In the sixth and last Disquisition, the Author applies his hypothesis to an elucidation of the German theory of different families or recensions of the MSS. of the New Testament: and here, as all along, he illustrates (if he mistakes not) numerous passages, and many various

readings, which have hitherto resisted the efforts of all critics to explain them.

Such is a very slight summary of what the reader may expect in the subsequent Disquisitions. The Author has subjoined to the last of these, some reflections on the advantages which would seem to accrue to our faith by the establishment of this hypothesis. He calls it an hypothesis; for he would again and again repeat that he offers it merely as such, or rather as an humble inquiry for clearer light from the Hellenists of the present age, on a subject of great importance, delicacy, and difficulty. It was remarked by a late statesman, in the parliamentary discussion of Mr. Owen's plan, that "in this free and inquiring country there was no subject which would not claim and receive consideration:" and inquiry is to truth what friction is to a gem, it only renders it more brilliant. The Author is unconscious, of any prejudice or partiality upon this subject: he pretends not to determine for others, but seeks satisfaction for himself; he wishes not his facts or arguments to be trusted, but tried; and would be better pleased with enlightened and corrective criticism than with uninvestigating and indolent acquiescence. As to the distinctions of Arian, Socinian, or Arminian, he no more thought of them, during the composition of the present work, than of those of Aristotelian, Stoic, and Academic: nor has it been, in the slightest degree, his object either

to confute or to confirm what are deemed the orthodox opinions. Once more he would repeat, that he has ill expressed his sentiments, if he has any where spoken the language of dogmatism, instead of doubt and diffidence. *Dicendum est mihi . . . sed ita, nihil ut affirmem ; quæram omnia, dubitans plerumque, et mihi ipse diffidens.*

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PALÆOROMAICA.

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DISQUISITION I.

The Object of this first Disquisition is to inquire whether the Jews, Romans, and other Nations were in the Age of the Apostles as generally acquainted with the Greek Language as is usually supposed.

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΙ ΤΙΝΩΣΚΕΙΣ; *Act. xxi. 37.*

OUR Saviour was born in Judæa, chose Jews as his disciples, and preached in a dialect of the Hebrew language. The primitive Church consisted wholly of Jews; and it was several years before any Gentiles were admitted into the communion of the faithful. One should have supposed from this, that the most authentic documents concerning our Lord would be found in his own language and that of his apostles. At present, however, the only authentic narratives of the life and doctrines of Jesus are extant in the Greek tongue.

—*via prima salutis,*

Quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.

In the *Christian Researches* of Dr. Buchanan, p. 107, that gentleman gives an account of a visit which he made to a Syrian church at Mavelycar, where (says he) ‘I had some discussions with a most intelligent priest, in regard to the

original language of the four Gospels, which he maintained to be Syriac.' "You concede (said the Syrian) that our Saviour spoke in our language: how do you know it?" 'From Syriac expressions in the Greek Gospels, it appears that he spoke Syriac when he walked by the way (*Ephphatha*), and when he sat in the house (*Talitha cumi*), and when he was upon the cross (*Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*); . . . "But (added he) if the parables and discourses of our Lord were in Syriac, and the people of Jerusalem commonly used it, is it not marvellous that his disciples did not record his parables in the Syriac language, but that they should have recourse to the Greek?" I observed that the Gospel was for the world, and *the Greek was then the universal language*, and therefore Providence selected it. "It is very probable (said he) that the Gospels were translated immediately afterwards into Greek, as into other languages; but surely there must have been a Syriac original. The poor people in Jerusalem could not read Greek. Had *they* no record in their hands of Christ's parables which they had heard, and of his sublime discourses recorded by St. John after his ascension?" I acknowledged that it was believed by some of the learned, that the Gospel of St. Matthew was written originally in Syriac. "So you admit St. Matthew; you may as well admit St. John: or was one Gospel enough for the inhabitants of Jerusalem?" I contended that there were many Greek and Roman words in their own Syriac Gospels. "True (said he), Roman words for Roman things." They wished, however, to see some of these words. The discussion afterwards, particularly in reference to the Gospel of St. Luke, was *more in my favour*.

Orobio in his *Friendly Conference* with Limborch (a model of courtly and philosophical controversy) urges, like the Syrian priest, the improbability that the New Testament should have been composed in Greek; and particularly that the *Epistle to the Romans* should have been sent to them in that language. Limborch in his reply asserts, that in the time of the Apostles *Greek was the universal language*, and so was quite

familiar to the Romans¹. This, indeed, is the constant answer; and it seems to be a matter very generally acquiesced in. It is, however, for the reader to judge whether, after the facts and arguments which I shall now submit to him, the position of the universality of the knowledge of Greek in the time of the Apostles, be as incontrovertible as is usually supposed.

Two English authors, Mr. Walpole and Mr. Falconer, have lately written on this subject. In the *Herculanensia*, there is a dissertation by the former of these gentlemen, "On the knowledge of the Greek language [and of the state of painting] among the Romans before and about the time of the destruction of Herculaneum." Its author, informs us, p. 83, that the "very great number of MSS. in the Greek language discovered at Herculaneum has called our attention to this subject;" and he endeavours to evince by his arguments (the chief of which we shall by and by examine) that a knowledge of Greek was almost universal among the Romans. Mr. Falconer, who takes a more general view of the subject, treats of it in his *Bampton Lectures* which were preached before the University of Oxford in 1810, and were written as a refutation of Mr. Evanson's *Dissonance*. The eighth of

¹ "Quod et quatuor Evangelia, et cætera omnia in Novo Testamento contenta, unica lingua Græca fuerint conscripta, valde miramur: Adhuc et Epistola ad Romanos...atque etiam ad Hebræos: ita ut videatur totum Evangelium à Græcis fuisse compactum; quippe nunquam lingua Græca fuit ita vulgaris Romanis, Gallis, Hispanis, Germanis, cæterisque Europæ nationibus, ac Latina; Romanis omnia hæc regna tunc possidentibus: neque Asiaticis Judæis plusquam Hebræâ, quæ adhuc nostro tempore ab Israelitis in omnibus suæ dispersionis locis, ut vernacula habetur, et semper habita fuit: sed Græca non nisi iis qui Græciæ civitates habitabant. Dubitatur ergo quare omnia sola hac lingua Spiritus Sanctus influxerit, quæ paulo post, non nisi a paucis intelligenda erat?"

Limborch replies, that in the Apostolic age a knowledge of Greek was universal. "Hanc ob causam (adds he) et Epistola ad Romanos Græce scripta est, quia et Romanis nota erat, et peregrinis Romæ degentibus notior quam Romana, et argumentum Epistolæ tale, ut quæ ad reliquas mitteretur Ecclesias dignissima foret."—Limborch, *Amica Collatio*, pp. 145, 184.

these discourses begins as follows:—"In considering the question of the authenticity and genuineness of the Evangelical writings, the language in which they are written claims our attention, not merely as a subject of curious research, but also as it comprehends the inquiry whether any of them, in the form in which we have received them, are *versions* from another tongue: and whether the first introduction of Latin terms can be so ascertained, as to form an argument to prove a spurious original when they are found in writings of a particular date. The author of the *Dissonance* has declared that 'this single circumstance of the language—the mixture of Latin words—induces him 'to suspect every passage and writing wherein it is found, to be either an interpolation, or fiction of no earlier date than the middle of the second century; and, if corroborated by other circumstances of inconsistency, or great improbability, to afford a full conviction of their spuriousness and want of Apostolic authenticity.'—The most complete mode of refuting this objection (continues Mr. Falconer) seemed to be that of giving an historical sketch of the diffusion of the knowledge of the Greek language among various nations in general, or among such as were connected with the Romans by subjugation or alliance."

Mr. Falconer then proceeds with his Historical Sketch, following the order of the Historian of the *Book of Acts* in his list of the different nations in whose tongues the Apostles spoke miraculously on the day of Pentecost. And, here by the way, I cannot help remarking that upon the supposition that Greek was so universal as Mr. Falconer contends, and if the gift of tongues was permanent, as is usually supposed, it should seem that there was little occasion for such a gift, since no more than a knowledge of Greek would have been necessary. One other observation I would make before entering into an examination of the facts stated by Mr. Falconer. This is, that I trust the reader will do me the justice to believe that I am not defending Mr. Evanson, with whose work I am utterly unacquainted except by the few quota-

tions from it in Mr. Falconer's Lectures. I examine the subject merely as a philological and historical inquiry of very considerable curiosity and interest.

These things being premised, let us proceed with Mr. Falconer, and begin, like him, with Africa.—“We may first examine (says he) to what degree the Greek language was cultivated not merely *in Egypt and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene*, but in the northern region of Africa in general,” p. 252. Now certainly in no country of the East was Greek so likely to be universally familiar as in Egypt, the sceptre of which was long swayed by Grecian princes, and whose principal city Alexandria was founded by a Greek. Yet we are told in the *Book of Acts*, xxi. 37, that in a commotion excited against Paul at Jerusalem—as *Paul was to be led into the castle, he said unto the chief captain, May I speak unto thee? who said, Canst thou speak Greek? Art not thou that Egyptian which before these days madest an uproar?*—Now surely nothing could be more absurd than this question on the supposition that a knowledge of Greek was general or even usual among the Egyptians². In fact, even in those cases where foreign princes have as in Egypt acquired dominion in a country, and have been accompanied by a number of courtiers and attendants, it is wonderful how little influence this has had on the general language of the people. The sway first of Austrian and afterwards of Bourbon princes in Spain, had no influence on the Spanish language; nor has the accession of the House of Hanover diffused in the slightest degree a knowledge of German in Great Britain.

² “Risponde il tribuno ἑλληνίστι γινώσκεις; e sai tu di Greco? Οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἰ ὁ Αἰγυπτίος; non sei tu quell' Egiziano che eccitò, tempo fa, sedizione? Vana e inetta anzi che nò, sarebbe stata la interrogazione dell' accorto prefetto che lo crede e suppone per Egiziano, se dagli Egiziani comunemente a que' tempi non si fosse parlata altra lingua.” Rossi *della lingua propria di Cristo*, p. 44.—“Alexandriæ, quæ Græca urbs erat: nam cæteris in urbibus et locis, præsertim remotioribus, priscus Ægyptiacæ linguæ usus permansit.” Montfaucon *Palæogr. Græc.* p. 108.

In proceeding with his sketch of the knowledge of Greek in Africa, Mr. Falconer, p. 254, writes thus:—"We are reminded that although the Carthaginians, who were jealous of exposing their government or their commerce to the inquiry of foreigners, had with this view interdicted the acquisition of the Greek learning, yet they did not enforce the law^s. Hannibal was acquainted with it not only as a soldier, but is said to have composed several historical works in that language, and was attended in his expeditions by a native of Lacedæmon. Indeed their frequent wars in Sicily would have obliged their commanders to neglect the edict made at Carthage, if they meant to qualify themselves to conduct their military affairs with success. The Greeks of Lacedæmon, of Corinth, and of Italy, were required to assist their oppressed countrymen in the Sicilian colonies which were subject to the Carthaginians. What would the law above alluded to avail against the probable effects of a hostile or a pacific intercourse of the armies with the Greek inhabitants of their foreign possessions?"

In fact, if we were to fix a period when the Greek language was likely to reign triumphant, it was about the close of the first Punic war, when Greek cities existed in Italy, Sicily, and other circumjacent countries, and when it had not yet been banished by the Latin. Yet when Polybius describes the dreadful insurrection of the Mercenaries against Carthage at the close of the first Punic war he expresses himself thus—"Their [the Carthaginian] army was composed of Spaniards, Gauls, Ligurians; of some from the Balearic Islands, of spurious Greeks the greater part of whom were fugitives and slaves; but chiefly of Africans.

^s "Dux belli Hanno Carthaginiensis erat, cujus inimicus Suniatus, potentissimus ea tempestate Pœnorum, cum odio ejus, Græcis literis, Dionysio [i. Sicil.] adventum exercitus, et segnitiam Ducis familiariter prænuntiasset; comprehensis epistolis, prodicionis damnatur, facto senatus consulto ne quis postea Carthaginiensis, aut literis Græcis aut sermoni studeret, ne aut loqui cum hoste, aut scribere sine interprete posset."—*Justini* lib. xx. 5.

To assemble all these together, and harangue them with any good effect, was a thing impracticable; unless the general had been acquainted with their different languages. And to address them separately by interpreters, repeating still the same thing four or five times over, seemed a task as difficult as the other, and not more likely to succeed. It remained, therefore, to engage their officers to employ such entreaties and arguments among them as the occasion required. And this was the method which was now pursued by Hanno. But it happened that some of these understood not what he said: while others, seeming to consent to and approve of the instructions which were given them, repeated all things differently to the soldiers, some through ignorance and some from malice*." Of these troops the greater number had served for several years in Sicily where the Greek language prevailed; and yet we see that, notwithstanding the intercourse of the Carthaginian armies with the Greek inhabitants, they were far from acquiring a knowledge of Greek. To allege (as Mr. Falconer has done above) the acquaintance of Hannibal with that language, is an argument of the same kind as to infer that because the Duke of Wellington can speak and write French, the common soldiers of his army could do the same*.

If we proceed, with Mr. Falconer, from *the parts of Libya*, and pass over the Greek colonies in *Asia Minor* to the other regions of Asia, the following is the most striking fact adduced by him in proof of the prevalence of Greek. Plutarch in his Life of Crassus tells us, that while Jason, a celebrated Lydian actor, was rehearsing a part of the *Bacchæ* of Euripides (during the festivities in celebration of the nuptials

* *Polybius*, lib. i. c. 6. Hampton's Translation, vol. i. p. 133, 2d edit.

† Yet Cicero, mentioning the anecdote of Phormio lecturing at Ephesus before Hannibal on the duties of a general, adds that Hannibal being asked his opinion of the philosopher, "Pœnus non optime Græce, sed tamen libere respondisse fertur, multos se deliros senes sæpe vidisse, sed qui magis quam Phormio, declinaret, vidisse neminem."—*De Oratore*, lib. ii. c. 18.

between the son of Orodes king of Parthia, and the sister of Artuases king of Armenia) a messenger entered with an account of the defeat and death of Crassus, and laid his head at the feet of Orodes. The actor instantly made use of the incident, and bore upon a thyrsus the head of Crassus, as if it had been that of Pentheus murdered by Agave. This circumstance, quoted by Mr. Falconer from the Appendix to *Observations on the words of the Centurion uttered at the crucifixion of our Lord*, is urged by both, and had formerly been adduced by Constant. L'Empereur⁶ as evidence of the prevalence of Greek in Upper Asia. Now it is to be remarked that Seleucia, then the capital of Parthia, was founded by a Grecian prince and full of Greek inhabitants⁷. It was no wonder then that on such an occasion Greek plays were acted before them by Greek actors. But this is no more decisive of a knowledge of Greek among the common Parthians, than the Italian Opera is a proof of the universal knowledge of Italian in London⁸. And in fact all that has

⁶ Rhenferd. *Syntagma*, p. 624.

⁷ Οἰκιστοὶ δὲ αὐτὴν [Seleuciam] πολλοὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων, πλείστοι δὲ Ἕλληνες. Josephi *Archæol.* xviii. 9. 8. ap. Sturz. *de Dialect. Maced.* p. 30.

⁸ There is an amusing anecdote of the Emperor Maximin related by Julius Capitolinus, and which proves that we are not to infer that those who assisted at Greek plays were of course Greek scholars. "Denique quum immortalem se propè crederet ob magnitudinem corporis sui virtutisque, mimus quidam in theatro, præsentē illo, dicitur versus Græcos dixisse, quorum hæc erat Latina sententia,

Et qui ab uno non potest occidi, a multis occiditur :

Elephas grandis est, et occiditur :

Leo fortis est, et occiditur :

Tigris fortis est, et occiditur :

Cave multos, si singulos non times.

Et hæc, Imperatore ipso præsentē, jam dicta sunt. Sed quum Maximinus interrogaret amicos, quid mimus scurra dixisset, dictum est ei quod antiquos versus cantaret contra homines asperos scriptos, et ille, ut erat Thrax et barbarus, cōfedit.[†]"—*Hist. Aug. Script.* p. 609. Probably some emotion in those around him induced the Emperor to ask what the player had said.

On referring to the passage of Plutarch, I find that it was while

ever been shown by those who contend for the universality of Greek is, that in some places it was a court language, like French in modern times at Petersburg and Berlin. But in all those countries (where it was not the vernacular tongue) it was utterly unknown to the mass of the common people; and to this class the Christians generally belonged. With regard to Parthia, Michaelis makes the following remarks, in speaking of the First Epistle of John. "In the Latin version (says he) it was formerly called the Epistle of St. John to the Parthians: and this title was adopted by some of the ancient Fathers, and in modern times has been defended by Grotius. But if St. John had intended this Epistle for the use of the Parthians, he would hardly have written it in Greek, but would have used either the language of the country, or, if he was unacquainted with it, would have written at least in Syriac, which was the language of the learned in the Parthian empire, and especially of the Christians. We know from the history of Manes, that even the learned in that country were for the most part unacquainted with the Greek language: for to Manes, though he united literature with genius, his adversaries objected that he understood only the barbarous Syriac. And that a Greek book

Orodes and Artuases were at table in Armenia, that the head of Crassus was brought in; and Plutarch mentions, by way of parenthesis, the acquaintance of both princes with Greek. The same writer in his *Life of Anthony* tells us, that in the retreat of that general through Parthia, a Parthian of high rank "came from the camp of the enemy, and desired he might be permitted to speak with some person who understood the Syrian or the Parthian language. Alexander of Antioch, a friend of Anthony's, went out to him," &c. Philostratus repeatedly represents Apollonius Tyanæus as surprised when he meets in Upper or Further Asia with a person, even of the highest distinction, who could speak Greek. He thus not very politely addresses the great king at Babylon: "When the sacrifice was ended, Apollonius came forward and said, O king, do you know the Greek language, or only as much as serves for conversation, and for not appearing awkward when visited by any of that nation?" Book ii. ch. 32. p. 53. Berwick's Translation, Lond. 1809.

would not have been understood in the Parthian empire, appears likewise from what Josephus says in the preface to his History of the Jewish War, § 2, where he declares that a work intended for the Parthian Jews must be written not in Greek, but in Hebrew⁹. In fact, if we were to believe Mr. Falconer, that Greek was generally known in Upper Asia, it would have been perfectly unnecessary for Josephus to write a Chaldaic history of the Jewish war, as Greek would have sufficed. And yet he informs us, that it was owing to the former that the "Parthians and Babylonians, and the remotest Arabians, and those of our nation beyond the Euphrates, with the Adiabeni," knew the events of the Jewish war. He tells us, moreover, that he had translated his History into Greek, that the Greeks and some of those Romans that were not in the wars might not be ignorant of these things, and read only flatteries and fictions; while those Eastern nations whom he enumerates, knew accurately by his Chaldaic history whence the war began, what miseries it brought, and after what manner it ended¹⁰.

And this leads us to speak of Judea and its neighbourhood. "Of the provinces (says Mr. Walpole, *Hercul.* p. 88.) through which the Greek language was disseminated, there seems to have been none in which it was so general as in Syria. No argument on this head can be stronger than the

⁹ Michaelis by Marsh, vol. vi. p. 399. As to the universality of Greek in Upper Asia, it is sufficient to listen to Pliny, who, enumerating certain divisions of it, says, "quondam adeo clara ut Timosthenes in eam ccc. nationes quæ dissimilibus linguis uterentur, descendere prodiderit. Et postea a nostris cxxx. interpretibus negotia ibi gesta." *Hist. Nat.* lib. vi. c. 5.

¹⁰ Joseph. *De Bello Judaico* Proem, Ed. Hudson, vol. ii. p. 954. "Se coloro (says Rossi) in grazia de' quali egli intraprese il Greco lavoro [τη πατρίδα συντάξας... ἑλλαδὶ γλῶσση μεταβαλλών] sono i Greci, e alcuni Romani egli è naturale che nel novero di quelli, a cui avea scritto in lingua patria entravano senza alcun dubbio gli Ebrei della Palestina." *Della Lingua* &c. p. 105... "compositum est a Josepho Hebræo patria lingua primum in civium suorum usus, deinde Græce oblatum Vespasiano." Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* lib. iv. p. 230.

publication of the four Gospels in that language. For although (continues he) we might allow that St. Matthew had written his Gospel in Hebrew; yet no person has ever been mentioned as having seen this original: and indeed the speedy disappearance of it, if it ever existed, shows that it was deemed perfectly unnecessary." Were we to conclude against the existence of a work from the circumstance of its being no longer extant, this would considerably abridge the list of ancient writings. I know of no person who has ever been mentioned as having seen the Syro-chaldaic History of Josephus, which is no longer extant; and yet nothing is more certain than that it existed. The *Gospel of the Nazarenes*, which according to Jerome was considered by most persons as the authentic Gospel of Matthew, has also disappeared, as well as the two versions of it made by that Father. Yet shall we argue thence that they never had existence¹¹?

Mr. Falconer, also, seems to have had a kind of hankering wish to dispute the composition of the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, and introduces the subject with the unfortunate remark, that "to promulgate it originally through the means of a translation would be a suspicious introduction of a new religious system." p. 245. Now, if Matthew wrote his Gospel in Greek, this 'suspicious introduction' actually took place. Of him who spake as never man spake, not above a dozen original words have been preserved; and of the divine sermon on the Mount (with the exception of the word *Raka*), not a syllable is now extant. "It is argued

¹¹ "In Evangelio, quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ (quod nuper in Græcū de Hebræo sermone transtulimus, et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum." *Comment. in Matth.* xii. 13. And again, "Evangelium quoque quod appellatur secundum Hebræos, et a me nuper in Græcū Latinūque sermonem translatum est, quo et Origenes sæpe utitur." *Catal. Vir. Illust. in Jacobo*. Eusebius says of Pantænus (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 10.) that it is reported that he found the Gospel of Matthew in India, whither it had been carried and left in the Hebrew original by Bartholomew—*αὐτοῖς τε Ἑβραίων γραμμασι, τὴν τε Ματθαίου κατὰ λειψαί γραφήν.*

(continues Mr. Falconer), that 'the eastern Jews and the many thousands of Jewish Christians who fled to Pella, and also the Nazarenes,' (Michaelis iii. p. 149) would require a Gospel in their own language, because they did not understand Greek. If this reasoning (adds he) be admitted to prove a necessity for the composition of a Gospel in the Syro-chaldaic or Hebrew language, it ought likewise to be admitted to prove that such a Gospel would have been necessarily preserved!!"

Mr. Falconer however concedes, after a good deal of hypothetical reasoning, that Matthew wrote in Hebrew. "There certainly (says he) are difficulties in the evidence of Papias, [What are these difficulties?] but we are not justified in explaining away or in rejecting that evidence. He had not seen the book itself, although he was an ancient writer, [where does Mr. Falconer learn this?] nor was he informed, although he was particularly assiduous in collecting information on subjects of this nature, in what place it was to be found [where again is this found by Mr. F.?].... But (concludes he) whatever theory the testimony of Papias may contradict, we must nevertheless retain it ¹²."

In fact, it is not the testimony of Papias only, but of all the Fathers, without a dissentient voice, that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, or Syro-chaldaic; and (which is of no little weight in matters of this nature) this is supported by natural probability. It has been pretended, indeed, that it was unnecessary that Matthew should write in Hebrew, since Greek was universally understood in Judæa; nay, some have even gone the length of affirming that it was the natural language of our Lord and his Apostles ¹³. Mr. Falco-

¹² *Bampton Lectures*, p. 248, 249. How much disingenuous evasion has been employed on the subject of the original language of Matthew's Gospel may appear from the example even of Dr. Lardner, who is called by Dr. Paley "the most candid of all advocates." See *Appendix*, Note A.

¹³ Isaac Vossius (*de Orac. Sibyll.* p. 290, and *Respons. ad iteratqs P. Simon objectt.* p. 375.) affirmed, that in consequence of the conquests

ner has too much good sense to adopt this absurdity, but he certainly greatly overrates the knowledge of Greek possessed by the Jews. "It is an assertion (says he) not well supported, that 'the greatest part of the inhabitants of Jerusalem were certainly not acquainted with Greek.' This is contradicted by every argument even from probability. The metropolis of the country to which persons of the same unmixed descent resorted annually in great multitudes, to attend their common religious festivals, from almost every part of the world, would present opportunities of a more complete communication than could be afforded by any other place in the same country," p. 270. Here is the hypothesis—what is the fact?

Now, in the first place, we find that when Pilate placed an inscription on the cross of Jesus, he caused it to be written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin; and if the common Jews could not have understood an inscription of a few words unless it had been written in their own language, we may judge of their ability to understand a whole Gospel. Dr. Paley has the following remarks concerning this inscrip-

of Alexander, and the influence of his successors, the Jews spoke only Greek. His arguments, which, as Dr. Marsh observes, "are of no value whatsoever," were refuted by P. Simon, *Hist. Critique du N.T.* cap. vi. The dream of Vossius was again supported by Diodati, a Neapolitan lawyer, in a Dissertation *De Christo Græce loquente Exercitatio, &c.* published at Naples 1707. "But Diodati's arguments (says Dr. Marsh) are neither new nor solid, and they have been fully confuted by Ernesti, in his *Neueste theologische Bibliothek*, vol. i. p. 269-278." They have been fully confuted also by Rossi, in an elegant work *Della Lingua propria di Christo, &c.* Parmæ, 1772. Paulus (as I learn from Wassembergh) published in 1803 a kind of conciliatory *Programma* on the subject, and this *Programma*, he also tells us, and the whole question, has been discussed by Sylv. de Sacy, in the *Magasin encyclop.* par M. Millin, Januar. 1805. [*Selecta e Scholis L. C. Valckenari*, vol. i. p. 325. Marsh Michaelis, vol. v. p. 120.] "Dialectus autem Hierosolymitana (says Valkenæer) hujus erat ævi *Syriaca*, qua *procul omni dubio* usus fuit, dum in terris versabatur Iesus, quem incogitanter nonnulli Græce loquutum dicunt." *Ibid.* Even in the vision on the road to Damascus, Jesus spoke in Hebrew to Paul, *Acts* xxvi. 14, though Greek would have been equally familiar to a native of Tarsus.

tion. "That it was also usual (says he) about this time in Jerusalem to set up advertisements in *different* languages, is gathered from the account which Josephus gives of an ex-postulatory message from Titus to the Jews, when the city was almost in his hands; in which he says, Did ye not erect pillars with inscriptions on them *in the Greek and in our language* 'Let no one pass beyond these bounds'¹⁴." To what purpose an inscription in any language but Greek, if Greek as is assumed was so universally known?

I agree with one remark of Mr. Falconer in the above quotation—that a knowledge of Greek was more likely to be possessed by the Jews in the metropolis than in the provinces: and yet we may infer, even from what has been already said, that this, after all, was very trifling. I ought rather to say that, except among a few individuals, it had no existence. The following passages of Josephus, already adduced in a note on this subject by Mr. Hamilton in his *Strictures*, fully prove this. "As I believe (says he) it is *supposed* in general by the learned that the Greek language was not totally unknown among the Jews, the following passages from Josephus will show the contrary: 'Now Simon and John, and they that were with them desire a conference with Titus, which he granted. He placed himself on the western side of the inner court of the Temple, and there was a bridge that parted them. There were great numbers of Jews waiting with those two tyrants, and there were also Romans on the side of Titus. He ordered the soldiers to restrain their rage, and appointed an *Interpreter*.' What occasion (says Mr. H.) was there for an Interpreter, if the leaders of the Jews were acquainted with the Greek language, of which Titus cannot be supposed to have been ignorant, it being a necessary part of the education of the Roman youth of any distinction?¹⁵

¹⁴ *Evidences*, Part II. chap. vi. § 24. Now if it was necessary to write such a short advertisement as, *Let no one pass beyond these bounds*, in *Latin* as well as *Greek*, is it not absurd to suppose that these very persons would have understood a whole Greek Gospel or Epistle?

¹⁵ Titus was well acquainted with Greek. Sueton. in *Tito*, cap. 3. In

Josephus again says: 'What happened in the Roman camp I saw and wrote it down carefully; what information the deserters brought out of the city, I was the *only* man that understood it:' which I apprehend is tantamount to saying that he was the only person in the Roman camp who could speak the Greek and the language spoken by the Jews ¹⁶."

Josephus boasts in his account of his own Life, that he "made mighty proficiency in learning, and appeared to have both a great memory and understanding. When I was a child (says he) and about fourteen years of age, I was commended by all for the love I had to learning. On which account the high-priests and principal men of the city came then frequently to me together, to know my opinion about the accurate understanding of points of the Law." Now this prodigy, as he is thus pleased to represent himself, speaks of the slowness of his progress in his Greek history, "it being a difficult thing (says he) to translate our history into a foreign, and to us unaccustomed, language ¹⁷." Origen also informs us that the Jews were not curious of Greek learning, and seems to regard such a person as a phænomenon ¹⁸.

But let us now leave Africa and Asia, and pass with Mr. Falconer to Europe, where we shall be joined by Mr. Walpole. And let us begin with the *strangers of Rome*. This topic (the state of the Greek language in Italy in the time of

the above passage Mr. H. has given not a version but summary of Josephus, who says, however, in Whiston's translation, "So Titus charged his soldiers to restrain their rage, and to let their darts alone, and appointed an Interpreter." *Jewish War*, lib. vii. cap. 6. § 2.

¹⁶ *Strictures upon Knowles's primitive Christianity*, vol. i. § ii. p. 7.

¹⁷ Josephus: *Life*, § 2. Pref. to *Antiquities*, § 2. Whiston's translation, *εις αλλοδαπην ἡμιν και ξενην διαλεκτε συνηθειαν*. Probably Josephus was induced to give a preference to Greek, in translating his History, from the circumstance that the Romans might be made sufficiently acquainted by their countrymen with the events of the war.

¹⁸ *Ου πανυ μεν εν Ιουδαιοι τα Ελληνων φιλολογωσι, αλλ' εσω τινα των Ιουδαιων και φιλολογον ετω γεγονεναι*. *Atqui Judæi non solent curiosi esse in Græcorum literis: sed fac ALIQUEM Judæum tam literatum fuisse*. Origen. *contra Celsum*, lib. ii. p. 80.

the Apostles,) is of much consequence in our subsequent Disquisitions, and therefore I shall examine it at considerable length.

Although great darkness exists with regard to the early antiquities of Italy, this much is certain, that of the different colonies which settled in that country, some were Grecian. A tract of Italy was denominated *Magna Græcia*, in the cities of which the Greek language was spoken. Pythagoras taught with much success in *Magna Græcia*, and Cicero conjectures (but allows that it is a mere conjecture) that his doctrines may even have gained some admission into Rome in the early times of the Republic¹⁹. From inattention to chronology many persons have represented Numa as a disciple of Pythagoras; and some have argued that Greek at this period must have been familiar at Rome, because part of Numa's writings, which were dug up A. U. C. 572, were in the Greek language. "These Greek writings of Numa's (says Dr. Bentley) were a system of the Pythagorical Philosophy; and yet we know that Pythagoras the founder of that philosophy lived four or five generations after Numa's time. And again the books of Numa were made of Ægyptian papyrus, which was not applied to the use of writing till a good while after Numa was dead²⁰. But to return to *Magna Græcia*—The earliest authors of Rome sprung from this district or its neighbourhood, and are named *semi-Græci* or half Greeks by Suetonius²¹. There is no reason, however,

¹⁹ *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. iv. *Init.* And *de Oratore*, lib. ii. c. 37, he says, "Nam et referta quondam Italia Pythagoreorum fuit, tum quum erat in hac gente Magna illa Græcia: ex quo etiam quidam Numam Pompiliū, regem nostrum, fuisse Pythagoreum ferunt, qui annis permultis ante fuit quam ipse Pythagoras."

²⁰ *Phalaris*, p. 375. See Pliny *Hist. Nat.* lib. xiii. c. 13.

²¹ "Grammatica olim Romæ ne in usu quidem, nedum in honore ullo erat... *Initium* quoque ejus *mediocre* extitit siquidem antiquissimi doctorum, qui iidem et poetæ et oratores *semi græci* erant (Livium et Ennium dico, quos utraque lingua, domi forisque docuisse adnotum est) nihil amplius quam Græce interpretabantur: ac si quid Latine ipsi composuissent, prælegebant." *De Ill. Gramm.* § 1.

to suppose that any general knowledge of Greek emanated from *Magna Græcia* to Rome in those times, any more than from Calabria to the same city in the middle ages. "Since Greek (says Mr. Hallam) was spoken with considerable purity by the noble and well-educated inhabitants of Constantinople, we may wonder that even as a living language it was not better known by the western nations, and especially so neighbouring a nation as Italy. Yet here the ignorance was perhaps even more complete than in France or England.* In some parts indeed of Calabria, which had been subject to the Eastern Empire till near the year 1100, the Liturgy was still performed in Greek; and a considerable acquaintance with the language was of course preserved. But for the scholars of Italy, Boccacio positively asserts that no one understood so much as the Greek characters²²." And while upon this topic (and as forming some analogy with ancient times) I may quote a passage on the subject of Dante from the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxi. p. 512. "Dante employed a few words of Greek origin which he found in the Latin poets. When his commentators adduce these vocables as proofs of his knowledge of Greek, they do their best to deceive the world: the contrary appears most plainly from his own confession. In quoting a passage from Aristotle in his *Convito*, he acknowledges his difficulties, 'because (as he says) the two Latin translations which I use, contradict each

²² Hallam on the *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 615. "Nemo est qui Græcas Literas nôrit, at Ego in hoc Latinitati compator, quæ sic omnino Græca abjecit studia, ut etiam non noscamus characteres Literarum." Boccac. *Geneal. Deorum*, ap. Hodium de *Græc. Illust.* p. 3. "Fui equidem (says Boccacio) ipse insuper qui *primus* meis sumtibus Homeri libros, et alios quosdam Græcos in Hetruriam revocavi, ex qua multis ante seculis abierant non redituri. Nec in Hetruriam tantum, sed in patriam deduxi. Ipse ego fui, qui primus ex Latinis ex Leonzio Pilato Iliadem in privato audiui. Ipse insuper fui, qui ut legerentur libri Homæri operatus sum. Et esto non plura perceperim, percepi tamen quantum potui, nec dubium si permansisset homo ille vagus apud nos, quin plenius percepissem." *Geneal. Deor.* xv. 6.

other.' And in one of his songs he states in the plainest terms that he was "wholly ignorant of the Greek language." The like confession has been made by many illustrious men whose knowledge of this language had been celebrated by their panegyrists. Petrarch having received a Greek copy of Homer from a Byzantine ambassador, writes to him as follows: 'Your present of the genuine and original text of the divine poet, the fountain of all invention, is worthy of yourself and of me: you have fulfilled your promise, and satisfied my desires. Yet your liberality is still imperfect; with Homer you should have given me yourself; a guide who could lead me into the fields of light, and disclose to my wondering eyes the specious miracles of the Iliad and Odyssey. But alas! Homer is dumb or I am deaf, nor is it in my power to enjoy the beauty which I possess . . . Often as I embrace the silent volume, I exclaim with a sigh, Illustrious bard! with what pleasure should I listen to thy song, if my sense of hearing were not obstructed and lost by the death of one friend, and in the much-lamented absence of another! Nor do I yet despair; and the example of Cato suggests some comfort and hope, since it was in the last period of age that he attained the knowledge of the Greek letters²³.'

²³ Petrarch. *Ep. Famil.* ix. 2. I have given the version of Gibbon, *Decline, &c.* chap. lxvi. While on the subject of confessions of learned men in opposition to their panegyrists, I may mention Paulus Diaconus, who, "teste Sigeberto, cap. 69, transtulit de Græco in Latinum *Vitam S. Mariæ Aegyptiacæ*." Fabric. *Bibl. Med. et Infim. Lat.* lib. xv. p. 618. Paulus having received from Peter of Pisa the following eulogy in the name of Charlemagne—[see Ginguené, vol. i. p. 86]—

*Græcâ cerneris Homerus,
Latinâ Virgilius:
In Hebræâ quoque Philo, &c.*

honestly replies:

*Græcam nescio loquelam,
Ignoro Hebræicam,
Três aut quatuor in Scholis
Quas didici syllabas
Ex his mihi est ferendus
Munipulus adorea.*

But to return from the modern Italians to the ancient Romans, it may be alleged that the acquisition of Greek would be facilitated, and more especially in the early ages of the Republic, by the circumstance that the greater part of their language was Æolic Greek. This origin is asserted both by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and by Quintilian²⁴, and has been repeated by many modern philologists. Gataker in the first chapter of his treatise *de Novi Instrumenti Stylo* collects a number of testimonies, or rather opinions, that Latin was little else than a corrupted dialect of Greek; and he himself in the same chapter gives a curious analysis of the first five lines of Virgil's first *Eclogue*, in order to corroborate the same conclusion. A similar analysis (and for the same purpose) of the eleven first verses of the *Æneid* has been given by Scheidius: and, conversely, he endeavours to prove, by an analysis of the first twelve lines of the *Iliad*, that many of Homer's words have been adopted by the Latins²⁵.

In fine, not to multiply examples, St. Augustin (notwithstanding his genius and frequent study of the Greek Scriptures, and though he passes as a translator of Aristotle's *Dialectics*) owns, "Ego quidem Græcæ linguæ perparum assecutus sum et prope nihil." *Contra Petilianum*, lib. ii. cap. 33. In speaking of Italian poets I might have mentioned Alfieri, who gives a striking picture of his frightful efforts to learn Greek.

²⁴ Dionys. Halic. *Antiq.* p. 76: 'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ φωνῇ μὲν ὡτ' ἀκρὰν βαρβαρον, οὐδ' ἀπηρτισμένως Ἑλλάδα φθεγγονται, μίκτην δὲ τινὰ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, ἥς ἐστὶν ἡ πλείων Λαοῖς—*Romani sermone nec prorsus barbaro nec exquisite Græco utuntur, sed quodam ex utroque mixto.* So also Quint. lib. i. 8: "Etymologia continet in se multam eruditionem sive illa ex Græcis orta tractemus, quæ sunt plurima, præcipueque Æolica ratione, cui est sermo noster simillimus."

²⁵ Scheidius *Proleg. ad Lennep Etymol. Ling. Græcæ*, p. xli. et sqq. lviii. et sqq. 8vo. Traject. 1808. This Preface is full of the most absurd etymological trifling. The analysis of Scheidius is much less successful than that of Gataker, which he does not allude to, though, as appears p. xxxi., acquainted with his works. The etymologies of Swift have at least the merit that the words or terms which he holds forth as the primitives are real, and not of those monsters mentioned by Lucretius:

—mira facie, membrisque coorta...

Nec potuere cupitum ætatis tangere florem

Nec reperire cibum, nec jungi per Veneris res —Lib. v. 836.

“The bulk and foundation (says J. H. Tooke) of the Latin language is Greek; but great part of the Latin is the language of our northern ancestors grafted upon the Greek. And to our northern language the etymologist must go for that part of the Latin which the Greek will not furnish; and there, without any twisting or turning or ridiculous forcing and torturing of words, he will easily and clearly find it. We want therefore the testimony of no historians to conclude that the founders of the Roman state and of the Latin tongue came not from Asia but from the north of Europe. For the language cannot lye. And from the language of every nation we may with certainty collect its origin²⁶.”

It may perhaps deserve consideration, whether the Greek was not rather grafted on the Gothic or the Celtic, than the Gothic or the Celtic on the Greek, owing to the conquests of the Romans in *Magna Græcia*, and their semi-Greek authors, Ennius and others. Whatever was, however, the origin of the Latin, the language of the Romans underwent constant changes for many centuries, and soon became unintelligible even to their ablest antiquarians. Polybius, professing to give his readers a view of the several treaties which had been concluded between the two republics of Rome and Carthage, which “treaties (says he) are still preserved on tables of brass in the apartment of the *Ædiles* in the Capitol,” writes as follows: “The first was of the age of Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, who were created the first consuls after the expulsion of the kings, and who consecrated the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. This was twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece. I have given the sense of it with all the skill and accuracy of which I am master: for the language that was used in those times is so different from that which is now spoken among the Romans, that frequently the best interpreters, even after the closest

²⁶ *Diversions of Purley*, vol. ii. p. 140. Ginguené attributes the origin of the Latin language to an amalgamation of Greek and Celtic with indigenous idioms of very remote inhabitants of Italy. *Hist. Litt. d'Italie*, tome i. p. 176 et sqq.

application, are unable to explain it²⁷." The friend, companion, and instructor of Scipio would have every opportunity and aid for investigation, and we may infer that the more ancient language of Rome did not differ from that in the æra of Polybius merely by its *Græcisms*, as this circumstance would have only rendered it more intelligible to a Greek writer.

There is one transaction stated in the Roman History, from which it has been argued, that at the period when it took place the Greek language was familiar to the Romans. In the year of Rome 300 [A. C. 454] the patricians and tribunes of the people are said to have sent three deputies to Greece, in order to bring laws from that country to Rome to form the basis of their XII Tables. This deputation, however, of missionaries to Greece is by some considered as apocryphal²⁸; and whether so or not, it is related that Hermodorus an Ephesian exile was the interpreter of those laws: a circumstance which seems to show that Greek was at this period unknown at Rome²⁹.

²⁷ Polybius, lib. iii. c. 3. Hampton's Translation, vol. i. p. 311.

²⁸ See ap. Terrasson *Histoire de la Jurisprudence Romaine*, p. 77.

²⁹ Pliny, speaking of statues at Rome, says, "Fuit et Hermodori Ephesii in Comitio, Legum quas Decemviri scribebant, *Interpretis publice dicata*." *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxiv. 5. "La langue Grecque (says Terrasson) étoit alors presque inconnue à Rome, et les Loix apportées d'Athènes eussent été inutiles aux dix Législateurs si elles ne leur eussent été expliquées par un certain Hermodore, qui exilé d'Ephese sa patrie se trouva par hasard à Rome auroit-on fait la députation en Grèce, et au retour des Députés auroit-on eu besoin d'Hermodore pour expliquer les Loix Grecques, si la langue et les Loix des Grecs avoient été familiers à Rome? Je ne dis pas seulement du tems des Decemvirs, mais à plus forte raison dès le tems des premiers Rois?" *Hist. de la Jur. Rom.* pp. 77, 81. Another learned historian of the Roman law, Brunquellus, is of opinion that the Decemvirs were quite ignorant of the Greek language. This latter fact I owe to M. Bouchaud, who however remarks on it, "On ne peut supposer aucune époque depuis la fondation de Rome, où la langue Grecque ait été *totalement inconnue* à Rome, et en Italie!" as if these were synonymous at that period! *Comment. sur la Loi des Douze Tables*, tom. i. p. 15. Paris 1803,

"A new æra (says Mr. Walpole, *Hercul.* p. 84) in the literature of Rome commenced at the time when Carneades the Academician, Diogenes the Stoic, Critolaus the Peripatetic, were sent from Athens to Rome [A. U. 599. A. C. 155]. They were introduced into the Senate, and, as Gellius informs us, *magno conventu hominum dissertaverunt*. This would have been useless, if their auditors had not been conversant with their language." Mr. Walpole, however, ought not to have omitted what Gellius himself tells us, and which is confirmed, or at least copied, by Macrobius; that these philosophers made use of an interpreter in the Senate³⁰. This latter writer (by the way) mentions a kind of *bon-mot* of Cato, which I shall quote as in some measure connected with the present subject. One A. Albinus, who was consul along with Lucullus, wrote a Roman History in Greek, or more probably perhaps got some one to translate it into that language. In the commencement he apologized for the badness of his style, on the ground of his being a Roman born in Latium, and writing in a language to which the Romans were strangers. 'Art not thou, Aulus, (said Cato when he read this) a very foolish fellow, who chooseth rather to apologize for an absurdity than avoid it³¹?'

The advocates for the universality of Greek generally quote as one proof, and almost the only proof of their plea, an asser-

³⁰ "Erant isti philosophi Carneades ex Academia, Diogenes Stoicus, Critolaus Peripateticus: et in Senatum quidem introducti interprete usi sunt C. Acilius Senatore." A. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* vii. 14. Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 5. See also Plutarch in his *Life of Cato the Censor*.

³¹ "Is Albinus res Romanas oratione Græca scriptitavit; in ejus historiæ primo scriptum est ad hanc sententiam: Neminem succensere sibi convenire, siquid in illis libris parum composite aut minus eleganter scriptum foret. Nam sum, inquit, homo Romanus natus in Latio, et *eloquium Græcum a nobis alienissimum est*; ideoque veniam gratiamque malæ estimationis si quid esset erratum, postulavit. Ea cum legisset M. Cato: 'Ne tu, inquit, Aule, nimium nugator es, cum maluisti culpam deprecari, quam culpa vacare?' *Saturnal.* lib. i. præf. According to Plutarch, Cato said, Albinus ought to be pardoned if he wrote it by command of the Amphictyones. *Life of Cato the Censor*.

tion of Cicero in his beautiful oration *pro Archia Poeta*. In this oration Cicero celebrates Archias on account of his great facility and talent as a Greek poet. All this is done in the orator's usual exaggerated manner on such occasions; and one should suppose from reading it, that the whole glory of the Roman Republic and the fame of her heroes depended upon the writings of Archias. It might be objected however that his writings were in Greek; a charge which Cicero obviates, by affirming that Greek compositions were *read* in almost every nation, while Latin ones were limited to the narrow confines of the Republic³². Now, besides allowing a little for exaggeration, we must remark that Cicero only affirms that Greek poetical compositions, of which he was speaking, were much more universally read than Latin ones. The only readers of those days were people of rank or learning, by whom Greek was usually learned, as French among ourselves; and at the time when Cicero spoke this oration there were no *literary* motives to learn Latin³³. What Cicero affirms of Greek and Latin, might lately have been

³² "Nam si quis minorem gloriæ fructum putat ex *Græcis versibus* percipi quam ex *Latinis*, vehementer errat, propterea quod *Græca leguntur* in omnibus fere gentibus: *Latina, suis finibus*, exiguis sane continentur. Quare si res hæ quas gessimus orbis terræ regionibus definiuntur, cupere debemus, quo minus manuum nostrarum tela pervenerint, *eodem* gloriam famamque penetrare." The Bishop of St. David's in his *Vindication* quotes this "*Græca leguntur in omnibus gentibus*." p. 9.

³³ These literary motives were much increased by Tully himself. Soon after the death of the orator, a tepid spring burst forth in one of his villas, the waters of which were considered as salubrious to the sight. On this occasion an epigram was written (by one of Cicero's freedmen), which is preserved to us by Pliny. [*Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxi. 2.]

Quo tua, Romanæ vindex clarissime linguæ,

Sylva loco melius surgere jussa viret...

Hic etiam apparent lymphæ non ante repertæ

Languida quæ infuso lumina rorant levavit.

Nimirum locus ipse sui Ciceronis honori

Hoc dedit, hac fontes cum patefecit ope,

Ut, quoniam totum legitur sine fine per orbem,

Sint plures, oculis quæ medcantur, aquæ.

asserted of French and English, that the former was read almost every where, but the latter only in its own narrow limits. Yet (and though our kings and principal barons were originally French) would any one conclude from this that all the English labourers and manufacturers understood the French language; and that an epistle to the weavers of Manchester would be more fitly composed in French than in English? Add to all this, that it was subsequent to this oration of Cicero that the Romans filled every country with colonies, and that the Latin language became so prevalent, that Pliny triumphantly exclaims, that Italy had been chosen by the gods to unite discordant and barbarous nations in one golden chain of speech and commerce³⁴.

In fact, from an observation of Cicero himself, in the above-mentioned oration *pro Archia*, it should seem that a considerable change had taken place, even in his own time, in the south of Italy with respect to the knowledge of Greek and study of Greek literature. He speaks of it as much more prevalent at the time of the arrival of Archias in Italy, than now at the period when he was speaking³⁵. This change

³⁴ "Italia—numine Deum electa quæ sparsa congregaret imperia, ritusque molliret, et tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas, sermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia, et humanitatem homini daret; breviterque una cunctarum gentium in toto orbo, patria fieret."—*Hist. Nat.* lib. ii. c. 5.

Rasche enumerates twenty colonies established by Julius Cæsar, among which (to be afterwards mentioned) were CARTHAGO, CORINTHUS, PHILIPPI, SINOPE. *Lexicon Univ. Rei Numariæ*, vol. ii. p. 69. Various others also were founded by him, and not a few by Augustus.

³⁵ "Erat Italia tunc plena Græcarum artium, ac disciplinarum: studiaque hæc et in Latio vehementius tum colebantur, quam nunc iisdem in oppidis, et hic Romæ, propter tranquillitatem reipublicæ non negligeantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini et Rhegini et Neapolitani civitate ceterisque præmiis donarunt: et omnes, qui aliquid de ingenio poterant judicare, cognitione atque hospitio dignum existimarunt."—*Pro Archia*.

Gibbon, speaking of the cities of *Magna Græcia*, says, "On voit (sur-tout par Strabon) que leurs discordes civiles et les courses des barbares

thus alluded to by Cicero as happening during his own life, was precisely such as might have been expected. During this period Rome was advancing with accelerated and overwhelming energy, and was forcibly drawing every thing within its vortex. Its language had become fixed; and every day tended to extirpate the various other Italian dialects, of which Æolic-Greek was one, in the same way as the English language has swallowed up the Norman-French, and Cornish, and is gradually extirpating the Welsh and Celtic³⁶. In truth, the Greek seems no more to have been known in early Rome, than Cornish was in London; and, even had it been known to part of the community, would have been gradually extinguished, as Norman-French in England. Even the Latin itself, as we have seen, was at this period in a constant flux amidst this rude people, and from century to century became unintelligible. At length, during the century which preceded the Augustan age, a taste for philosophy and literature sprung up in Rome. Young men of family and fashion were sent to Athens to study, as the same class of individuals among us go to the Continent, and acquire a knowledge of

les livrèrent enfin à la tyrannie des Syracusains, et que les guerres des Samnites, de Pyrrhus, et d'Hannibal les ruinèrent si totalement, que la Grande-Grèce paroissoit détruite du tems de Cicéron... Du tems de Strabon, Tarentum, Rhégium et Naples étoient les seules qui conservoient encore les mœurs Grecques." *Miscell. Works*, vol. iii. pp. 320, 319.

It should seem that owing to the decay of the glory of the Greeks, a change analogous to the above had happened about this period in other countries. Ovid complains that among the people where he was an exile he found only a few traces of the Greek tongue, and those too rendered barbarous by a savage pronunciation:

In paucis extant Græcæ vestigia linguæ,

Hæc quoque jam Getico barbara facta sono. *Trist.* lib. v. 8.

³⁶ "Romani rerum Domini in Italia primum, ut una fieret lingua ex tam multis effecit, utque Sabini, Osci, Tyrrheni, Apuli, Samnites, Galli Latine loquerentur, patriæ obliti linguæ. Eandem Romanam linguam per totius Occidentis provincias sibi subditas propagarunt, abolitis nativis. Græcam in Oriente perdere cum non possent, corruerunt. Et hoc perdere est."—*Salmasius de Hellenistica*, p. 463,

Italian and French. The common people among the Romans, however, were just as ignorant of Greek as the common Englishman is of French and Italian. Nay, from the greater difficulty in learning Greek, and from the want of grammars, dictionaries, and other modern aids, there is reason to suspect that this tongue was by no means so familiar even to the higher classes in Rome as some of the Continental languages are in this country. From an answer which Cicero puts into the mouth of Varro, in reply to a question why amidst his numerous treatises none of them concerned philosophy, it appears that Romans who could read Greek were accounted learned and erudite, as among us³⁷. It is true indeed, that some men of fashion not entitled to these epithets may have acquired a knowledge of Greek; but this was owing to travel, or some peculiar advantage.

Michaelis (iv. p. 224.) contends that the Greek language was common at Rome; "as appears (says he) from the familiar

³⁷ "Tum ille...quum philosophiam viderem diligentissime Græcis literis explicatam, existimavi, si qui de nostris ejus studio tenerentur, si essent Græcis doctrinis *eruditi*, Græca potius quam nostra lecturos; sin a Græcorum artibus, et disciplinis abhorrent, ne hæc quidem curaturos, quæ sine eruditione Græca intelligi non possunt: itaque ea nolui scribere, quæ nec indocti intelligere possent, nec *docti* legere curarent." He adds, a few lines afterwards, "quæ *docti*, ut dixi, a Græcis petere malent, indocti a nobis ne accipient quidem." *Academ.* lib. i. c. 2. See also the confession of the celebrated orator Antonius, *De Oratore*, lib. ii. cap. 15. Montfaucon, giving a list of ancient libraries, says: "M. Terentius Varro Ciceronis familiaris bibliothecam habuit, et quidem Græcis, ut putatur, libris instructam. Si quidem Cicero Varronem, utpote Græcè doctum, Græcis passim verbis alloquitur libro ix. *Epistolarum ad Familiares*." *Palæogr. Græc.* p. xvii. Montfaucon thus thinks it not unnecessary to prove that the most erudite of the Romans could read Greek. One thing is certain, that it required hard study among them, as with us: "Prima apud illos [Romanos says Walchius] litterarum Græcarum cura fuit, cui, uti nos Latinæ, studia sua ita consecrarunt, ut *sine illa* neminem ad *veræ eruditionis* laudem pervenire posse, existimarent." *De Arte Crit. Vet. Romanorum*, p. 83.

Quintilian says of Lucilius the ancient satiric poet: "Eruditio in eo mira," as Dacier supposes from his mingling Greek words in his com-

letters of Augustus, which are for the most part either written in Greek, or are interspersed with Greek phrases." Now were this true, still nothing could be more absurd than to argue that because Augustus and other men of high rank, who had either Greek preceptors, or had been educated in Greece, knew Greek, that therefore persons of low rank (of whom the primitive church was principally composed) knew it likewise³⁸. But let us examine the case of Augustus, whose supposed proficiency in Greek is not only adduced by Michaelis, but also by M.M. Walpole and Falconer, as a proof of the universality of that language. Where Michaelis met with the Greek letters of this prince, I know not: but Augustus, as appears from some fragments of his letters preserved by Suetonius (*Claud.* cap. 4.) certainly seems to have been fond of interlarding them with Greek phrases. In spite of his efforts, however, and of his talents and advantages, Augustus after all appears to have been an indifferent Grecian. The following seems to have been the greatest of his Greek exercises: "It may be sufficient (says Mr. Falconer) to state briefly that Augustus addressed the inhabitants of Alexandria in a Greek oration, when he explained the reason of the pardon which he had granted after they had espoused the cause of Mark Anthony; and he is said to have spoken in Greek *in order that he might be understood*³⁹." This certainly seems to imply great knowledge of Greek: but we are told

positions. That such was his practice we learn from Horace; as also that this had excited admiration even in the Augustan age:

At magnum fecit, quod verbis Græca Latinis

Miscuit. O seri studiorum! &c.

Lib. i. Sat. 10.

"Illud certe constat (says Jablonski) Romanos, non nisi magno labore Græcam linguam didicisse." *Disq. de Lingua Lycaonica*, ap. Steph. *Thesaur.* p. ccxxxiv. Ed. Valpy.

³⁸ See 1 *Cor.* i. 26. "Ecclesia Christi non de Academia et Lycæo, sed de vili plebecula congregata est." Hieron. *Comment. Procm.* iii. in *Epist. ad Galat.* vol. ix. p. 77. M. Paris. ap. Guillard, 1546.

³⁹ *Bampton Lectures*, p. 264. Καὶ τοῦτε λόγον, δι' οὗ συνεγνώσθησαν Ἕλλησιν ὅπως συνώσιν αὐτὸ εἰπε. *D. Cass.* lib. li. p. 454.

by Suetonius that Augustus, although he had Greeks constantly with him from his youth, and was fond of its philosophy and literature, could never speak that language fluently, nor would venture to compose in it. He tells us that when occasion demanded, this prince always wrote in Latin, and gave it to be translated. And Casaubon adds in a note, "as for example, his Greek oration at Alexandria, of which Dio makes mention ⁴⁰."

I have dwelt so long on the case of Augustus, as he seems to have been in the *first form* of Hellenists, and is often adduced as a proof that a knowledge of Greek was quite common at Rome. Mr. Falconer mentions that Tiberius also knew Greek; and Mr. Walpole [*Hercul.* p. 85.] remarks that "Vespasian and Titus were celebrated for their promptitude in speaking and in writing in Greek." Now why were they *celebrated* for this accomplishment, but because it was rare and remarkable? No biographer would, think of celebrating one of our princes on account of his being able to speak and write French, though if he could converse in Arabic it might be worthy of notice.

It has already been remarked that the Greek language in Southern Italy, like Cornish and Norman-French in England, seems more and more to have been extinguished by the prevalent language. Nor did the progress of the Latin remain limited to Italy; but, like the circles round a stone cast into a lake, gradually widened with the Roman conquests. It may easily be judged that the language of so mighty a people as the Romans was calculated to make much progress even

⁴⁰ "Ne Græcarum quidem disciplinarum leviores studio tenebatur: in quibus et ipsis præstabat largiter, magistro dicendi usus Apollodoro Pergameno, quem jam grandem natu, Apolloniam quoque secum ab urbe juvenis adhuc eduxerat. Deinde etiam eruditione varia repletus spheri, Arei philosophi, Aliorumque ejus Dionysii et Nicanoris, contubernium iniiit: non tamen ut aut loqueretur expedite, aut componere aliquid auderet. Nam si quid res exigeret, Latine formabat, vertendumque alii dabat." Sueton. *August.* cap. 89, "ut cum Alexandria Græcam orationem habuit, cujus Dio meminit lib. li." Casaub. *in loc.*

from natural causes. But in addition to these, the extension of the Latin tongue was greatly aided by their policy. That haughty people, anxious to enlarge the use of their tongue, and jealous of their dignity, prohibited their ambassadors and other functionaries to employ in public matters any other language than the Latin. We are informed by Valerius Maximus, that it was the practice of every Roman magistrate, not merely at Rome, but also in Greece and Asia, to speak in public, and to be spoken to, in Latin only⁴¹. Paulus Emilius, when he had subdued Macedonia, declared to the conquered people the will of the Senate and of himself in Latin, which was translated to them in Greek by the Prætor Cn. Octavius. Nor was this, as Bayle proves against Casaubon, because P. Emilius was ignorant of Greek, of which he seems to have had some knowledge, but because Latin was the language of Sovereignty⁴². Cicero was reproached as having been guilty of an inexcusable fault on account of his having condescended to speak in Greek to a Greek Senate at Syracuse⁴³. "Indeed (says Mr. Walpole, *Hercul.*

⁴¹ "Magistratus verò prisci quantopere suam, populique Romani majestatem retinentes, se gesserint, hinc cognosci potest, quod inter cetera obtinenda gravitatis indicia, illud quoque magna cum perseverantia custodiebant, *ne Græcis quidem unquam, nisi Latine responsa darent*. Quinetiam ipsa linguæ volubilitate, qua plurimum valent excussa, per Interpretem loqui cogebant, non in urbe tantum nostra, sed etiam in Græcia et Asia: quo scilicet Latinæ vocis honos per omnes gentes venerabilior diffunderetur."—Valer. Max. lib. ii. cap. 2.

⁴² Bayle *Diction. Mot CLAUDE*—"Silentio per præconem facto Paulus Latine quæ Senatui, quæ sibi ex Concilii sententia visa essent pronuntiavit: ea Cn. Octavius Prætor (nam et ipse aderat) interpretata sermone Græco referebat." T. Livii lib. xlv. cap. 29. That Paulus had some knowledge of Greek, Bayle proves by this passage:—"Hæc Græco sermone Perseo [Paulus] Latine deinde suis, exemplum, insigne cernitis, inquit." *Ibid.* lib. xlv. c. 8.

⁴³ "Ille negat, et ait indignum facinus esse, quod ego in Senatu Græco verba fecissem, quod quidem apud Græcos Græco loquutus essem, id ferri nullo modo posse." Cicero. *Orat.* iv. in *Verrem*, c. 66. Plutarch in his *Life of Cato* the Censor says: "He also made a considerable stay at

p. 90), amidst all the encouragement which the Romans afforded to Grecian literature, we find that they did not fail to vindicate at times the dignity of their own language. The letter which they addressed to Pyrrhus, a Greek king, was written in Latin, as Gellius has informed us. Paulus Emilius, when he conquered Perseus, pronounced a speech in Latin." In fact, so uniform, as we have seen, was this practice, and so anxious were the Romans for the extension and sovereignty of their language, that I cannot but wonder that Mr. Bankes, in his *Civil and Constitutional History of Rome*, (vol. i. p. 367,) should represent them as adopting a contrary policy. "For we find (says he) in Suetonius, towards the close of Augustus's life, that when he was desirous of gratifying the people of Puteoli, he could not give them leave to make use of the Roman tongue and dress, without the formality of a law: which was equally necessary, to allow the Romans who were there to speak and dress as the Greeks. It might rather have been expected (adds he), that a contrary system would have been adopted by a people whose main object was to render their city the capital of the world, and to make every thing in the world Roman." That a contrary system *was* adopted, may be incontrovertibly demonstrated; and in fact, Mr. Bankes seems to have converted a sport of Augustus into a constitution of the Roman Empire ⁴⁴.

Athens: and it is said there is still extant a speech of his, which he delivered to the Athenians in Greek, expressing his admiration of the virtue of their ancestors, and his satisfaction in beholding the beauty and grandeur of their city. But *this account is not true, for he spoke to them by an interpreter.*"

⁴⁴ "Caussam valetudinis contraxit [Augustus] ex profluvio alvi. Tunc Campaniæ ora, proximisque insulis circuitis, Caprearum quoque secus sui quatrimum impendit; remississimo ad otium et ad omnem comitatem animo... Sed et ceteros continuos dies, inter varia munuscula, togas insuper ac pallia distribuit: lege proposita ut Romani Græco, Græci Romano habitu et sermone uterentur. Spectavit assidue et exercentes ephebos quorum aliqua adhuc copia ex vetere instituto Capreis erat. Iisdem etiam epulum in conspectu suo præbuit, *permissa, immo exacta jo-*

Indeed, the zeal with which the Republican Romans were animated for the extension of their language, was not in the slightest degree relaxed by their early Imperial masters. The Emperor Tiberius carried this point to the most pedantic and even ridiculous height. That prince was skilled in Greek, having in addition to the education then common among men of high rank, lived eight years at Rhodes. Yet we are told by Suetonius that once in the Senate, having occasion to use the word *monopolium* (a word formed from the Greek), he first asked pardon that he was obliged to make use of a foreign word. At another time, when a law was enacting, he forbade the insertion of a Greek word, essential in some measure to the object of the decree, and which could not adequately, or without much circumlocution, be expressed in Latin. Various other anecdotes of this kind are told of him⁴⁵. Nor was Claudius less solicitous for the dignity and extension of the Latin language. On one occasion having put a question in Latin to a deputy from Lycia who had acquired a right to Roman citizenship, but did not know Latin, he deprived him of his right, at the same time remark-

candi licentia, diripiendique pomorum et obsoniorum, rerumque missilium. Nullo denique genere hilaritatis abstinuit."—Suet. *August.* cap. 98. It appears to me that all this was to promote mirth; as if a British prince, touching at a Highland isle, should make his attendants wear kilts and the Highlanders breeches for a little amusement. Tacitus, *Annal.* iv. cap. 61, says: "Græcos ea tenuisse, Capreasque Teleboeis, habitatas, fama tradit." In the age of Augustus they seem still to have retained ancient Greek customs.

⁴⁵ Sueton. *Tiber.* cap. 71. Dio Cass. lib. lvii. p. 612. "Militem quoque (Dio says *ἱκατονταρχου*) Græce testimonium interrogatum, nisi Latine respondere vetuit." Suet. *ibid.* There seems reason to believe, from the practice of the Romans and prejudices of Tiberius, that our Lord's trial was conducted in Latin. Hardouin has the following note respecting Paul's accuser, the orator Tertullus, *Acts* xxiv. 2. "*Tertullo. Ipsum nomen hominem Romanum denotat: quoniam nec Ananias Latine, nec Hebraice Præses sciret, opus fuit ut Ananias Latino homine patrono uteretur.*" *Comment.* p. 414.

ing that one ignorant of the Roman language ought not to be a Roman⁴⁶.

The policy thus persevered in for so many ages by the masters of the world, naturally leads us to infer that in the time of the Apostles a knowledge of the Latin language must have been exceedingly general. "The nations (says Mr. Walpole, *Hercul.* p. 89.) which the Romans had conquered had found it necessary to study the Latin language, in order that they might be able to converse and treat with the Romans on matters of public importance, and relating to affairs of political moment; for on these subjects the Romans admitted no other tongue." In fact, as we have seen in a passage quoted above, the elder Pliny exultingly exclaims that Italy had been destined by the gods to empire, and to unite the nations by giving them its language. And so well had the anxiety of Rome for the extension of the Latin tongue succeeded, that Plutarch tells us that in his time it was spoken by almost all mankind⁴⁷.

It appears, if I mistake not, even already, from what has been said, that Latin was a more general language than Greek in the time of the Apostles: and I add that the latter language in Rome and its colonies was utterly unknown, except to the higher ranks, who studied it, as we now do the

⁴⁶ Εἰπὼν μὴ δεῖν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι, τὸν μὴ καὶ τὴν διαλεξίν σφων ἐπιστάμενον. D. Cass. lib. ix. ad an. 796. "Splendidum virum (says Suetonius) Græciæque provinciæ principem, verum Latini sermonis ignarum, non modo albo Judicum erasit, sed etiam in peregrinitatem redegit." In *Claud.* cap. 16. See Bayle *Dict.* in CLAUDE. Philostratus represents Apollonius of Tyana as giving (in a conversation with Vespasian) the following among other maxims of government: "They who understand Greek should be sent to Greece, and they who understand Latin to such countries as use that language. I will now tell you why I say this. Whilst I was in Peloponnesus, the governor of that province knew nothing of Greek; nor did the people know any thing of him. Hence arose innumerable mistakes." Book v. chap. 36. p. 291.

⁴⁷ Ῥωμαίων λόγῳ νυν ὅματι πάντες ἀνθρώποι χρεωνται. Plut. Πλατ. Ζήτημ. θ.

Italian, for the sake of its literature. Nothing, in fact, can be more absurd than the common notion of the universality of Greek among all classes of men in the time of the Apostles. How ignorant in general are persons in the very confines of a country (as for example in the neighbourhood of the Highlands of Scotland and Wales) of the language spoken in that country, unless there be a very strong motive to learn it ⁴⁸! Now few persons have had so little motive as the Romans to undertake a task of this kind; since their own language was so widely diffused. Yet, not reflecting on this, and of the difficulty, even with all our modern grammatical and philological aids, of acquiring the most easy language, many people talk of the universality of Greek, as if that most difficult of all languages had been attained by a kind of instinct. It is true that among the Romans in the time of the Apostles, persons of rank and fashion learned Greek; but the common people of Rome were just as ignorant of Greek as the common people of London are of Italian or French. And, in fact, the arguments of M.M. Walpole, Falconer, and others go no further than to prove that Greek was a fashionable study among the higher classes of society. "What has been said above (says Mr. Walpole, *Hercul.* p. 86,) may appear to apply only to the state of the Greek language as possessed by the more cultivated and distinguished part of the community. It will, however, be seen that there is reason to conclude that the language was very generally known."

"The comedies of Menander (continues he) were in the

⁴⁸ Sismondi takes notice of this phenomenon in Switzerland: "Le passage de l'Allemand à la langue Romane est aussi tranché que si les deux peuples étaient séparés par plusieurs centaines de lieues: un village n'entend pas le village voisin; et il y en a quelques-uns, comme Fribourg et Morat en Suisse, où les deux races, ayant été accidentellement réunies, ne se sont jamais mêlées, et ont habité pendant des siècles la même ville, sans passer jamais d'un quartier à l'autre, et sans pouvoir s'entendre mutuellement." *De la Litt. du Midi*, tom. 1. p. 36. à Paris, 1813.

hands of every one. *Solet pueris virginibusque legi*, says Ovid, who advises, in another part, the women of Rome to attend to the Greek language, *linguas edidicisse duas*." In short, the reader sees that all this reasoning applies not to the *vilis plebecula* (as Jerome calls the class of the first Christians), but to the more cultivated and fashionable portion of the community. It was the higher classes of Roman females whom Ovid addressed, and advised to learn Greek; it was the higher classes alone who read Menander. To the same rank belonged the females who were the subjects of the satire of Juvenal and Martial, on account of their affectation of Greek phrases⁴⁹. Nor when Quintilian advises that the pupil should begin with Greek, is he speaking of the humbler or even middling classes of the community⁵⁰.

One of the chief causes assigned by Mr. Walpole, for the supposed prevalence of Greek at Rome, is the great number of slaves. "These (says he, p. 87) were generally Greeks, as their names and various epigrams attest." This, however, does not seem to have been the case; and they were more

⁴⁹ Juvenal. *Sat.* vi. 185.

Cum tibi non Ephesos, nec sit Rhodos, aut Mitylene,
Sed domus in *vico*, Lælia, *patricio*...

Ζῶν καὶ ψυχὴ lascivum congeris usque,
Pro pudor! Hersiliæ civis, et Egeriæ!

Martial. *Epig.* x. 68.

We might equally infer from Juvenal's "*Gallia caustidicos docuit sacunda Britannos*," *Sat.* 15, that all the British studied Roman law; or from Martial's *Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus*, that they all sung Latin verses. As to the occasional use of Greek words, Seneca tells us that *Eurus* has been now at last presented with the freedom of the city, and those also who cannot speak Greek, *etiam qui Græcæ nesciunt loqui*, will tell you that Zephyrus is the same as Favonius. *Nat. Quæst.* lib. v. c. 16.

⁵⁰ "A Græco sermone puerum incipere malo, quia *Latinum*, qui pluribus in usu est, vix nobis nolentibus perbibet, simul quia disciplinis quoque Græcis prius instituendus est, unde et nostræ fluxerunt."—Quinct. *Inst. Orat.* lib. i. c. 1.

frequently Africans, Syrians, or Gauls⁵¹. "A number of foreigners (adds he), chiefly Greeks, had arrived at Rome, and parts of Italy, and, under the names of *Astrologi* and *Chaldei*, insinuating themselves among the different classes of citizens, had imposed on their understandings." How strange is it to suppose that the Chaldæans were Greeks!

Mr. Falconer, in like manner, seems conscious (as Mr. Walpole we have seen does) that his arguments for the universality of Greek apply only to the higher classes. "To the preceding detail (says he, p. 267) it may be objected, that it has been proved only that it formed a medium of intercourse among the more cultivated and intelligent, and not among that description of persons to whom the Gospel was to be preached. There are causes adequately to account for a still more general diffusion of the Greek language, than *we can at present prove to have prevailed from existing histories*." This is in effect to own, what is indeed true, that the common assertions concerning the universality of Greek are mere conjectures, or at least are inferences not sufficiently grounded on historical facts. "It was the language (continues Mr. F.) in which the commerce of the world was carried on." This I deny; or could the Carthaginians, who

⁵¹ Valckenaer, speaking of the diversity of proper names among the ancients, says: "*Nomina Gentilia apud Græcos etiam propria facta sunt.....In primis viguit hæc forma in Nominibus Servorum, qui apud Græcos et Romanos denominabantur sæpius a gentibus, e quibus essent in Græciam, vel Italiam, deportati. Talia sunt, e Comædiis nota Syrus, Davus, Geta, Eugeus, Δάος, Γετας, add. Καρίων, Λακων. Extat de his non vulgaris observatio Hemsterhusii ad Plut. Aristoph. p. 8. Salutat P. ad Rom. xvi. 12. Περσίδα, quod nomen procul dubio est servile puellæ e Perside Romam devectæ, quæ Christo nomen dederat.*" *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 28. Juvenal, while he laments the influx of Greeks to Rome, represents it as bearing a small proportion to the whole intruders.

— quamvis quota portio facis Achææ!

Jam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Frontes,

Et linguam et mores! &c. *Sat.* iii. 61.

The Syrians from *Antioch*, like the Egyptians from *Alexandria*, would speak Greek; but this was by no means prevalent in the country.

were the principal commercial people, have forbidden the earning of it by any of their subjects? But even were Mr. Falconer's assertion true, it would no more prove that Greek Gospels or Epistles were universally understood, than that the English Bible is so, and that the translations of the Bible Society are wholly unnecessary. In fact, in succeeding centuries of the Christian æra, when, by the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople, the use of Greek became much more general than in the first century, versions were made in the Syriac and Coptic languages—in the languages of nations which had been long ruled by Grecian sovereigns; a plain proof that nothing can be more unfounded than the usual assertions of the universality of Greek in the age of the Apostles.

Towards the beginning of the second century of the Christian æra, a remarkable change took place in the policy of the Roman emperors. After the time of Domitian, the tumults of Rome, and the fate of former emperors, seem to have filled their successors with disgust or alarm. Trajan and Hadrian were both Spaniards; the former had spent much of his youth in the East, and chiefly lived in those countries after he became emperor⁵². Hadrian was a peculiar protector of the Greeks, built a new city of Athens, completed the Temple of Olympian Jupiter in that city, presided as a magistrate at the celebration of the *Dionysia*, and wore the Athenian dress; restored the games, and, in short, was the benefactor not merely of Athens but of Greece. "The emperor Hadrian (says Chandler) embellished Athens with a noble library and new Gymnasium, and restored science to its ancient seat. Lollianus, an Ephesian, was first

⁵² Pliny *Paneg.* cap. 14. In citing this author, I may remark in passing that "Plinius Antonii græcarum literarum scientiam ac scribendi facultatem non satius mirari potest." Walchius *de arte crit. Vet. Rom.* p. 84. [*Epist.* lib. iv. ep. 3.] The elder Pliny was the most erudite and universal scholar of his day; yet for examples of mistranslation by him, see Salmas, *Plinian. Exercit. in Solin.* vol. i. p. 127.

raised to the high dignity of the Sophistical throne, which was afterwards filled by Atticus Herodes, and by other eminent and illustrious persons. The number of professors was increased under Antoninus the philosopher, who had studied under Herodes. His establishment consisted of thirteen: two Platonists, as many Peripatetics, Stoics, and Epicureans, with two Rhetoricians and Civilians, and a President styled *Præfect of the Youth* Education now flourished in all its branches at Athens. The Roman world resorted to the schools, and reputation and riches awaited the able professor. . . . At this period Athens abounded in philosophers. It swarmed, according to Lucian, with cloaks and staves and satchels; you beheld every where a long beard, a book in the left hand, and the walks full of companies discoursing and reasoning⁵³.

The Emperors who succeeded to Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius his successor, were both philosophers,

⁵³ Chandler's *Travels in Greece*, pp. 113, 114. See also Clarke's *Travels*, vol. iii. pp. 549-554, 4to. There was found at Eleusis, and is engraved in the *Museum Worsleianum* and *Herculanensia*, p. 190, a Greek inscription, in which the Priestess speaks as follows: "I have not initiated the offspring of the Lacedemonian Leda, nor him who invented the healing art, nor the valiant Hercules who laboriously performed all the twelve tasks imposed upon him by Eurystheus; but I have initiated the Ruler of the wide earth and sea, the sovereign of numberless mortals, Hadrian, who has poured forth exhaustless wealth on many cities, but particularly on those of illustrious Athens."

"What is meant by the *cities* of Athens (says Mr. Walpole, by whom the above is translated) in the last line, may be understood from the following inscriptions, which are still to be seen at Athens. On an arch of the time of Hadrian, and on the front facing the Acropolis, is the following:

ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΘΗΣΕΩΣΗΠΙΡΙΝΠΟΛΙΣ.

"This is Athens, formerly the city of Theseus." On the front next to the Ilyssus are these words:

ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΚΑΙΟΥΧΙΘΗΣΕΩΣΠΟΛΙΣ.

"This is the city of Hadrian, and not of Theseus." *Ibid*.

and as such devoted to Grecian studies⁵⁴. The regular preference of the Greek language, which had been established at court on the accession of Hadrian, was thus continued for many years. The companions of the Emperors were Greek sophists and philosophers: Latin literature was neglected, and the Empire was thus gradually led in some measure to conform to the example of their masters, who read and conversed in Greek⁵⁵. At this time also some men of commanding talents appeared at Alexandria, and from this period the writers of that city began to sway the world.

If we were to name a period which might be considered as the *ακμή* or summit of the Latin language, perhaps this might be fixed about the middle of the second century. At this time innumerable Roman colonies were scattered over the East, and to this cause Mr. Dodwell chiefly attributes the circumstance, that in the contest of Victor with the Asiatic bishops about Easter, towards the close of the second century, the Roman Pontiff found so many adherents. The

⁵⁴ I may here remark, by the way, that the great number of Greek in comparison of Latin MSS. discovered at Herculaneum need not surprise us. This library was in the neighbourhood of Naples, where Greek was spoken till a late age. "Nero (says Tacitus, *Annal.* xv. 35.) Neapolim quasi Græcam urbem delegit." See also Philostratus *Icon.* l. i. p. 763. Gibbon, chap. xli. The MSS. discovered might have been in a part of the library set apart for Greek books, or the taste of the proprietor might have been for *Philosophy*, which class only has hitherto been discovered, and in which Greek were infinitely more numerous than Latin authors. In the greater part of what may be termed libraries in this country, English books bear a small proportion to the others; but does it thence follow that our tenants and tradesmen understand Greek and Latin?

⁵⁵ Yet even Fronto the celebrated Orator (*Romanæ eloquentiæ non secundum sed alterum decus*, as he is styled by Eumenius) and tutor of Marcus Aurelius, thus writes in *Epist. ad Marcum Cæsarem*, p. 40. "Epistolam matris tuæ scripsi, quæ mea impudentia est, græcè, eamque epistolæ a te scribitæ implicui. Tu prior lege, et si quis insit barbarismus, tu qui a græcis literis recentior es, corrige." Fronto was an African, born at Cirta.

passage is curious and important, and I shall give it in Mr. Dodwell's own words in the Appendix⁵⁶. From the death of Marcus Aurelius till the accession of Julian, another philosopher and Greek author, it is probable that the Greek learning of the Emperors was not very profound. I have already given an anecdote of Maximin on this subject; and Vopiscus relating a dream or vision of Aurelian, mentions a circumstance from which we may infer that he too was very little acquainted with a Greek Lexicon⁵⁷. Even Constantine himself, the founder of the Greek Empire, does not appear to have been a great proficient in the language, for Sozomen tells us, that he addressed the Council of Nice in Latin, and that an intèrpreter turned it into Greek⁵⁸.

"When the seat of empire was removed by Constantine, (says a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, No. XLV, p. 142.) Latin was more commonly spoken at his court than Greek, as French was preferred to English under the Norman conquerors. The speeches of Constantine were composed in

⁵⁶ Appendix, Note B.

⁵⁷ "Taceri non debet res quæ ad famam venerabilis viri pertinet. Fertur enim Aurelianum de Thyanæ civitatis eversione vera dixisse, vera cogitasse: verum Apollonium Thyanæum celeberrimæ famæ autoritatisque sapientem, veterem philosophum, amicum verum deorum, ipsum etiam pro numine frequentandum, recipienti se in tentorium ea forma qua videtur, subito astitisse, atque hæc LATINE UT HOMO PANNONIUS INTELLIGERET, verba dixisse: *Aureliane, si vis vincere, &c.*" F. Vopisci *Aurelian.* c. 24.

⁵⁸ Τοιαῦτα τῇ Ῥωμαίων Φωνῇ, τῇ Βασιλεὺς εἰπόντος, παρὲς τις ἤρμενευσεν. Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. i. cap. 19. Euseb. *de Vita Constantini*, lib. iii. c. 13, also tells us that he addressed the Council in Latin, but that he spoke in private to the Fathers in Greek: ἐλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ, ὅτι μὴ δὲ ταύτης ἀμαθὺς εἶχε. All his speeches, however, as we learn from Eusebius, were composed by Constantine in Latin, and translated by others into Greek. "Et Imperator quidem Latino sermone (Ῥωμαίᾳ γλωττῇ) orationes componebat. Eas vero in Græcam postea linguam convertebant interpretes, quibus id munus erat injunctum." *De Vit. Const.* lib. iv. 32. From a passage of his *Letter* to Eusebius complimenting him on his Paschal Work, the Emperor seems to hint that he had only been able to read it in the Latin version. *Ibid.* c. 35.

that tongue, and then translated into Greek. The coins of the Empire until the reign of Basil the Macedonian, bear Latin legends; and as the language was used by those who were in authority, Libanius expresses some apprehensions lest the Greek tongue should be entirely forgotten." Mr. Walpole also remarks in the *Herculanensia*, p. 90, that, "when the seat of empire had been removed to Byzantium, the laws and rescripts were made in Latin, as we find by the Justinian and Theodosian Code. In the oration which has been attributed to Synesius as well as to Themistius, the Latin language is mentioned in these words, *την διαλεκτον την κρατουσαν*, as it was doubtless used by the Emperors, and to those about the court it would be therefore familiar⁵⁹."

The removal, however, of the seat of empire to Byzantium (itself once a flourishing Greek city, and situated on the confines of Greece and Asia,) could not fail to have the most important influence on the use of the Greek and Latin languages. The Emperor Julian "had discovered from his early youth (says Gibbon) a propensity or rather passion for the language, the manners, the learning and the religion of the Greeks." He studied at Athens, and though not ignorant of Latin, "always considered the language of the Romans as a foreign and popular dialect which he might

⁵⁹ See also Harris's *Philological Enquiries*, vol. ii. p. 296 *et seq.*: and particularly upon this subject Du Cange *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ et infimæ Græcitatæ*, vol. i. Præf. pp. v. xi. xii. The words of Du Cange when entering upon the subject are as follow: "Verum tum maxime (says he) in Græca lingua accidit depravatio, cum Constantinus Magnus in Thracia fixit sedem Imperii, ac plerosque e Senatoribus cæterisque Romanis proceribus in Græcanicas Provincias secum traduxit. Nam cum in Principum palatiis Romanus, apud populares vero Græcus semper vigeret sermo, necesse fuit ut Romani Græcum, ita Græci Romanum utcunque addicerent, quo in commerciis et familiaribus conversationibus sese invicem intelligerent. Sed dum Romani Græcæ et Græci Romanæ linguæ cognitionem inchoate dumtaxat, nec plane consequuntur, suam dedicere Romani linguam, et suam pariter Græci corrumpere, vocibus perperam a Latinis, quibuscum quotidie communicabant, petitis, maleque confectis." p. v.

use on necessary occasions⁶⁰." The sophists and orators whom this prince patronized wrote in Greek, and the principal ornaments of the religion which he opposed had been students of the schools of Athens and Alexandria⁶¹. Within eighty years of the foundation of Constantinople, the *Greek Quirites*, as Claudian contemptuously calls them⁶², were elevated and excited by the eloquence of Chrysostom; and Zosimus, who wrote in the succeeding century, repeating the words of Lampadius as spoken in Latin, *Non est ista pax sed pactio servitutis*, then translates them into Greek for the benefit of his readers⁶³.

Jerome speaking of the Galatians, who were descended from a tribe of Gauls which after invading Greece had settled in the Lesser Asia, says, that "besides the Greek language, which all the East speaks, they retained their own dialect, which was nearly the same as that of the inhabitants

⁶⁰ "Aderat Latine quoque disserenti sufficiens sermo." Ammian. Marcell. xvi. 5. Gibbon's *Decline &c.* vol. iii. pp. 183. 216. That Julian was forced by circumstances to speak generally in a different language from Greek, appears from his remark: Τα δε εμα ει και φθγγοιμην Ἑλληνισι, θανμαζειν αξιον, ουτως εσμεν εξεβαρωμενοι δια τα χωρια. *Nam quod ad me attinet, mirum est si vel Græce loqui possim; tantam ex regionibus istis barbariem contraximus.* *Epist.* lv.

⁶¹ Gregory Nazianzen had been fellow student of Julian at Athens, *Orat.* iv. p. 121. Gibbon *Decline &c.* iii. 184. I need not mention Clement, Origen, and the other élèves of the school of Alexandria. Yet at this very period Libanius expressed his fears that the Greek language should be neglected: μη εκκοπωσιν ολως ταγε των ημετερων λογων. *De Fortuna sua ap. Hercul.* p. 90.

⁶² In speaking of the consulship of the eunuch Eutropius, 1 *Cons. Stil.* (ii. 134.)

— plaudentem cerne Senatum
Et Byzantinos proceres, Graiosque Quirites,
O patribus plebes, O digni consule patres !

"It is curious (says Gibbon quoting this passage) to observe the first symptoms of jealousy and schism between old and new Rome, between the Greeks and Latins." Chap. xxix. vol. v. p. 161.

⁶³ Zosimus, lib. v. p. 338. Gibbon, vol. v. p. 238.

of Treves⁶⁴." By the exaggerated phrase "which all the East speaks," Jerome could only mean that in the fifth century, when he wrote, Greek was generally known in the Eastern Empire, and particularly in the Lesser Asia where the Galatians were settled. In fact, in the countries of the East many not merely common but distinguished men were ignorant of the Greek language. This had been the case with the celebrated Bardesanes the Syrian in the second century⁶⁵; and, which is more remarkable, was the case with Ephraim the Syrian in the fourth⁶⁶. The letter of Zenobia to Aurelian [A.D. 272.] was in Syriac; and though she had studied Greek literature under the tuition of Longinus, her children spoke this language with difficulty, and she was less solicitous about their progress in it than in Latin⁶⁷. Such was the case in Syria; and yet we saw it remarked above by Mr. Walpole, that "of the provinces through which the Greek language was disseminated, there seems to have been none in which it was so general as in Syria." Add to this, that a Syriac version of the Scriptures was made very

⁶⁴ "Galatas, excepto sermone Græco, quo omnis loquitur *Oriens*, propriam linguam eandem fere habere quam Treviri: nec referre, si aliqua exinde corruperint, quum et Aphri Phœnicum linguam nonnulla ex parte mutaverint, et ipsa Latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutetur et tempore." T. iv. p. 256, ed. Bened. See of the continuation of Celtic names in Galatia Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, p. 155.

⁶⁵ Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. c. 30.

⁶⁶ Περὶ ἐλληνικῆς παιδείας ἀμοιβός. Sozom. *H. E.* lib. iii. c. 16. Παιδείας γὰρ ἡ γεγευμένος ἐλληνικῆς, &c. Theodoret *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. c. 29.

⁶⁷ "Lingua Græca apud Palmyrenos vernacula et quotidiana non erat: id adeo verum est, ut Trebellio Pollione teste, liberi Zenobiæ Græce non locuti fuerint nisi raro et ægre sequente lingua: quoniam mater ipsorum de Græcæ linguæ minus quam Latinæ cognitione adquirenda sollicita fuerat." *Miscel. Observ.* vol. viii. tom. i. p. 142. Amstel. 1737. For Zenobiæ Epistle see Vopisc. *Aurelian.* cap. 27. "Hanc epistolam Nicomachus se transtulisse in Græcum ex lingua Syrorum dicit ab ipsa Zenobia dictatam." *Hist. Aug. Script.* p. 862.

early, which, as well as the Coptic and Sahidic versions, would have been unnecessary on the supposition of the universality of Greek, even when the establishment of the Eastern Empire had greatly promoted its diffusion⁶⁸. And in speaking of the Egyptian versions of the Scriptures, it is proper to remark, that Pachomius, Antony, and other founders of monasteries in Egypt were (though some of them men of family) ignorant of Greek. Athanasius tells us, in his *Life of Antony*, that on hearing that gospel read, *Sell that thou hast*, &c., he sold his lands and gave the price to the poor; and on hearing that other gospel read, *Take no thought for to-morrow*, &c., he sold his other effects and distributed their value in like manner⁶⁹. Wilkins, La Croze, and others, have founded on these circumstances an argument for the antiquity of the Coptic version; for, as Antony was ignorant of Greek, they infer that he must have heard and read the Scriptures in Coptic⁷⁰. It is not impossible that they might have been in Latin⁷¹. That Greek was by no means generally known in the East, even after the establishment of the Empire at Byzantium, appears from many circumstances. It was natural that the most skilful men in the languages should be

⁶⁸ "Gordiano sepulcrum milites apud Circeium castrum fecerunt in finibus Persidis, titulum hujusmodi addentes, et Græcis, et Latinis, et Persicis, et Judaicis, et Ægyptiacis literis, ut ab omnibus legeretur *Divq GORDIANO*, &c." *Julii Capitolini Gordian. Tert. c. 34.*

⁶⁹ Athanas. *Vita Antonii*, c. 2. 3. *Oper. vol. ii. p. 452.* Colonæ, 1686.

⁷⁰ Michaelis vol. ii. p. 77. "Horum ego verborum fui interpres cum beatus Antonius Græce nesciret." Palladius *Hist. Lausiæ. Vita Eulogii*, cap. 26. ap. Hug. *Eindeitung*, vol. i. p. 341. Jerome *Vita Hilarionis c. 30.* "reperitis ibi duobus monachis Isaac et Pelusiano, quorum Isaac interpres Antonii fuerat." It appears that though Antony killed the devil when he appeared to him as half man half ass, (Athanas. *Vita Anton. c. 26*) he could not master the Greek language. *Ibid. cap. 72. c. 77.*

⁷¹ Suidas mentioning a word used by Antony, says, *εστὶ δὲ ἡ λέξις Παλαιᾶν* (scil. *Παλαιᾶς*) *mimus recte*, says Sturz de *Dialecto Macedonico*, p. 135. From his name, Antonius, one would infer that his ancestry was Latin. Claudian the poet was also an Egyptian.

sent to the Greek Councils; yet in the Synod of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, we meet with the following signature, *Kalosiris, Bishop of Arsinoe, his Deacon Julias interpreting*⁷². Such an interpreter, as we have seen, was employed by Constantine himself at the Council of Nice⁷³.

And if such was the ignorance of Greek even in the East, and in countries long reigned over by Grecian princes, what may we infer was the state of matters in the West? We are informed by Socrates the Historian, that the Eastern Bishops having composed a Form of Faith sent it [A.D. 346.] to the Western Prelates assembled at Milan, who refused to receive it because they were unskilled in Greek, and did not understand it⁷⁴. But it is needless to accumulate facts of this kind; and since we have now examined the state of Greek knowledge in Africa, Asia and Italy, in the early ages of Christianity, I shall conclude the Disquisition by a hasty glance at Gaul. "With regard to the provinces of Gaul and Spain, (says Mr. Walpole, *Hercul.* p. 89.) we learn from Strabo, that the natives of those countries spoke the lan-

⁷² Καλοσίριος επισκοπος Αρσινοΐτης, ἐρμηνευοντος αὐτον Ἰουλίου διακόνου αὐτοῦ.

⁷³ See *supra* p. 39. From an account of Matthæus Palmerius, an eye witness, at the Council of Florence this mode of procedure by interpreters does not seem to have been so inconvenient as one should suppose. In his book *de Temporibus*, ad an. 1439, he says, "Nicolaus Euboeicus, Latinæ et Græcæ linguæ atque elegantiae princeps laudatissimus habetur: qui in frequente concilio medius assistens, multis et eruditis viris audientibus, me quoque teste vidente audienteque, disputantium verba atque sententias, tum Græcæ, tum Latine prolatas, mira celeritate ultro citroque in utramque linguam fidelissime et summo ornatu reddebat." ap. Mabillon *Mus. Ital.* vol. i. tom. ii. p. 246. See also Mchus *Vita Ambrosii Camald.* p. 430, Flor. 1759, where he is called Niccolo Secondino da Negroponte.

⁷⁴ Verum Occidentales Episcopi tum quod Græci sermonis ignari essent (δια το ἀλλογλώσσους εἶναι καὶ δια το μὴ συνιέναι) et quod ea minime intelligerent, nequaquam admiserunt. Socrat. Schol. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii. 20.

guage peculiar to each of them. This was probably a dialect of the Phenician⁷⁵. Two cities of Gaul (adds he) adopted the language of Greece and Rome. Marseilles had been founded by a colony of Greeks, and at Lyons a Roman colony was founded by Munatius Plancus." On the other hand, Mr. Falconer seems desirous unduly to extend a knowledge of Greek into the Western world. "We may add, (says he) that if we pass the borders of Italy we find it among the Helvetii, who registered their population in the Greek language⁷⁶." Yet though the Gauls are described by Ephorus in Strabo as φιλελλήνας, p. 286, it appears from Cæsar's account of a conference with Divitiacus (quoted in Mr. F.'s own appendix) that Greek was not generally known even to the Celtic princes⁷⁷. An interpreter was necessary between Cæsar and the Druid, which would have been quite unnecessary had Divitiacus been acquainted with Greek. The

⁷⁵ Philostratus in his *Life of Apollonius*, mentioning a journey of that philosopher into Spain, says; "the inhabitants of Gades are said to be by descent Greeks, and are instructed in our customs." While Apollonius was in Spain "a messenger arrived at Gades, with dispatches from Government, ordering sacrifices to be offered for the good news of Nero having been three times conqueror at the Olympic games. The people of Gades understood the news of the messenger from what they remembered of Arcadia &c. and from being, as I have before said, zealous imitators of the Greeks. But the adjacent towns knew nothing of Olympia, nor its games, nor its contests, nor why they should sacrifice on such an occasion. In consequence of their ignorance, they ran into very ridiculous mistakes, supposing that some military exploit had been achieved, and that Nero had conquered a people called Olympians." Book v. ch. 4. 8. pp. 249. 255.

⁷⁶ *Bampt. Lect.* p. 265. "In castris Helvetiorum Tabulæ repertæ sunt litteris Græcis confectæ, &c." Cæsar. *Comment.* lib. i. c. 29.

⁷⁷ "Itaque priusquam quidquam conaretur, Divitiacum ad se vocari jubet (Cæsar), et, quotidianis interpretibus remotis, per C. Valerium Procellum, principem Galliæ Provinciæ familiarem suum, cui summam omnium rerum fidem habebat, cum eo colloquitur." *Comment.* lib. i. c. 19. This Roman it should seem had become acquainted with the Celtic language.

meaning of the passage about the Helvetii (as Davies justly contends) is merely that they made use of Greek characters, which Cæsar tells us were used by the Gauls, and which they had probably acquired from the Greek colony at Marseilles⁷⁸. In fact, the Gauls continued to write Latin itself in Greek characters, as appears from the curious epitaph of Gordian, which is engraved in the *Iter Italicum* of Mabilion⁷⁹.

"Under Augustus (says Mr. Turner) Gaul or France was completely reduced to Roman provinces, and most of its natives adopted the Roman appearance, language, and modes of life, and polity. Many colonies of the Romans were planted both in France and Spain, each a little image of Rome"..... "It is beautifully said by Rutilius, that Rome filled the world with her legislative triumphs, and caused all to live under one common pact; that she blended discordant nations into one country; and, by imparting to those she conquered a companionship in her rights and laws, made the earth one great united city⁸⁰."

But the best proof, perhaps, of the overpowering influence of Latin in the Western world, is the texture of the present European languages. Augustin, a native of Africa, who wrote at the beginning of the fifth century, expresses himself very strongly with respect to the policy of Rome, and the extension of her language. The imperious city, he tells us, had used her utmost efforts to impose not only her yoke but her language upon conquered nations⁸¹. "The success of

⁷⁸ "Neque fas esse (says Cæsar speaking of the Druids) existimant, ea literis mandare; quum in reliquis fere rebus publicis, privatisque rationibus, Græcis utantur literis."—Cæsar. *Comment.* lib. vi. c. 14.

⁷⁹ *Museum Ital.* vol. i. p. 141.

⁸⁰ "*Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam—
Dumque offers victis proprii consortia juris,
Urbem fecisti quod prius Orbis erat.*"

Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 97, 139.

⁸¹ "Opera data est ut imperiosa civitas non solum jugum, verum etiam linguam suam domitis gentibus per pacem societatis imponeret." Au-

such an attempt (says Mr. Hallam, referring to this passage of Augustin,) is indeed very remarkable....In every kingdom of the Continent which was formed by the Northern nations out of the Roman Empire, the Latin language preserved its superiority, and has much more been corrupted through ignorance and want of a standard, than intermingled with their original idiom⁸²." Such a tenacity in the Latin language, and its many remaining roots and branches, shows to what an extent it had overspread the earth, and justifies the noble picture of it which has been given by Voltaire⁸³.

gust. *de Civitate Dei*, lib. xix. c. 7. How generally Latin had been diffused in Africa, appears from another passage of the same Father. Having quoted a Punic proverb in one of his sermons, he says, "*Proverbium notum est Punicum, quod quidem Latine vobis dicam, quia Punicæ non omnes nostis.*" Serm. xxiv. ap. Rhenferd. *Syntagma*, p. 478. And yet Latin was not universal on the coasts of that country. Spartian in his Life of Severus tells us, "*Quum soror sua Leptitana ad eum (Severum) venisset, vix Latine loquens, ac de illa multum Imperator erubesceret... redire mulierem in patriam præcepit.*" cap. 15.

⁸² *On the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. pp. 423, 136.

⁸³ "Nous dirons seulement que la chute de l'empire Romain a produit plus de confusion, et plus de langues nouvelles, que la chute de la tour de Babel. Depuis le règne d'Auguste jusque vers le temps des Attila, des Clodvic, des Gondebaud, pendant six siècles *terra erat unius labii*, la terre connue de nous était d'une seule langue. On parlait Latin de l'Euphrate au mont Atlas... Un habitant de Cornouailles parlait pour l'Asie Mineure sûr d'être entendu partout sur la route. C'était du moins un bien que la rapacité des Romains avait fait aux hommes. On se trouvait citoyen de toutes les villes sur la Danube, comme sur le Guadalquivir." *Dict. Phil. Art. BABEL*.

The same distinguished writer has the following remarks concerning the Greek colony at Marseilles: "Il est bien étrange qu'une colonie Grecque ayant fondé Marseille, il ne reste presque aucun vestige de la langue Grecque en Provence, ni en Languedoc, ni en aucun pays de la France...il faut peut-être en attribuer la cause aux Visigots, aux Bourguignons, aux Francs, à l'horrible barbarie de tous les peuples qui devastèrent l'Empire Romain: barbarie dont il reste encore tout de traces." *Ibid. Art. GREC*. Yes: but these very barbarians adopted the Latin; and their various tongues became mere jargons of that language. In

Upon the whole, from the facts which have been adduced, we may conclude that the Greek language was totally unknown to the mass of the people wherever it was not the vernacular tongue,—that is to say in Greece, the Greek Islands, and a few cities chiefly in the Lesser Asia. No pretext can be more unfounded, than that Greek was selected by the Sacred writers as the medium of their communications to the world, *on account of its universality*. In this respect it could not compete, even in the Apostolical times, with the Latin, which must have been the language, moreover, in which our Lord was tried, and which was spoken by those who guarded his cross and perhaps his tomb. Dr. M^r Knight appears to have been conscious that the prevalence of Greek had been greatly exaggerated, and accordingly represents the Greek language as selected by the Sacred writers on account of its emphasis and precision. “The writings of the Apostles and Evangelists (says he, *Note on 1 Cor. xii. 10.*) being all in the Greek tongue, on account of its emphasis and precision, and that tongue being no where spoken by the common people, except in Greece, and some cities of the Lesser Asia.” Whatever may be the emphasis and precision of a language, however, it is evident that those qualities can be of use only to those who understand it. What should we think of a *Frenchman* who should send a *German* Epistle to the inhabitants of Birmingham, on the ground that the German language possesses more emphasis and precision than English? It is remarked by Baronius, that no one can suppose that, when the Apostles preached the Gospel to the Gentiles, they employed other languages than such as were familiar to the people to whom they preached; and the like

fact the Greek language, by its complexity and refinement, was less likely to be adopted, or even attempted, by the million, than any other.

There is a short but curious paper on this subject by J. Palmer, a Grentemesnil, in the *Miscell. Observ.* vol. i. tom. ii. p. 43. Amstel. 1740. See also Bocharti *Opera*, vol. i. p. 1193, 4. so. Lugd. Bat. 1712.

he argues must be true of their writings. To account, therefore, for the canonical writings of the New Testament being wholly in Greek (with the exception of the lost Hebrew Gospel of Matthew), it has been assumed almost universally, that, in the age of the Apostles, the curse of Babel had been recalled, and that a knowledge of Greek was almost general throughout the globe. This opinion I have taken the liberty to controvert in the present Disquisition; and I submit its facts and reasonings to the verdict of the reader.

DISQUISITION II.

In this Disquisition Remarks are offered on the Subject of the Apostolical Autographs.—Some Account is next given of Retranslations, particularly of the Aldine Simplicius DE CÆLO; and it is submitted to the Reader, whether Phenomena do not occur in our Elzevir Greek Copies of the Gospel of Mark, which seem to argue a Translation or Retranslation from the Latin.—A slight View is then taken of the other Gospels.

PRONA PETUNT RETRO FLUVII JUGA.—*Claudian.*

IN our preceding essay we have examined the common supposition, that Greek was almost universally known in the time of the Apostles; and we have seen (if I mistake not) that this is a position at once contrary to probability and contradicted by facts. It seems *a priori*, perhaps, more natural, that the Books of the *New Testament* should have been composed in Syriac than in Latin, and (considering the circumstances of the times) in Latin than in Greek. Indeed, it would not be difficult to bring many such arguments as abound in theological works, in proof of the fitness of the selection of the Latin language as the vehicle of Revelation. Nothing, however, can be more presumptuous as well as ridiculous, than to reason *a priori* from supposed fitnesses in the methods of Providence, “and to decide upon the views and motives of the Deity by the narrow conceptions of human reason. Whereas (as Dr. Middleton justly remarks), the whole which the wit of man can possibly discover, either of the ways or will of the Creator, must be acquired by a contrary method: not by imagining vainly within ourselves what may be proper or improper for him to do; but by looking

abroad, and contemplating what he has actually done¹." In truth, nothing can be more absurd than to meet matters of fact or criticism by supposed fitnesses or theological consequences. What should we think of a person who—upon the grounds that it is more consonant to the Divine Wisdom to preserve an autograph of an Apostle than "a Treatise upon Music by Philodemus the Epicurean" amidst the ruins of Herculaneum—should argue that not the latter but the former had been really found? A fragment of a treatise CONCERNING THE GODS (*περί των θεων*), *alias* ON PIETY ACCORDING TO EPICURUS: "Essays, in short, (as they are termed in the *Quarterly Review*, No. V. 20,) on the Metaphysics of Music, or 'on the Piety of Atheism,'" have been recovered from the grave of Herculaneum, 1700 years after being entombed. On the other hand, the autographs of the Evangelists and Apostles have perished we know not when or how; the Gospel of Matthew is no longer extant in its original tongue; and the sacred writings have been left to the imperfections incident to transcribers². What I argue from this is, the absurdity of objecting supposed fitnesses and theological consequences to subjects of fact and criticism. These are to be determined by their own proper evidence; and errors concerning them are only to be overturned by juster criticism and better established fact.

The question, in what language or languages the Books of the New Testament were written, is a question of fact, and

¹ *Free Enquiry*, Preface xxii. 4to. Lond. 1749.

² "Quod vetustis scriptoribus ceteris accidit, quodque per rei naturam fieri non poterat aliter, evenit etiam Sacratissimis Libris, qui *Novum Fœdus* faciunt; ut per longum istum seculorum decursum ab hominibus linguarum imperitis, diversissimis in locis, millenis vicibus describerentur. Æque ac ceteri libri, et hi in malas incidere correctorum manus, quos nulla tetigit tanti thesauri veneratio? Æque ac ceteri libri, et hi describentium erroribus expositi patuerunt. Hoc certissimis rerum documentis constat, atque omnibus, qui hæc studia mediocriter attigerunt est exploratissimum." Valckenaer, *Oratio de Critica Emendatrice in Libris Sacris N. T.* &c. p. 289.

is to be decided by the same critical principles which we apply to the examination of other ancient books. "We do not (says Mr. Falconer, *Bampton Lect.* p. 273) insist upon the adoption of the Greek language as a suggestion of inspiration . . . but we may be allowed (continues he) to admire the concurrence of this fact with the time and season fixed by Providence for the promulgation of the Gospel to the world. It heightened the publicity of the revelation by enlarging the field of examination; and *immediately* subjected a religion, whose essential characteristic was its adaptation to all persons, to the curious scrutiny of a larger portion of mankind, and indeed to the whole civilized world." Now it deserves to be remarked, that the Christian religion could be *immediately* scrutinized, not in Greece or *Asia Minor*, but in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, where Greek, as we have seen above, seems to have been far from being generally known. It might have formed, therefore, on the principle stated by Mr. Falconer, a very considerable objection to our religion, had *all* its genuine documents been only published in Greek, and did we not know that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew. Two nations (might such an objector say) chiefly had an opportunity of examining the fundamental facts of Christianity, the Jews themselves, and the Romans as governors of Judæa; and yet you would require us to regard it as an excellence of Christianity, that the facts concerning it were published neither in the language of the country where they took place, and in which the new doctrines were first taught, nor in that of the people by whom it was subdued. In the time of Jesus (he might continue) a mighty nation ruled Judæa and the world, in whose language it might have been expected (and particularly if a departure was made from the native language of the Apostles) that some documents concerning Jesus and his religion would be contained. He was tried by a Roman governor, and his cross (and perhaps his tomb) was guarded by Roman soldiers. A Latin document would have appeared as an appeal to all those persons who could not understand even a

few words in Greek³; an appeal too, in a solemn, severe, judicial language; whereas Greek had been too often perverted to be the language of fiction and romance.

——— *Quicquid Græcia mendax*

Audet in Historia——

Juven. *Sat.* x. 174.

I present these preliminary remarks merely to guard the reader against such vague declamations, founded on supposed fitnesses, as abound in the writings both of divines and their adversaries. In fact, such theological arguments, as to what is physically fit or unfit for the Deity in the march of his providence, have the disadvantage of being an artillery which can be brought to bear on either side. Of this the following quotation from Mr. Falconer (p. 122), relating to a remark made by Mr. Evanson in his *Dissonance*, will furnish an example: "With regard to the preservation of the records of the Christian religion, it has been said that both the wisdom and goodness of God required the interposition of his providence to preserve pure and uncorrupt 'the genuine authentic records of that Gospel which he had thought fit, at the expense of so many miracles and prophecies, to publish to the world.' To say nothing (continues Mr. F.) of the presumption of adjudging the duties of Divine wisdom and goodness, which with such cold effrontery here obtrudes itself,—let it be recollected, that as soon as the Gospels were committed to writing, and made public, the authenticity of these books was subject to the same laws of evidence as any other written documents whatsoever. The Almighty did not substitute other grounds of credibility for the reception of the Evangelical writings, in the place of those which are regarded as necessary for the establishment of the truth of any history that contains facts of an ordinary nature."

I am the more warranted, perhaps, in cautioning the reader

³ See *supra*, p. 14. Mr. Middleton, speaking of the exclamation of the Roman centurion at the cross, says, "The Roman said probably *Reverè hic vir justus erat*. If St. Luke understood not Latin, the reporter was to translate the phrase into Greek." *Greek Article*, p. 340.

against arguments from supposed fitness, as some of the arguments of Hardouin (whose hypothesis has considerable analogy to that upon which I myself request further light),—some of his arguments, that the Books of the *New Testament* were originally composed in Latin, are of the very same kind which divines usually adduce for the propriety of their being written in Greek. “The Deity (says he) must have foreseen that the Latin language would in after times become more general, and it is therefore reasonable to believe that he inspired the *New Testament* in that language.” “Now this (says Michaelis, i. 107) is to apply a weak dogmatical argument to a question that is merely historical: no reasoning *a priori* can determine what actually has or has not happened; and our knowledge is much too confined to draw the presumptive conclusion, that those measures which appear to us the best, are the measures adopted by the Deity.” This method of prescribing rules for the conduct of Providence, and from those rules to draw conclusions, as Michaelis elsewhere remarks (i. 259), “is to argue in the same manner as if an historian, in relating the account of a battle, should premise that Providence could not fail to give victory to the just party, and, instead of abiding by real facts, determine from those premises the event of the action.”

I shall now, without further introduction, proceed to an examination of the subjects of which a summary is given in the table of contents prefixed to the present Disquisition. This only I would beg leave to premise, that if in any part of the argument I appear to assume the tone of assertion rather than of inquiry, in such a case I have not succeeded in giving a copy of my sentiments. My design, as I would again and again repeat, is not to lay down conclusions to others, but to request light for myself; and to call the attention of the learned to topics which I myself cannot fully elucidate, whether from want of talent or imperfect erudition. *Non con- tendo, ut de re certa, sed tamen conjecturas affero**.

* Calvin, in *Col.* iv. 14.

Of the fate of the autographs of the Apostles, or rather perhaps of their amanuenses, nothing certain is known. That they did not write their works with their own hand is probable, as the Apostle Paul, the most learned of them, usually made use of an amanuensis, contenting himself with writing the concluding benediction with his own hand, in order, it should seem, to prevent the circulation of spurious Epistles⁵. These primigenial copies would be much perused in the different Christian communities; and as the ancient papyrus was exceedingly frail, they would thus speedily fall into fragments⁶. As to the Epistles of Paul, they were

⁵ See *Rom.* xvi. 22. 1 *Cor.* xvi. 21. 2 *Thess.* iii. 17. compared with chap. ii. 2.

⁶ Of the papyrus and the different kinds of paper an account is given by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* lib. xiii. c. 11, 12. He concludes his account by saying: "Ita sunt longinquâ monumenta Tiberii, Caiique Gracchorum manus, quæ apud Pomponium Secundum vatem, civemque clarissimum vidi annos fere post cc. Jam vero Ciceronis ac Divi Augusti, Virgiliique sæpenumero videmus." These *monumenta* were probably written on the best *charta*, had not been worn out by use, and were perhaps mere fragments preserved as curiosities by private individuals. The very quoting indeed of MSS. of such small antiquity, as examples of the endurance of the papyrus, is a proof that it was frail.

It appears from Jerome, that the library formed by Origen and Pamphilus at Cæsarea had become much corrupted in the course of little more than a century. "Euzoius apud Thespesium rhetorem, cum Gregorio Nazianzeno episcopo, adolescens Cæsareæ cruditus est, et ejusdem postea urbis episcopus, plurimo labore corruptam bibliothecam Origenis et Pamphili in membranis instaurare conatus est." Hieron. *Script. Eccl. Cat.* vol. i. p. 101. The Bishop of St. David's, in his *Indication of 1 John* v. 7. p. 8. says: "The Alexandrine MS. which is preserved in the British Museum is thirteen or fourteen hundred years old. There is therefore no pretence for the difficulty which some persons have in admitting that the original writings of the Apostles were extant in the second and third centuries:" As if there were the slightest analogy in the cases! Galen, mentioning MSS. of Hippocrates, seems to consider 300 years as a vast antiquity—πανυ παλαια βιβλια προ τριακοσιων ετων γεγραμμενα. *Med. Officin.* The "*facilis senectus papyri*" is mentioned by Symmachus, lib. iv. *Ep.* 38; and that this was the substance on which the Apostolical Epistles were written cannot be doubted, See 2 *John* v. 12. See also Villosion, *Prol. ad Homer.* p. xl.

carried to distant churches, where doubtless they would be much handled, partly for perusal, partly perhaps for transcription. Sometimes also they were interchanged, or sent to different churches, who would require in their turn not a copy, but to see the original which had been sent. *And when this Epistle* (says Paul writing to the *Colossians*, iv. 16,) *is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans: and that ye likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea.* The Apostle does not say a copy of this Epistle, but the Epistle itself. In like manner (I may remark by the way) in the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna concerning the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Philadelphians, to whom it is addressed, are desired, as soon as they have informed themselves of its contents, to *send it forward* to all the other brethren who lived more remote or beyond Philadelphia⁷. The original MSS., written upon frail materials, would soon fall into fragments: nor in those days, when materials for writing were scarce and dear, would a transcript be taken which was not absolutely necessary, or while the original could be had, and was legible. In those days also of persecution, the writings of the Christians were exposed to accidents peculiar to themselves⁸. Thus, probably, the original MSS. of the Evangelists, thus the archetypes of Paul and his amanuenses very soon perished. It may be remarked also, that autographs of eminent persons are gene-

⁷ Μαθοντες εν ταυτα, και τοις επεκεινω αδελφοις την επισολην δια-
πρεψατε. &c. § xx. See Middleton's *Free Enquiry*, p. 198.

⁸ "Nam nostra quidem scripta, cur ignibus meruerunt dari?" Arnobius, lib. iv. ad fin. "Quidquid de hac re sit (says Garbellus) etiamsi periissent Archetypa, non esset cur miraremur. Pauca erant, tum apud paucos. Quod autem pretiosiora eò etiam in tot Ecclesiarum ærumnis, hic illuc fortasse translata: seu ut laterent securius, in penitioribus locis absconsa, mox fatę functis, aut alio migrantibus, qui celaverant, memoriæ hominum subtracta, situ tandem, ævoque absumi oportebat." *Epist. ad Blanchinum* ap. *Evang. Quadr.* vol. i. p. 43. Prudentius says that he can relate little of Emeterius and Chelidonius.

Chartulas blasphemus olim nam satellites abstulit.

See Maffei *Istoria Diplomatica*, p. 310.

rally much less valued during their own lives than afterwards, when they are sought after as relics or literary curiosities.

“ It has been justly remarked (says Michaelis), that the original of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans could not have been extant in the middle of the second century ; for Marcion, who made so many alterations in the text of the New Testament, came himself to Rome, where an appeal to the original, had it then existed, must have exposed him to public shame, wherever his alterations were unwarranted, and have confirmed those which were really grounded. But as the history of the Church is silent upon this subject, it is reasonable to suppose that no such comparison either was or could be made⁹.” In fact, the laborious arguments of the Fathers, to confute the Marcionites, Valentinians, and others, whom they accused of mutilating the Scriptures, might have been spared, had the apostolical autographs been extant. Irenæus is so far from referring to autographs, or thinking them essential, that he argues that tradition alone, without any apostolical writings whatever, might have sufficed for the guidance of the Church¹⁰. Tertullian, in his laborious work against Marcion, no where affirms that autographs were in existence; but merely, that the copies of the Scriptures used by the churches were *more ancient* than those of the Heretics. “ I say (are his words) that *my Gospel* is true, Marcion *his*: I affirm that Marcion’s is adulterated. He, that this is the case with mine. What shall decide between us but

⁹ Michaelis, by Marsh, vol. i. p. 251. “ Romæ (says Ammon) circa medium sec. II. ne Epistola quidem Pauli *ad Romanos* superstes erat. Periisse in universum jam primo seculo, vel secundo, libros Apostolorum *αυτογραφες*, usu detritos, jam ex Origenis silentio patet, qui, quum membranarum antiquiorum causa totum Orientem peragraret, certe in unum, vel alterum *αρχετυπον* incidere debuerat. Sed *αυτογραφα*, ut sanctorum reliquiæ, a posteritate demùm celebrantur, a cœvis negliguntur.” *Not. in Ernesti Instit.* p. 190.

¹⁰ “ Quid autem si neque Apostoli quidem scripturas reliquissent nobis? nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis, &c.” *Adv. Hæres.* lib. iii. c. 4.

the order of time, yielding authority to that which is *found antecedent*?"¹¹

There is, indeed, though not in his treatise against Marcion, a well-known passage of Tertullian, whence some have concluded, that this Father meant to assert that the autographs of the Apostles were extant at the close of the second century. I shall give the passage as translated by Dr. Lardner, and add some observations which he has subjoined¹². "There is (says he) a remarkable and well-known passage of Tertullian, which may be not improperly put down here: 'Well, if you be willing to exercise your curiosity profitably in the business of your salvation, visit the apostolical churches, in which the very chairs of the Apostles still pre-

¹¹ "Ego meum (Evangelium) dico verum, Marcion suum: Ego Marcionis adfirmo adulteratum. Marcion meum: Quis inter nos determinabit, nisi temporis ratio, ei præscribens auctoritatem quod antiquius reperietur?" *Adv. Marcionem*, lib. iv. c. iii. p. 415.

¹² "Percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsidet, apud quas ipsæ authenticæ litterarum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et representantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia? habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adjaces, Romam, unde nobis quoque autoritas præsto est." *De præscript. Hæret.* cap. xxxvi. p. 215. Griesbach remarks of the phrase *IPSÆ authenticæ*, that "vocabulum *ipsæ* abest ab editione Benti Rhenani 1539 et novissima Halensi. Insuper sane potuit facillime ob verba præcedentia, *apud quas IPSÆ adhuc cathedræ*" &c. He contends, that by authentic no more is meant than genuine, and observes, "Quod si enim Tertullianus, quem Romæ aliquandiu hæsisse tradunt, autographum Pauli in hac urbe superesse sive rescivisset, sive famam incertam ut nonnullis videtur, secutus, putasset, vix potuisset quin hujus exemplaris auctoritatem Marcioni, quem ipse Romæ vixisse narrat, objiceret. Accedit perpetuum Tertulliani de autographis silentium, innumeris illis in locis, ubi vel hæreticos vitiatæ Scripturæ accusat, vel de lectionis varietate fusius disputat..... Tandem Origenes curiosissimus et diligentissimus Codicum Biblicorum per investigator, qui mox post Tertulliani tempora inclaruit Romæ, Ephesi aliisque in urbibus celeberrimis permultis aliquandiu commoratus est, neque tamen usquam autographum quoddam vidit, vel de tali libro quidquam fando inaudivit." *Cura in Hist. &c.* pp. 54. 50.

side; in which their very authentic letters are recited, sounding forth the voice and representing the countenance of each one of them. Is Achaia near you? you have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have Thessalonica. If you can go to Asia, you have Ephesus. But if you are near to Italy, you have Rome, from whence we also may be easily satisfied.' "

Dr. Lardner, after remarking that by *authentic letters* some understand the originals themselves, and that it must be allowed to be a difficult passage, contends that "Tertullian, by *authentic letters*, does not mean the original Epistles . . . nor does he mean letters in their original language. He speaks (says he) of the language in which they were *recited* or read, 'sounding forth the voice' of the Apostles, and he sends them to Rome: but [N.B.] *it is probable that in that church the Scriptures were read in the LATIN tongue. . .* By *authentic letters* (adds Dr. Lardner) Tertullian seems to mean *certain, well attested* ¹³."

"You suppose (says Porson, in his *Letters to Travis*, p. 276) *authenticæ literæ*, in Tertullian, to signify the autographs of the Apostles. This construction you support by a passage from Ignatius, which I profess not to understand; but I am sure that it will not admit the sense you put upon it. You then refer us to Peter of Alexandria, who testifies, it seems, that the original Gospel of St. John was kept at Ephesus in his time. Are you really ignorant, sir, that this Peter is an author whose age, name, and credit, are totally uncertain? And Berriman and Ernesti think that *authenticæ* means no more than *genuine, uninterpolated*. But I flatter myself that I can confirm your interpretation from Tertullian himself, who [*contra Hermog*, § 19] quotes the *Originale Instrumentum Moysi*. Now, if Tertullian had seen the *original volume of Moses*, how much more easily might he have seen the original Epistle of John!"

It appears from these quotations, that Lardner and Porson

¹³ *Works*, vol. ii. p. 266 *et seq.* edit. 1788.

did not suppose, that by *authentica litera* the autographs of the Apostles were meant by Tertullian. And this also is the opinion of P. Simon and Griesbach¹⁴. In a different work from that referred to by Porson, Ernesti thinks that by *authentica litera* the Apostolical autographs are meant by Tertullian. But, in truth, my own sentiments on the subject correspond with those of Ernesti's Commentator, Ammon, who remarks that it seems of not much consequence whether Tertullian meant autographs or not¹⁵. This writer living in Africa, could only speak by report concerning the remote churches to which Paul had sent Epistles; and what also greatly diminishes the value of his testimony (even supposing that he meant autographs) is, that in matters of this kind he is accustomed to make very bold assertions. In speaking, for example, of the Septuagint version, he seems to affirm that the original copy still existed in the Serapeum¹⁶. "Tertullian (says Michaelis, i. 251), in defending the cause of religion and the church, is too partial an advocate to be entitled to implicit faith; and by magnifying his account so as to exceed the bounds of probability, he renders his evidence still more suspicious. He says, *apud quas authentica litera*

¹⁴ See Marsh ap. Michaelis, i. 494. *supra*, p. 58.

¹⁵ "Sed non multum interest, utrum *authenticas literas* de libris genuinis, vel autographis explices: nam in Africa vixerat Tertullianus, ubi rem compertam habere vix poterat. Accedit etiam hoc, quod in narratiunculis ejus fidem sæpius desideres." Ammon in *Ernesti Institutio Interp. N. T.* p. 191.

¹⁶ "Affirmavit hæc vobis etiam Aristæus, ita Græcum stilum ex aperto monumenta reliquit. Hodie apud Serapeum Ptolemæi bibliotheca, cum ipsis Hebraicis literis [probably the *original instrument of Moses*] exhibentur; sed et Judæi palam lectitant." *Apol.* § 19, p. 18. See also what he asserts in the same Apology concerning the records transmitted from Jerusalem to Tiberius, concerning Christ. § 5 and 21.

"Eusebius, (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi.) ait Originem ad Hexapla concinnanda *πρωτοτυπῆς*. . . comparasse. Ubi optime notat Valesius, Eusebium Sacræ Scripturæ codices Hebraicos ideo *πρωτοτυπῆς* sive *primigenios* vocare, non quod revera essent primigenium exemplar ab Esdra conscriptum; sed *πρωτοτυπῆς* et *authenticos* appellare."—Montfaucon, *Prælim. in Hexapla Origenis*, vol. i. p. 35. ed. Bahrdr.

Apostolorum recitantur: but it is hardly credible that the Epistles were usually read in the public service at Philippi, Corinth, Thessalonica, Ephesus, and Rome, from those very originals which the Apostle, a century and a half previous to that period, sent to those communities. For if the church had been still in possession of those precious manuscripts, instead of exposing them to the danger of being worn out by frequent use, it would rather have preserved them in its archives, and made use of transcripts for the common service."

There is one phrase which is made use of by Tertullian in speaking of the *authenticæ literæ*, and which does not seem to have been attended to. He tells us in his account, that they *represent the countenance* of each of the Apostles. Can he mean by this that they were adorned with pictures, and possibly with those symbols of the ox, lion, and eagle, with which the Evangelists are usually painted, and which seem to have been appropriated to them even in the days of Irenæus¹⁷? If this be the meaning of Tertullian in his *representantes faciem uniuscujusque*, I shall leave it to the reader to determine the probability that Matthew and Mark sat for their portraits, in order to prefix them to their Gospels, or that Paul sent his picture to the different churches along with his Epistles.

But to leave trifling.—It may be concluded, perhaps, from the above facts and arguments, that no Apostolical autographs remained in the churches: they were given to be used, and frequently perused; and, considering the frailty of the ancient papyrus, were likely to be worn out and wasted,

¹⁷ "Etenim cherubim quadriformia, et formæ ipsorum imagines sunt dispositionis filii Dei. Primum enim animal, inquit, simile Leoni, &c." *Adv. Hæres.* lib. iii. cap. ii. In Montfaucon's *Palæographia*, p. 22, is a picture of Luke writing, such as he appears in many *codices*, but without the Ox. I may mention, by the way, that I suspect that the Ox was appropriated to Luke, in the distribution of the four animals, not for the reason usually given, but from the Latin phrase *Lucas Bos*. Thus Ennius, ap. Varro. lib. vi. *Prius pariet Locusta Lucam Bovem*, viz. an Elephant.

in proportion, indeed, to the very esteem in which they were held. The autograph of Tertius, who wrote the Epistle to the Romans, was of no greater value than an accurate copy of any other scribe; and if the Romans wished to preserve the writing of Paul himself, it would not be difficult to detach his subscription from the Epistle. Grotius, Calvin, Colomesius, and many other able critics, have inferred from a passage of Paul [1 Cor. v. 9.] that the Apostle had written an Epistle to the Corinthians, which has now perished¹⁸; and Beza, who is of the same opinion, supposes that this also may have been the fate of several Apostolical Epistles¹⁹. I know, in fact, of no promise that all the writings of Paul, any more than all the discourses of Jesus, of which we have now only a *gleaning*, would be preserved. These discourses also are preserved *only in translation*; and of him who spake as never man spake, not above twelve words remain in the

¹⁸ *Ἐγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ.* "An important question (says Mr. Middleton), which has been much agitated, and on which at this day the learned are not agreed, turns partly upon the reference of the Article in this place. It has been inferred from this text, that St. Paul had already written to the Corinthians an Epistle which is *no longer extant*, and to which he here alludes; while others contend, that by *τῇ ἐπιστολῇ* he means only the Epistle which he is writing. Of the former opinion we may reckon Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Le Clerc, Cappellus, Witsius, Heinsius, Mill, Wetstein, Bp. Pearce, Beausobre, Rosenmüller, Schleusner, Michaelis." Middleton *on the Greek Article*, p. 469.

¹⁹ Valckenaer having quoted the opinion of Grotius,—that a former Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians had perished—adds: "et ne quis forte improvide Grotii sententiam criminetur, utile erit pauca adnumerasse verba Bezae. Is itaque in notis suis ad *Ἐγραψα*. 'Si quis (inquit) hoc conferat cum *οὐκ ἔστι*, § 11, comperiet hoc omnino intelligendum esse de *quapiam alia Epistola, quæ interciderit*. Nec enim etiam probabile est, Paulum plures Epistolas tot annis non scripsisse, quam quot hodie extant.'" *Schola*, vol. ii. p. 182. Surely it is bolder to say, with Calvin and Beza, that Epistles of Paul are *wholly lost*, than that some, or even all of them, exist only in translations; since (to adopt the words of Hermannus, an old translator) it is better "*hos codices habere sic translatos quam penitus derelictos. Nihil enim pura privatione nullius.*" ap. Jourdain, *Recherches*, p. 151.

original. Let the loss of the original Gospel of Matthew—let the resurrection (if I may so speak) of the writings of Epicurus from the ashes of Herculaneum, guard us from forming hasty conclusions with respect to the mysterious conduct of Providence.

As to the *language* in which the different Books of the *New Testament* were first written, we have, I believe, no historical evidence till towards the conclusion of the fourth century, if assertions so late can be entitled to the name of evidence. At that period Jerome and Augustin (both of them distinguished men, and the former an able scholar) made the sweeping assertion, that, with the exception of Matthew's Gospel, the *New Testament* had been originally composed wholly in Greek. In this of Matthew's Gospel they agree, indeed, with all antiquity. "I cannot (says Jeremiah Jones) find that so much as any one of the ancients did believe this Gospel originally wrote in Greek. Papias, Irenæus, Origen, Jerome, Austin, Eusebius, Theophylact, and several others [Cyrill of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, &c.] do all agree to assure us that this Gospel was originally wrote in Hebrew²⁰." Nor is this all: but their sentiments on the subject accord with natural probability; as it cannot be supposed that Matthew would deliver a Gospel to his countrymen, written in a language which they did not understand.

This latter circumstance seems, in like manner, to have induced many, both ancient and modern writers, to infer that the *Epistle to the Hebrews* was originally composed and sent to them in the Hebrew language. "Clement of Alexandria (says Michaelis), who lived a hundred years, or three generations, after St. Paul, has, in a passage quoted by Eusebius from a work which is now lost, given the following relation: 'that it was written by St. Paul in the Hebrew language, for the use of the Hebrews, and that St. Luke translated it for the benefit of the Greeks; whence there is a similarity observable between the translation of

²⁰ *Vindication of the former part of St. Matthew's Gospel*, p. 182.

this Epistle and the *Acts of the Apostles*.²¹ Eusebius himself (continues Michaelis), when he delivers his own opinion, agrees in the main point with Clement of Alexandria; for, speaking of Clement of Rome, who had quoted whole passages from this Epistle, though without naming it, Eusebius first argues in favour of its antiquity, and then proceeds as follows: ‘As St. Paul wrote to the Hebrews in their own language (δια της πατριου γλωττης), some suppose that St. Luke, others that our Clement translated the Epistle; which latter supposition, *on account of the similarity of the style*, appears to me the most probable²¹.’ It is evident, from this new translator here brought forward, that Eusebius did not suppose that Clement of Alexandria (a man so learned and so near the Apostolical age) proceeded upon *historical* but *mere critical grounds*, in his assertion that Luke was the translator. Eusebius himself, though he had read so many ancient writers, does not appear to think that there was any tradition on the subject which could be certainly depended on, but argues like a modern philologist upon the character of the style. Both Clement and Eusebius, however, agree in the hypothesis of a Hebrew original; and “Jerome in particular (says Dr. Lardner) seems to have supposed that this Epistle was written in Hebrew²².” This latter circumstance is worthy of remark, as it is chiefly owing to the sweeping assertion of Jerome (for Augustin, owing to his want of erudition, is of little authority,) that *the whole of the New Testament* has, with the exception of Matthew’s Gospel, been supposed to be first written in Greek. “The most ancient tradition or opinion (says Michaelis) relative to the language of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, is, that its original was Hebrew, and that what we

²¹ Michaelis, by Marsh; vol. i. p. 213. Eusebii *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. c. 14. lib. iii. c. 38.

²² Lardner’s *Works*, vol. vi. p. 390. “Scripserat ut Hebræus Hebræis Hebraice, id est suo eloquio disertissime, ut ea quæ eloquenter scripserat in Hebræo eloquentius verterentur in Græcum.” Hieron. *Cat. Script. Eccles.*

have at present is a Greek translation of it. . . . : When St. Paul:spake in public before the Jews in Jerusalem, he addressed them in Hebrew, as St. Luke expressly relates [*Acts* xxi. 40. xxii. 2]. If then St. Paul was the author of the Epistle, it is incredible that he should have written to them in Greek ²³."

My design in collecting the above passages concerning the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, is merely to show that, even in the time of Clement of Alexandria, who was an ancient in respect to Jerome, there was little but analogy and natural probability on which to proceed in such discussions. "Indeed (says Lardner) the ancients, as Beausobre said formerly, had no other reason to believe that St. Paul wrote in Hebrew, but that he wrote to the Hebrews. So likewise says Capellus. The title deceived them. And because it was written to Hebrews, they concluded it was written in Hebrew ²⁴." A very natural conclusion in my opinion! and such as seems consistent with reason and natural probability. The Apostle, in his *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, professes himself no friend to addressing the Church in an unknown tongue, but is zealous that all might understand, and all be comforted ²⁵. Now the same natural probability, which led to the inference that a Gospel or Epistle addressed to Hebrews would be written in *Hebrew*, seems (on a review of the facts and arguments in our first Disquisition) to lead us to infer that a Gospel or Epistle delivered to Romans would be written in *Latin*. With respect to the *Epistle to the Romans*, I shall leave it to our next Disquisition; but I

²³ Michaelis, vol. i. p. 212, 215. Mr. Middleton, in his *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, writes thus: "If it were written, as several of the Fathers assert, and as Michaelis attempts to prove by very ingenious arguments, in Talmudic Hebrew. . . . On the other hand, if we assume that the present Greek is the original of the Epistle," &c. p. 597, 8.

²⁴ Lardner's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 390. Clement, Origen, &c. never speak of the universality of a knowledge of Greek; they knew too well the contrary.

²⁵ 1 *Corinth.* chap. xiv. 1—33.

shall treat at present, and at considerable length, of the *Gospel of Mark*, which, according to a tradition almost universal, was written at Rome, and for the use of the Romans. Eusebius tells us from Clement of Alexandria [A.D. 194], and who had received it from presbyters of more ancient times, that "the occasion of writing the Gospel according to Mark was this:—Peter having publicly preached the word at Rome, and having spoken the Gospel by the spirit, many who were there entreated Mark to write the things that had been spoken, he having long accompanied him [Peter], and retaining what he had said; and when he had composed the Gospel, to deliver it to them; which when Peter knew, he neither forbade it nor encouraged it. So far Clement²⁶." And this is corroborated by other testimonies. "That it was written at Rome, or in Italy (says Lardner), is said not only by Epiphanius, Jerome, Gregory Nazianzen, Victor, and divers others; but the Egyptian writers likewise all along say the same thing: that it was written by Mark at Rome, in the company of the Apostle Peter. So say Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius the supposed author of the Synopsis of Scripture, Cosmas, and Eutychius—all of Alexandria. Ebedjesu likewise, in his Catalogue of Syrian writings, says that Mark wrote at Rome. And the Latin author of the Commentary upon St. Mark's Gospel, quoted some while ago, says that it was written in Italy²⁷."

²⁶ Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. c. 14. ap. Lardner's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 210.

²⁷ Lardner, vol. vi. p. 92. Jones also, (Lardner's predecessor) says: "The substance of all those accounts which we have is this, viz. That St. Mark (who was the companion and interpreter of St. Peter), being at Rome with him, was desired by the brethren there, to give them an account in writing of what he had learnt from St. Peter of the doctrines and life of Christ; that they did not desist in their entreaties till they had prevailed; and this was the cause or reason of the Gospel we now call St. Mark's being first wrote. This in short (continues Mr. Jones) is the account; and it seems to be as largely attested by the Antients as almost any matter of fact whatsoever at that distance from us." *Vindication of St. Matthew's Gospel*, p. 46.

Such being the evidence concerning the place where and the object for which the Gospel of Mark was composed, it is evident that the question of Cardinal Baronius is pretty much to the purpose. "This Gospel (says he) was written at Rome, and for the use of the Romans;—can we then suppose that it would be written in any other than in the language of the place?" To evade this plain question, the common assertion is made, that a knowledge of Greek was almost universal at Rome,—a notion of which the fallacy seems to be proved in the preceding Disquisition. Grotius, P. Simon, Mill, Wetstein, Michaelis, Campbell, and many others, make use of this subterfuge, if I may so term it, without (let it be remarked) recurring to ancient testimony in support of a Greek original. It would indeed, with all submission, have been a poor answer to the question of Baronius, that Jerome and Augustin, in the beginning of the fifth century, had sweepingly asserted that the New Testament had been written in Greek. These two distinguished persons supposed also, that the correspondence between Paul and Seneca, still extant, is genuine, and that moreover it had been conducted in bad Latin; although Seneca was doubtless more competent to understand a Greek epistle, than the humble and illiterate Christians of the primitive Roman Church²⁸. Accordingly Grotius and the other learned per-

²⁸ "Lucius Annæus Seneca Cordubensis, Sotionis discipulus et patruus Lucani Poetæ, vitæ fuit continentissimæ, quem non ponerem in Catalogo Sanctorum, nisi me illæ Epistolæ provocarent, quæ leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam, et Senecæ ad Paulum." Hieron. *Cat. Vir. Illust.* c. 12.

Augustin also writes as follows: "Seneca, qui temporibus Apostolorum fuit, cujus etiam quædam ad Paulum Apostolum leguntur Epistolæ." August. *Epist. ad Maced.* 54. *Oper.* vol. ii. p. 245. In these Epistles, which were published in all the ancient editions of Seneca [see Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, vol. iii. p. 220], Seneca pays high compliments to the writings of the Apostle, and even is desirous of his judgement and criticism upon his own. At the same time he advises Paul to pay more attention to his Latin style. "Cæterum hoc mihi concedas velim, Latinitati morem gerere, honestis vocibus speciem adhibe, ut generosi mu-

sons whom I have mentioned, rest not their cause on ancient testimony, but affirm that Mark had no occasion to write his Gospel in Latin for the Romans, *because there was scarce a Roman who did not understand Greek*²⁹. P. Simon has recourse to the same pretext. After quoting the passage just cited from Grotius, he adds, that satisfaction is thus given to all the reasons of Baronius, who cannot comprehend how Mark, who performed the function of interpreter at Rome, should have spoken or written in another language than Latin³⁰. Now, with all deference to both these great men, it appears to me, that, so far from satisfying *all* the reasons of Baronius, Grotius gives no satisfaction whatever, but begs the question that Greek was generally known at Rome: a

neris concessio dignè a te possit expediri." *Epist. viii.* These absurd Epistles, of which eight are ascribed to Seneca and six to Paul, may be found, with a version and remarks, in Jones's *New and Full Method*, &c. vol. ii. pp. 64—89.

²⁹ "Græce autem scripsit Marcus, quanquam in gratiam præcipue Romanorum, sicut et Paulus ad Romanos Epistolam, Græca scripsit lingua, quia Judæi qui Romæ agebant plerique Latini sermonis ignari, longa per Asiam et Græciam habitatione Græcam linguam didicerant: et Romanorum vir quisquam erat non Græce intelligens." Grot. *Annot. in Tit. Marci*.

³⁰ "On satisfait par là à toutes les raisons de Baronius, qui n'a pu comprendre comment Saint Marc, qui faisoit la fonction d'Interprete à Rome, ait parlé et écrit en d'autre langue qu'en la Latine," &c. *Hist. Crit. du N. Test.* chap. xi. p. 112. Mark is called by Papias 'Ἐρμηνεύτης Πέτρος, ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. 39.; also by Irenæus, lib. iii. 1. "Petri, cujus interpretæ Marcus." Tertull. *adv. Marc.* lib. iv. c. 5. "Marcus discipulus, et, interpretæ Petri, juxta quod Petrum referentem audierat, rogatus Romæ a fratribus breve scripsit Evangelium." Hieron. *de Viris Illust.* c. 8. That Mark was Peter's *Latin interpreter* may afterwards appear.

It deserves remark, that when P. Simon begins to treat of the ancient Latin Versions of the New Testament, he thus writes: "L'Italie ayant reçu dès le temps des Apôtres la Religion Chrétienne, qui se communiqua peu à peu aux autres provinces où les colonies Romaines avoient porté la langue Latine, il fut nécessaire de traduire la Bible en Latin, afin qu'elle fût entendue de ces peuples, et qu'elle fût lue en leur langue dans les Assemblées publiques." *Hist. Crit. des Versions du N. T.* p. 2.

conclusion which I think we have seen to be in contradiction both to probability and fact. In order a little to mend the matter, P. Simon, following up a hint of Grotius, affirms that Mark wrote his Gospel at the request of *the Jews* at Rome, who were all ignorant or nearly so of Latin, while each of them possessed a marvellous facility, in common indeed with all mankind, of talking Greek. In those happy times, it seems, each individual (Jew or Gentile) was a kind of walking Lexicon; and it might be predicated of every living wight, as the poet does of Hudibras;

“———— he could speak Greek
As naturally as pigs squeak.” *Canto i. 50.*

That the Jews at Romē were ignorant of Latin is a mere unsupported assertion³¹; and, whether ignorant of this language or not, it was not to Jews but Gentiles that the Gospel of Mark was immediately addressed. The whole tenor of his Gospel proves this. Thus he is at pains to explain the customs of the Jews, the rites of the Pharisees, and the opinions of the Sadducees³². The person whom Matthew calls a woman of Canaan, he names a Syro-Phenician³³. “Further (says Michaelis, iv. 212), as St. Mark wrote for the immediate use of the Romans, he sometimes gives explanations which were necessary for foreigners, though not

³¹ We are told that on the day of Pentecost there were at Jerusalem *Strangers from Rome, Jews and Proselytes*, who wondered at the Apostles speaking in their tongue: and that this was not Greek but Latin, is evident from the enumeration of others whose language was Greek. Nothing, indeed, is more absurd than the supposition, that Jews born at Rome spoke Greek not Latin: a notion justly ridiculed by Salmasius. Martial, *Epig.* lib. xi. 95, attacks a Jewish Latin Poet:

“Quod nimium lives, nostris et ubique libellis
Detrahis, ignosco, verpe Pœta, sapis...
Illud me cruciat, *Solymis* quod natus in ipsis,” &c.

“Ecce pœtam Judæum (says Salmasius) qui Latinos versu sœciebat!”
De Hellenistica, p. 205.

³² *Mark*, chap. vii. 3. xii. 18.

³³ *Mark*, chap. vii. 26. *Matt.* chap. xv. 22.

for the inhabitants of Palestine. For instance (ch. vii. 2), he explains the meaning of *κοιναις χερσιν*, and ver. 11 of *κογεαν*. In the same chapter (ver. 3, 4,) he gives a description of some Jewish customs; and ch. xv. 42, he explains the meaning of *παρασκευη*. At ch. xv. 21, he mentions that Simon was the father of Alexander and Rufus, a circumstance not mentioned by the other Evangelists; but to St. Mark's readers the circumstance was interesting, because Rufus was at that time in Rome, as appears from *Rom.* xvi. 13."

It appears, indeed, from the whole tenor of Mark's Gospel, that the assertion of P. Simon—that he wrote for the use of the Jews at Rome, and not for the Romans themselves,—is utterly groundless. Yet the same subterfuge (if I may give that name to an argument used by good and learned men) is made by Dr. Campbell in the Preface to his version of this Gospel. This is the more remarkable, as in the same Preface he observes (as a proof that Mark's Gospel was written in a country of strangers) that "the first time the Jordan is mentioned [i. 5.] *ποταμος* is added to the name for explanation; for though no person in Judæa needed to be informed that Jordan is a river, the case was different in distant countries." Now surely not a single Jew at Rome who was capable of reading, was ignorant that Jordan was a river. But let us listen to the arguments of Dr. Campbell (a man of considerable learning, and great acuteness and good sense,) with respect to the original language of Mark's Gospel. "Further (says he), that Mark wrote his Gospel in Greek is as evidently conformable to the testimony of antiquity, as that Matthew wrote his in Hebrew."—This I must for a moment stop to deny. On the contrary, there is not, that I know, a single ancient author who affirms that Mark wrote in Greek, further than the general assertions of Augustin and Jerome, that the *New Testament* was written in Greek²⁴. Of

²⁴ See the testimonies collected by Lardner, vol. vi. p. 84—90; and by Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 204.

the numerous authorities collected by Lardner, the only two who *particularly* mention the language in which Mark wrote, are Ebedjesu and Eutychius, the former of whom says that Mark wrote "*in Latin* in the famous city of Rome;" while the latter tells us, "that in the time of the Emperor Nero, Peter, the prince of the Apostles, making use of the pen of Mark, wrote a Gospel at Rome in *the Roman language*, and he published it under Mark's name." By the *Roman* (adds Dr. Lardner) probably meaning the *Greek* language, which then very much prevailed in the *Roman Empire*, as Selden has observed³⁵. To this remark we may have subsequently occasion to recur, in speaking of the *Epistle to the Romans*; and meanwhile must admire the happy ingenuity by which the *Roman* and *Latin* are made to signify the *Greek* language. But let us return to Dr. Campbell: "Cardinal Baronius (says he) is the only person who has strenuously maintained the contrary, affirming that this Evangelist published his work in Latin³⁶. I know no argument (proceeds Dr. C.), worthy the name of argument, but one that he produces in support of his opinion. The external evidence of testimony is clear against him; but something like internal probability may be urged in favour of his sentiment. 'This Gospel (says the Cardinal) was published at Rome for the benefit of the Romans. Can we then suppose it would be written in any other than the language of the place?' I shall admit (continues Dr. C.) that this Gospel was published at Rome, though that is not universally believed; some rather supposing it to have been at Alexandria, after Mark had been entrusted with the superintendence of that church³⁷. Let it be remarked, that the ministry of

³⁵ Lardner's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 87. 90.

³⁶ This is not correct. Many others have maintained this as well as Baronius; as Bellarmine, Gretser, Kirstenius, Pagninus, &c. See *Glaasii Phil. Sacr.* p. 148. Cornelius a Lapide [*in Marc.* 500. 561. 574.] enumerates a variety of authors who have been of this opinion.

³⁷ "Chrysostom, indeed, (says Lardner) speaks of its being written in Egypt; but he is almost singular." vol. vi. p. 92. He (Chrysostom)

Peter, to whom Paul tells us (*Gal.* ii. 7.) the Gospel of circumcision was committed, was chiefly employed in converting and instructing his countrymen the Jews, who abounded at that time in the Imperial city. Now it was customary with such of the Jews as went abroad (I may say generally with travellers of all nations, especially from the East), to make themselves masters of the Greek tongue, which was become a kind of universal language; and was more used by strangers at Rome, than the language of the place. It was with such that the first Christian missionaries were principally concerned. The Apostle Paul accordingly wrote to them in Greek, and not in Latin; which would not have been done if the former language had not been then better understood in the Christian congregation than the latter. Now if there was no impropriety in Paul's writing them a very long Epistle in Greek, neither was there any in Mark's giving them his Gospel in that language³⁸. The only thing I know (adds Dr. C.) which looks like an ancient testimony in favour of the opinion of Baronius, is the inscription subjoined to this Epistle in Syriac, and in some other Oriental versions. But it ought to be remembered that these post-

adds at the end of the passage: "In what place each one of the Evangelists wrote cannot be said with certainty." ap. Lardner, *Ibid.* p. 88. Dr. Campbell, by inserting the above clause, appears to betray a conviction that the circumstance of Mark's Gospel being written at Rome is of no little consequence in the argument.

³⁸ It is absurd to suppose that Peter's ministry was confined to those of the circumcision, or that of Paul to the Gentiles. "Legimus enim (says Jerome) et a S. Petro Gentilem baptizatum fuisse Cornelium, et a Paulo in synagoga Judæorum Christum sæpissime prædicatum." See Pearson, *de Serie et Success. prim. Romæ Episc.* p. 44 et seq. Paul writes to Timothy, 2d *Epist.* iv. 11: *Take Mark and bring him with thee, for he is profitable to me for the ministry.* Now, would not his Gospel be as welcome to the hearers of Paul, whom he assisted in the ministry, as to those of Peter? In fact, Dr. Campbell, after seeming desirous, a few sentences above, to limit the ministry of Peter and the Gospel of Mark to the Jews at Rome, here argues that Mark and Paul (whose ministry lay chiefly with the Gentiles) wrote to the same persons-

scripts are not the testimonies of the translators. They proceed merely from the conjecture of some transcriber; but when written, or by whom, is equally unknown."

I have given at full length the argument of Dr. Campbell in favour of a Greek original of Mark's Gospel. The truth of his conclusion I neither affirm nor deny: but his premises appear to me to be hasty and unwarranted. In addition, indeed, to the presumption drawn from the place where, and the persons for whom, the Gospel of Mark was originally composed, we have (contrary to the assertions of Dr. Campbell) several ancient authorities, that it was written in Latin. As to the ancient Greeks, indeed, they merely inform us that it was written at Rome, at the request of, and for the use of, the Romans,—a circumstance which, perhaps, they considered as implying that it had been composed in the Latin language³⁹. The Syrians are more explicit upon the subject: and when we consider the antiquity of that church, and that they are not parties in the question, their testimony seems to deserve considerable deference. In the subscription to Mark's Gospel, in the Syriac version, it is said that Mark wrote in the Romish or Latin language; and this is I believe the common opinion of the Oriental Churches⁴⁰. As to the ancient

³⁹ Gregory Nazianzen has the following distich:

Ματθαῖος μὲν ἐγράψεν Ἑβραίοις θαυμάτια Χριστοῦ,
Μαρκὸς δ' Ἰταλῇ, Λουκᾶς Ἀχαιῶδι.

*Matthew wrote the miracles of Christ for the Jews,
Mark for Italy, Luke for Achaia.*

See Townson's *Works*, vol. i. p. 35.

In the subscription to Mark's Gospel in some Greek MSS. we find το κατὰ Μαρκον Ευαγγελιον εγραφη ρωμαϊστι εν Πρωμῃ. See Griesbach.

⁴⁰ "Syri omnes huic rei fidem faciunt, et ratio suadet ut non alia quam Latina lingua Evangelium in usum Latinis futurum conscriberetur." Ciacon. in *Vita Petri* ap. Simon. *Hist. Crit.* p. 114. "Quique Marci Evangelium, Latino primum sermone exaratum, si Syros audimus, Græce exposuerunt." Huet. *de Interpretatione*, p. 120. "Juxta Orientalium opinionem de Evangeliiis primis Matthæi Hebraice, Marci Latine, et Lucæ Græce," &c. Ridley *de Syriac. N. F. Vers.* p. 29.

Latins, I can only allege at present the authority of the *Liber Pontificalis*, ascribed to Pope Damasus⁴¹. This work is celebrated as of the highest antiquity by Blondel and Salmasius; and though Bishop Pearson considers it as a production of the sixth century, he thinks that it is derived in part from an ancient author, and that it is chiefly of authority in the earliest times of the Church⁴².

Such is the state of what may be termed the external evidence with respect to the original language of the Gospel of Mark⁴³. On the other hand, I do not recollect a single ancient author who expressly says that this Evangelist wrote his Gospel in Greek, further than the sweeping declarations of Augustin and Jerome, that the *New Testament* was written

⁴¹ *In vita Petri*. "Hic scripsit duas Epistolas, et Evangelium Marci, quia Marcus auditor ejus fuit.....dum alius [Marcus] Latine, aliumque [Lucas] Græce, et alius [Matthæus] Hebraice consonant." ap. Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* lib. iv. c. 5. vol. iii. p. 131. Hamb. 1708.

⁴² Pearson *de Serie et Success. prim. Romæ Episc.* p. 115. 126.

⁴³ In stating the external evidence with respect to the Gospel of Mark, I have taken care not to found any thing on the Latin MS. in the Library of St. Mark at Venice, written by the Evangelist's own hand! This autograph is a portion of the Friuli MS. or *Codex Forojulianus*, published by Bianchini; and another fragment of the same Gospel, taken from the same MS., is preserved at Prague. [Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 225.] I must do Baronius and Hardouin the justice to mention, that neither of them founded any part of their argument on this imaginary autograph; and Baronius, on the contrary, stated that the MS. was Greek. In this he was misinformed; but it shows at least his candour—a quality somewhat rare in theological disputes. Let us hear, for example, the excellent Fabricius on the subject of the autograph: "Etiam *αυτογραφον* quod jaciatur S. Marci Venetum, *quicquid de Latino* Genebrardus, Gretserus, Ciacconius alique *garriant*, Græcis literis exaratum esse testantur Baronius," &c. *Bibl. Græca*, lib. iv. c. 5. vol. iii. p. 131. Here Fabricius, not contented with affirming the MS. to be in Greek, which it is not, sneers at those who stated that it was Latin. The reader will find some details concerning the St. Mark MS. and that of Prague, with a fac-simile of some lines of the latter, in *Gent. Magazine*, vol. xvi. pp. 321, 322. See also Montfaucon, *Diarium Ital.* p. 56. sqq. *Matthæi Istoria Diplomat.* p. 79.

in this language. The reader, however, is requested not to misconceive the nature and object of the observations which I have made upon this subject. These are not by any means offered as *proofs* that Mark really wrote in Latin, but are merely intended to show that *the question is open for discussion*, and such as is to be decided only by internal arguments. "There are (says Dr. Townson, speaking of this Gospel) many internal signs, confirming the testimony of the ancients, that it made its first appearance in Italy or at Rome. Among these we may reckon several *Latin words*. And though Latinity had by that time made inroads into the conquered countries even of the Greeks, yet *σπεχουλατωρ* for an *executioner* [vi. 27], and *κεντυριων* for a *centurion* [xv. 39], seem not, *either then or long after*, to have obtained among them. St. Matthew, who is not averse to Latin words, and no less than three times calls a *watch* or *guard* *κουστωδια* [xxvii. 65, 66: xxviii. 11], yet in the place answering to this of St. Mark has *ἐκατονταρχος* for a *centurion*; and the same word is retained by later writers, as Josephus and Plutarch: so that it is not easy to give a good account why St. Mark made choice of these words, but by supposing that he thought it best to address himself to the Romans in their own terms⁴⁴. According to Grotius, *ΟΥΑ, ΑΗ!* *thou that destroyest the temple* [xv. 29], is no other than the Latin interjection *Vah!* and an instance of it in a work of Arrian, composed perhaps a century after, will not prove that it was commonly received in the days of the Evangelist. But a written interjection (continues Dr. T.) being of very ambiguous import, except among those who are accustomed to it,—this looks again as if he made use of *Vah!* where it was most familiar, and the force of it best understood. He explains *lepton*, a mite, by *quadrans*, a farthing [xii. 42]: *lepton* was the name of the lowest coin in Greek, and *quadrans* in Latin. As very small brass coins are seldom cur-

⁴⁴ "Polybius has the word *κεντυριων*, but with an explication of its meaning."—Townson from Raphelius.

rent in foreign countries, and the *quadrans* might pass only among the Romans themselves, he could not properly say that the poor widow put *a quadrans* into the treasury; he says, therefore, that *she threw in two lepta, that is a quadrans*. And though this lowest of Roman coins was worth much more than two *lepta*, the valuation was accurate enough for the design of giving some idea of the smallness of her gift. But for whom (proceeds Dr. T.) could this valuation be intended? The Greeks did not want to be told the value of *a lepton*, nor does St. Luke [xxi. 2] explain it to them; and the rating of its worth by *a quadrans* could make it clearer to none but the Romans. Professor Ward, in his sixty-second Dissertation on the Sacred Scriptures, quotes a passage from the Life of Cicero, by Plutarch, where it is said *that the Romans called their very least brass coin a quadrans*; which observation had been needless, if the Greeks had generally understood what *a quadrans* was⁴⁵."

This internal evidence, furnished by the language of Mark's Gospel, has not been slighted by Baronius. The Cardinal (as I learn from P. Simon) not merely contended from natural probability, and the reason of the thing, that Mark, writing at Rome for Romans in the humbler classes⁴⁶, would compose in Latin; but he argued also from the style of Mark, which abounds with Latin words. Baronius himself knew very little Greek; but he cites Cardinal Sirlet, who had made a collection of Græco-Latin words in Mark's Gospel; and this, joined to his other reasons, induces him, he says, to

⁴⁵ Plutarch, vol. iv. p. 471. ed. Bryan. Townson *on the Gospels*, Works, vol. i. p. 171 *et seq.* I need not remark that I quote such passages, not as proofs that their authors believed that Mark wrote in Latin, which no English author, that I know of, has asserted. They are concessions, however, and so much the more valuable as coming from persons who⁴⁶ had not the slightest idea of supporting the hypothesis of a Latin original.

⁴⁶ "Ecclesia Christi non de Academia et Lycæo, sed de vili plebecula congregata est." Hieron. *ut supra*, p. 27. 33. So Paul, 1 Cor. i. 26, 27, 28.

conclude, that it is nearly demonstrable that Mark composed his Gospel in the Latin language⁴⁷.

In fact, such may be the force of internal proofs, that a work is translated from a particular language, as to outweigh all the external evidence respecting that in which it was *originally* composed. It may have been composed, for example, originally in Greek, and yet be re-translated, and extant only in a Greek translation from a Latin version. I have seen somewhere, that the Memoirs of Dr. Franklin, written by himself, were, as first published, an English re-translation from a French version of the English original. Not a few instances indeed occur of works re-translated into the very language in which they were originally composed. In the *Quarterly Review* [vol. xxi. p. 188] of Marsden's edition of the Work of Marco Polo, (who returned to Venice from his oriental travels in 1295,) the following passage occurs: "A strong difference of opinion has existed among the editors of this extraordinary narrative, as to the language in which it was originally composed; but Mr. Marsden thinks that the preponderance of authority and argument is in favour of its having been a provincial, probably the Venetian, dialect of Italian; and the reasons which he brings

⁴⁷ "His igitur propè necessariis rationibus non solùm suademur, sed obstricti ferme devincimur atque planè cogimur affirmare, Evangelium Marci ab eo, Latine potius quam Græce esse conscriptum." Baron. *Ann. ad Chr.* 45. n. 41. apud Simon, *Hist. Crit. du N. T.* chap. xi. p. 113.

As I have not at present access to the work of Baronius, I know not whether he has given the list of Sirllet. It is only necessary, however, to peruse any short passage of the Gospel of Mark to be convinced of the fact. I shall extract three short notes of Hardouin, from his Annotations upon chap. xv. 15. 39.

— 15. "*Satisfacere*. Græce: το ικανον ποιησαι, quod verbum ex Romano sermone hic esse traductum in Græcum eruditi norunt."

— 15. "*Flagellis cæsum*. Græce: φραγελλωσα, ficta ex Latina voce."

— 39. "*Centurio*. Græce: κεντυριων, imperite: ficta ex Latina voce." Harduini *Comment. in N. T.* p. 142.

forward in support of this opinion are certainly not lightly to be passed over. Ramusio, however, from whom almost all the particulars of the life of our traveller are collected, and who from his general accuracy is himself an host, asserts that it was first written in Latin by Rusticello, in which language, even so late as his own time, the people of Genoa were accustomed to record their ordinary transactions. He adds, that a translation of it was afterwards made into the common Italian, or *lingua volgare*, with transcripts of which all Italy was soon filled; and *that from this it was re-translated into Latin*, in the year 1320, by Francisco Pipino, of Bologna, who, as he supposes, was unable to procure a copy of the original. But where, it may be asked, (continues the reviewer,) if all Italy was filled with copies, could be the difficulty of procuring one in Bologna?" Such a question might, indeed, be asked; but only by a person who was inattentive to the passage. It was the *Italian version* of which transcripts were dispersed all over Italy, and which Pipino could easily obtain at Bologna⁴⁸. But what (according to Ra-

⁴⁸ In those ages, as we have many proofs, authors had scarcely a choice of copies. Taddeo, for example, a celebrated Florentine physician of the 13th century, complains that of two translations of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates he was compelled by necessity to make use of the worst. "et translationem Constantini persequar (says he), non quia melior sit, sed quia communior, nam ipsa pessima est, et superflua, et defectiva, nam ille insanus Monachus in transferendo peccavit quantitate et qualitate, tamen translatio Burgundionis Pisani melior est—et hoc invitus faciam, sed propter communitatem translationis Constantini," &c. ap. Tiraboschi *Storia*, &c. tom. iii. p. 306. and Bandini *Catal. Codd. Lat. Bibl. Laur.* tom. iii. p. 32.

The early Italian translations of Plutarch's Lives were from the Aragonian, and that from the modern Greek. Many of the MSS. have this inscription: "Qui comincia la Cronica di Plutarco, la quale fu translata di grammatica Greca in volgare Greco, in Rodi, per uno Filosofo Greco chiamato Domitritalodiqui, e di Greco fu translata in Aragonese, per uno Frate Predicatore," &c. Coluccio Salutato writes thus to a friend concerning this version: "Ceterum scio, quod de Græco in Græcum vulgare, et de hoc in Aragonicum, Plutarchum de historia quadraginta octo ducum, et virorum illustrium interpretari

musio) could not be procured by Pipino was the original Latin by Rusticello; and accordingly, about twenty years after its first composition, he again re-translates it into its original language. Such re-translations when MSS. were rare were probably much more frequent than has hitherto been suspected by the learned; and internal proofs of translation may be so strong, as to render in some measure inefficient conclusions drawn from external evidence with respect to the original language of a work. It might be true, for example, that Mark originally wrote in Greek; and yet so numerous might be the Latinisms in the present Gospel, and so interwoven as it were into its very frame, as to force us to the conclusion that, whatever was its original, the present Gospel, in the generality of MSS. and editions, is a version from the Latin.

As facts of this kind may have been not much remarked by some of my readers, and as it will yield great light to our future discussions, I shall make no apology for introducing here some account of a book originally written in Greek—translated into Latin—re-translated into Greek; and which re-translation, issuing from so distinguished a press as that of Aldus, has passed, till within the last ten years, for the original.

In the year 1526, there was published, from the press of Aldus in Venice, a commentary upon Aristotle *De Cælo et*

feceris. Habeo quidem rubricarum maximam partem. Cupio, si fieri potest, hunc librum videre. Forte quidem transferam in Latinum," &c. ap. Mehus *Vita Ambros. Camald.* p. ccxciv. Amidst such varieties of version it was sometimes difficult to discover which was the primitive copy: nor was the work of Marco Polo the only one which occasioned controversy with respect to the language in which it had been composed. Till the time of Mehus, the *Lives of Illustrious Florentines* by Villani were very generally supposed to have been written originally in Italian, and the Italian text was quoted even by writers who composed in Latin. Copies of the Italian version abounded in libraries, and passed for the original, while the Latin original had almost totally disappeared. See *Præfat. ad Vit. Ambrosii Camald.* p. cxxiii. seq. by Mehus.

Mundo by Simplicius, a Greek philosopher of the sixth century. The work was never republished, and, indeed, is chiefly, or perhaps only, valuable on account of quotations from some ancient authors now lost. One of those thus quoted is Empedocles; and Sturz, a German critic, having lately undertaken to collect all the fragments of this ancient philosophical poet, republished the verses quoted by Simplicius. These verses were in the highest degree rude and shapeless, and some vain efforts were made by the learned editor of Empedocles himself, by Herman, and by Buttman, another learned critic, to remould them⁴⁹.

Fülleborn, a late editor of the Fragments of Parmenides, found also some quotations from this writer in the Aldine Simplicius, but utterly rude like those of Empedocles. And these phenomena were the more remarkable, as in his quotations, whether in verse or prose, Simplicius is perfectly accurate in his other commentaries on Aristotle. The circumstance struck Amadeus Peyron, professor of Oriental languages at Turin, and as there is a MS. of Simplicius *de Cælo* in that library, he determined to examine it. Upon collation, he found that the Turin MS. and the Venetian edition, though agreeing in sense, and often accompanying

⁴⁹ Various trials (I may remark by the way) to re-cast poetry from the prose into which it had been melted have been so unsuccessful, that they may well discourage us from having much confidence in such attempts. One of the prose fables of Æsop, supposed to be formed from the Choriambics of Babrius, begins thus: "Ζεὺς ἐν πύθῃ τὰ γὰρ πάντα συγκλείσας," &c. Tyrwhitt, in his learned Dissertation *De Babrio*, thus writes: "Scripserat forte Babrius

Ἐν ἀμφοῖσι Ζεὺς τὰ γὰρ πάντα συγκλείσας."

Afterwards the real fable of Babrius was discovered, and it ran thus:

"Ζεὺς ἐν πύθῃ τὰ χρηστὰ πάντα συλλέξας."

ap. *Fab. Æsop.* ed. Furia, pp. 170. 197.

Here, it may be said, Tyrwhitt erred by departing too much from his prose original. In the attempt to remould the very next verse he literally clings to that prose original, and yet is still farther from Babrius than before. Equally unlucky were the attempts to remould Empedocles.

each other literally for several words, had a different text. In the former, also, quotations from Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient authors, are quite correct; whereas in the Aldine edition their text is altered, while the sense remains. The verses also of Empedocles, so rude in the Aldine edition, are restored in the Turin MS. to their primitive rhythm and beauty.

Peyron found, upon further examination, that the Aldine edition of Simplicius is merely a Greek version of a Latin translation made by William de Möerbeka in the thirteenth century⁵⁰, and that this Greek had re-translated not merely Simplicius himself, but the authors whom he quotes from W. de Möerbeka's Latin version. This is absolutely demonstrated by Peyron, and may appear, indeed, even from a quotation which I shall here make for the purpose of elucidating some observations which I am about to offer on the *Gospel of Mark*.

After quoting some passages from Plato and Aristotle, which in the Turin MS. agree with the text in the editions of those authors, but are quite different in the Aldine edition of Simplicius, Peyron thus proceeds (p. 15):

⁵⁰ Some account of W. de Möerbeka is given by Peyron, pp. 26. 64; and in Echard *Script. Ord. Prædicat.* tom. i. p. 387. He was born in Flanders, was made Archbishop of Corinth in 1277, and Peyron thinks it probable that he died in that city before 1300; it is supposed in 1281.

There is an article *Gul. de Morbeka* in Fabricii *Bib. Lat. Med. et Infim.* lib. xii. p. 265, from which I extract the following sentences: "In gratiam Thomæ Aquinatis A. 1273 omnes libros Aristotelis de Græco in Latinum verbum e verbo transtulisse traditur, *qua translatione Scholares adhuc hodierna die utuntur in Scholis*, inquit auctor Chronici Slavici ad A. 1279. Vertit et Simplicium in Aristotelis iv. libros de Cælo, qui ex Guilelmi Morbeti hoc est Morbekæ nostri interpretatione editi extant Venetiis, 1540. fol." Others of his works are enumerated by Fabricius *loc. cit.*, who also quotes Jac. Quetif *de Scriptoribus Dominicis*, t. i. p. 389. See also Tiraboschi *Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. iv. p. 172. Modena, 1788, 4to; and especially *Recherches Critiques sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote*, by M. Jourdain, p. 68 et sqq. 8vo, Paris 1819.

“Nunc de Metricis, ex quibus primum commemorabo Homerum. *Fol.* 347. b. *Codicis Taurinensis* habetur versus Homeri *Il.* v. 75. 76.

..... αυταρ Αχιλλευς

‘Εκτορος αντα μαλιστα λιλαβετο * δυναι δμιλον

quem cum Möerbeka sic Latine dedisset pag. 196.

*Ut Achilles summo desiderio flagravat cum Hectore
Habere colloquium.*

Græculus *fol.* 139. presse Latinum secutus vertit

ωσπερ ο Αχιλλευς του ‘Εκτορος μαλιστ’ αν επεθυμει
εις δμιλιαν αφικεσθαι. ^c

** Tum Codicis *fol.* 321. occurrit versus *Il.* v. 572.

και ‘Ομηρος

Ιλλασιν ουκ εθελοντα βιη δησαντες αγουσιν

quem sic a Möerbeka conversum pag. 181.

et Homerus:

Illasibus, id est ligamentis, non violentia vi ligantes ducunt.

Græculus perquam religiose verbum de verbo ita expressum extulit *fol.* 125. b.

και ‘Ομος †

Ιλλασιouis, τουτεστι δεσμοις, ου βια δεσμουντες αγουσιν.

** Pariter Apollonius *fol.* 321. codicis laudatus *Argon.* I. 129.

Δεσμοις ιλλομενον μεγαλων απεσεισατο νωτων

a Möerbeka primum male habitus pag. 181.

Vinculis illominum, i. e. alligatum, magnorum dorsorum depulit.

Dein a Græculo prorsus necatur *fol.* 125. b.

Δεσμοῖς ιλλομενον, τουτεστιν ενδεδεμενον των μεγαλων
νωτων εξεωσε ⁵¹.”

Let us now transfer our attention to similar phenomena in the text of *Mark's Gospel* as it appears in our Greek Vulgate, which Greek Vulgate (I may remark by way of preface) has

* Corrige λιλαιετο. [Peyron.]

† Erratum editionis pro ‘Ομηρος, quod fraudi fuit Fabricio indicem Scriptorum in Simplicium *de Cælo* contextenti. [Peyron.]

⁵¹ *Empedocles*, &c. ab A. Peyron, pp. 15. 16., Lipsiæ 1810.

been treated with not much respect by some of our ablest critics. "The New Testament (says Dr. Bentley) has been under a hard fate since the invention of printing. After the Complutenses, and Erasmus, who had but very ordinary MSS., it has become the property of booksellers. Rob. Stephens' edition, set out and regulated by himself alone, is now become the standard. That text stands as if an Apostle was his compositor. No heathen author has had such ill fortune ⁵²." Nor is the representation given by Porson much more flattering. This great critic, after an unfavourable account of Stephens' edition of the N. T., thus proceeds:—"The freedom with which I have treated *that great work* (as Mr. Travis calls it) may perhaps displease some of Stephens' idolaters; but the invidious praises that have been heaped upon it by ignorant or interested persons have extorted these unpalatable truths. The early editions of the N. T., considered as the publications of critics, are for the most part worse executed than editions of profane authors, and owe their chief value either to their scarcity or splendour. Of Beza's edition it is needless to say more. As a critical work it has very little merit. Ignorant of the true use of various readings, he seldom mentions them but to support his own hypotheses, to which godly purpose he warps both text and interpretation ⁵³."

⁵² Letter to Archbishop Wake, dated April 15, 1716, ap. Porson's *Tracts*, by Kidd, p. 1.

⁵³ Porson's *Letters to Travis*, pp. 95. 96. "Liceat jam tribus verbis (says Griesbach) recepti textus genealogiam repetere. Editiones recentiores sequuntur Elsevirianam; hæc compilata est ex editionibus Bezae et Stephani tertia; Beza itidem expressit Stephanicam tertiam, nonnullis tamen, pro libitu fere, ac absque idonea auctoritate, mutatis: Stephani tertia presse sequitur Erasmicam quintam, paucissimis tantum locis et Apocalypsi exceptis, ubi Complutensem Erasmicæ prætulit; Erasmus vero textum, *ut potuit*, constituit e codicibus paucissimis, *et satis recentibus*, omnibus subsidiis destitutus, præter versionem Vulgatam interpolatam, et scripta nonnullorum, sed paucorum, nec accurate editorum, Patrum." *Proleg. in N. T.* sect i. p. xlii.

I shall subjoin to all this the authority of Valckenaer. "Hic, e pau-

In a succeeding portion of this work, it may be rendered probable, that the same circumstances which seem to have induced the translator of the *Aldine Simplicius* to re-translate from a Latin version may have occasionally taken place with regard to some of the books of the New Testament. Michaelis in speaking of Erasmus remarks (ii. 444.) that "in the twenty-second chapter of the book of *Revelation* he has even ventured to give his own translation from the Latin, because the *Codex Reuchlini*, which was the only Greek MS. which he had of that book, was there defective. And he seems to have taken the same liberty in many places where he had not that excuse." The same writer gives an account of a controversy in which Erasmus affirmed that some *codices* of the N. T. had been altered from the Latin⁵⁴. This, Michaelis supposes was urged merely for a controversial purpose and without any good ground. "In regard (he adds) to the accusation of Erasmus, it is extraordinary that it should have been made not only without evidence, but by the very man who himself is the most exposed to the charge; since in his edition of the N. T. a very great number of passages were altered merely on the authority of the Latin, which alterations have been transmitted to later editions, though ratified by no Greek Manuscript."

I do not wish, nor is it necessary for me at present, to enter into the above controversy; but the character of Erasmus stands too high with me to admit, without better reasons

cissimis codicibus (quatuor tantum habuit Erasmus) inter se dissidentibus, probabiles hinc inde lectiones elegit atque editionem nobis adornavit, aliquoties ejusdem cura iteratam. In eodem stadio insequutus, qui melioribus erat Libris scriptis instructus, Robertus Stephanus, ab Erasmi tamen editione sibi raro recedendum credidit." Valck. *Oratio de Crit. Emend.* &c. p. 289. See also Wetstein, *N. T. Prolegomena*, vol. i. p. 44.

⁵⁴ "Hic obiter illud incidit admonendum esse, Græcorum quosdam Novi Testamenti codices ad Latinorum exemplaria emendatos...Et nos olim in hujusmodi codicem incidimus, et talis adhuc dicitur asservari in Bibliotheca Pontificia. Verum ex his corrigere nostros, est Lesbiam, ut aiunt, admovere regulam." Erasmus ap. Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 169.

than those adduced by Michaelis, that the facts which he stated were wholly without evidence. In the preface to his N. T., Erasmus also hints his suspicion of alterations from the Latin, and remarks that Greek MSS. of the N. T. came chiefly from places where the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff was admitted⁵⁵. Whether the *Gospel of Mark* was originally written by the Evangelist in Latin, or whether (like the *Aldine Simplicius*) it be a re-translation from the Latin of an original Greek work, it is certain that our Elzevir Greek Text seems to present phenomena which bespeak a Latin derivation. I shall proceed to point out some of these phenomena to my reader, accompanying them with remarks, which are offered not as the decisions of a dogmatist, but as the humble questions and doubts of an inquirer.

The Evangelist Mark, who appears to have derived his Gospel from a Hebrew document, or narrative by a Hebrew,

⁵⁵ "Ego magis suspicor, si quid mutatum est in Græcorum libris, id a Latinis Exemplaribus fuisse profectum, posteaquam Romana Ecclesia cœpit absorbere Græciam. Nec tota divulsa est a nobis Græcia: Rhodus et Creta Christum agnoscit, agnoscit Romanum Pontificem; cur horum libris diffidimus? *Et ab his potissimum nobis veniunt Exemplaria.*" Erasmus, *N. Test.* præf. [viii] 1546.

Montfaucon, speaking of Greek MSS., says "Maximeque omnium ex Cypro exportatos in Europam codices videas in subscriptionibus supra positus." And again, "In Creta, infimis præsertim sæculis, admodum floruit Græca scriptio." *Palæog. Græc.* pp. 110. 111. The same writer observes, "Cæterum cum Bibliothecæ montis Atho integræ et intactæ manserint, nihil mirum si inter subscriptiones nulla ad hunc montem pertineat: nec unum quidem hactenus vidi Codicem in monte Atho scriptum." *Ibid.* p. 111. He also tells us, "In Calabria et Regno Neapolitano, Græca vigente lingua, innumeri Codices descripti sunt." *Ibid.* p. 112. "Paucissimi Codices Græci...ex Ægypto in Bibliothecas nostras transmeaverint." *Ibid.* pp. 257. & 312. Zigomala remarks, in a letter to Crusius, that the dialect of Crete (from which according to Erasmus a great number of MSS. were brought) was much mixed with Latin, ap. Ducange, *Gloss.* præf. p. vii: and it appears from the above, that our MSS. were principally written in what may be termed Græco-Latin districts. See, of the great number of copies of the Greek Scriptures in Crete, a Letter to Ambrosio Camald. p. 102. éd. Mehus.

seems to have been fond of quoting the original for the sake of accuracy; and in such cases he adds a version.

Chap. iii. 17. *Βοανεργες* ὁ ἐστὶν υἱοὶ βροντης.

vii. 11. *κορβαν* ὁ ἐστὶ δαρον.

— 34. *εφφαθα* ὁ ἐστὶ διανοιχθητι.

These explanations are in no way singular, as it could not be supposed that the Greeks could understand Hebrew or Syriac terms without interpretation. But what is singular, upon the hypothesis that Mark wrote in Greek, is, that he should have thought it necessary to explain Greek by Latin words. Such a phenomenon, however, appears in our Elzevir Greek text, and seems to bear a striking analogy to the examples above quoted from the *Aldine Simplicius*.

Chap. xii. 42. *λεπτα δυο* ὁ ἐστὶ κοδραντης.

xv. 16. *εσω της αυλης* ὁ ἐστὶ πραιτωριον.

— 42. *παρασκευη* ὁ ἐστὶ προσαββατον.

I have already quoted the remarks of Dr. Townson with respect to *quadrans* (the first of these examples), and I shall here add what he says concerning the second of them: "*Αυλη* and *prætorium* as here used were synonymous terms in Greek and Latin, and denoted the palace of a governor or great man. Now as it is beyond a doubt, when he (Mark) says, vii. 11. *corban* that is a gift, vii. 34. *ephphatha* that is *be opened*, that he meant to interpret *corban* and *ephphatha*, it seems as little doubtful, when he connects *αυλη* and *prætorium* together in the same form (a form often used by him for explanation), that he meant to determine the sense of *αυλη*. The explication, therefore, was intended for the Latins⁵⁶."

It seems, indeed, not unreasonable to suppose that either Mark himself or his Latin interpreter wrote that the widow gave *lepta duo*, i. e. *quadrantes*, and that the Greek translator, as in the cases above quoted from Peyron, (*illasibus*, i. e. *ligamentis*,) translated both into Greek: or, on the other hand, if Mark wrote merely that the widow gave *duo quadrantes*, his Greek translator giving the version *λεπτα* thought proper

⁵⁶ *Discourses on the four Gospels*, ap. *Works*, vol. i. 175.

to add the original *quadrantes*⁵⁷. Whichever of these suppositions we adopt, it seems almost necessary to conjecture, from the above and similar examples, either that Mark wrote in Latin, or at least that our Elzevir Greek copy of his Gospel is, like the *Aldine Simplicius*, a re-translation from that language⁵⁸.

Of such explanations as are given above from Mark's Gospel, we have several specimens in an ancient version of the New Testament from the Latin Vulgate, which was much, though surreptitiously, circulated in the reign of Edward III. and from which some curious quotations are given by J. H. Tooke in his *Diversions of Purley*. This acute writer, treating of a certain class of "Potential Passive Adjectives," as he names them, chiefly ending in BLE, as *amiable*, *audible*, *legible* (and termed by the Latin grammarians *Verbalia in Bilis*), writes as follows:—"These words, and such as these, our early authors could not possibly translate into English

⁵⁷ The passage is usually taken as if the *Κοδραντης* were equivalent to the *δυο λεπτα*: but I suspect that here it stands for *Quadrantes*, and that for *Λεπτα*. In *Luke* xii. 59. we have *το ισχατον λεπτον*, which is *τον ισχατον κοδραντην* in *D. Syr. It. Marcion*, ap. Tert. &c. see Griesbach. A like conclusion perhaps may be drawn from comparing *Matth.* v. 26. *τοκ ισχατον κοδραντην* = *το ισχατον λεπτον* in the parallel passage *Luke* xii. 59. The Romans, indeed, seem to have given the name of *Æs MINUTUM*, i. e. *ΛΕΠΤΟΝ*, to the *Quadrans*, their smallest coin.

"— *ære MINUTO*

Qualiacumque voles Judæi somnia vendunt."

Juven. *Sat.* vi. 545.

⁵⁸ *ὁ ἐστὶ κοδραντης*. "Multum negotii (says Wassenbergh) hic locus viris facessivit eruditiss. Tollendæ difficultatis nulla alia est via, quam ut Bezzæ, *Glossam* hic agnoscenti, verbaque perperam ingesta *ὁ ἐστὶ κοδραντης* delenti, obtemperemus." *De Glossis N. T.* p. 40. ap. Valckenaer *Scholæ*, vol. i.

This is cutting, not untying, the knot; and is the less probable as we see analogous cases in this Gospel. In short, the explanation seems deducible from the following remark of Grotius: "*Solenne est omnibus Scriptoribus, etiam interpretibus, vocabula peregrina notabiliora servare integra, sed addito interpretamento, quod aliquoties etiam factum videmus a Senibus Septuaginta.*" *Annot. in Titul. Matthæi*, p. 6.

“but by a periphrasis. They therefore took the words themselves as they found them : and the same practice, for the same reason, being followed by their successors, the frequent repetition of these words has at length naturalized them in our language. But they who first introduced these words thought it necessary to explain them to their readers : and accordingly we find in your manuscript New Testament, which (whoever was the translator) I suppose to have been written about the reign of Edward the Third, in that Manuscript we find an explanation accompanying the words of this sort which are used in it. And this circumstance sufficiently informs us that the adoption was at that time but newly introduced.”

“—thankings to God up on the *unenarrable*, or *that may not be told* gifte of hym”—2 Cor. ix. 15.

[Gratias Deo super *inenarrabili* dono ejus.]

“—whateuer thingis chaist, whateuer thingis just, whateuer thingis holi, whateuer thingis *amyable*, or *able to be louyd*”—Philipp. iv. 8.

[quæcumque pudica, quæcumque justa, quæcumque sancta, quæcumque *amabilia*.]

“—vertu of life *insolible*, or *that may not be undon*.”—Hebr. vi. 16.

[virtutem vitæ *insolubilis*⁵⁹.]

These examples (with which for the sake of comparison I have intermingled the text of the Latin Vulgate) evidently demonstrate that the above English New Testament was derived from the Latin ; otherwise the words *unenarrable*, *amyable*, *insolible*, would not have been thus given with a version annexed to them. It is now submitted to the reader

⁵⁹ *Diversions of Purley*, vol. ii. p. 480. Similar examples are to be found in the same work. Thus *Apoc.* xvii. 6. the Vulgate ‘*Hi odient fornicariam*’ is translated, ‘These shulen hate the *fornycarie* or *hoore*.’ Had a Latin re-translation been made from this English version, we should have had, *Hi odient fornicariam vel meretricem*, as in the duplicate re-translations in the *Aldine Simplicius*.

whether the case be not precisely analogous in the following phrase of *Mark* vii. 2. *ΚΟΙΝΑΙΣ* χερσὶ, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀνιπτοῖς.

This word *κοινός* is a celebrated *Hellenistic* word, a term often used by writers on the style of the New Testament, and denoting either singular Greek words, or common words used with a singular sense and signification. Thus (to give an example in English of this latter), were one to say *The sow is a common animal*, these are familiar English words. But if the word *common* in this sentence be employed to signify *unclean*, this is a new, and, if I may say so, an *Hellenistic* sense given to the word *common*.⁶⁰ Innumerable words occur in the Greek version of the Old, and in the New Testament partly altogether new, but chiefly with shades of signification different from the meaning of the same words in classical writings. The style thus formed has been termed *Hellenistic*; on the history, name, and nature of which it is my intention to enter at some length in the subsequent third Disquisition.

Meanwhile it may be sufficient to remark, in passing, that as the words to which I have alluded (either singular or with a singular sense) are to be found only in the *Septuagint* or other versions of the Old, and in the *New Testament*, it has been, I believe, universally supposed that the new colour or shade of meaning imparted to those words was owing to a tinge of Hebrew. Whether from defect of erudition, or dullness of apprehension, I cannot enter into the views generally entertained on this subject. My own conjecture (as I shall afterwards have occasion to explain very fully) is, that what is named the *Hellenistic* style is not Hebraic but Latin-Greek. Let us return, for example, to the word *κοινόν*, quoted from the text of *Mark* above, and one of the most celebrated *Hellenistic* words. This is a Greek word signifying *common*, but *Hellenistically* *defiled* or *impure*, in which latter sense it is used by no classical Greek writer. It seems to me, in fact, to be no other than the Latin *caenum* (signifying *dirt* or *mire*) written in Greek characters⁶⁰. In

⁶⁰ I mean of course with such slight change as Latin words undergo in a Greek dress. ΚΕΝΤΥΡΙΩΝ ἐκατονταρχός (says Phavorinus),

Heb. x. 29, it appears to be used substantively, *conculcaverit, et sanguinem testamenti POLLUTUM* [Gr. KOINON, CÆNUM] *duxerit* [Vulg.]; which is in our version *and hath counted the blood of the covenant an unholy thing*. More properly, however, it is DIRT or MIRE, which better accords also with the preceding phrase of *treading under foot*.

This word, though apparently used as a substantive in the above text, is more frequently used adjectively, *κοινος, cænusus*; and we have an example of it in the above-quoted text, *Mark vii. 2. κοιναις χερσιν, τούτ' ἐστὶν ἀνιπτοῖς*.

Here I think it exceedingly probable that Mark, if he himself wrote in Latin, or one of his Latin interpreters, had written *cænosis manibus*, or abbreviated *cānis manibus*, and that the translator of our Vulgate Greek text, like William de Möerbeka's above [*illominum*, i. e. *alligatum*], gave both the original and his translation⁶¹. Such abbreviations as

KENTON [centum] γὰρ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις το ἑκατόν, *for among the Romans KENTON means a hundred*. The change of *cænum* to KOINON is not greater than that of *centum* to KENTON.

⁶¹ We find in like manner, *Acts x. 14. κοινον η ἀκαθάρτον*. "*Manifesta apparet explicandi causa (says Wassenbergh) usus videlicet Hellenisticus vocis κοινος, Græcis plane incognitus.*" *Diss. de Glossis N. T. præfix. ad Select. e Scholis* L. C. Valckenari, p. 37, vol. i.

Long after forming the above conjecture concerning *κοινος*, I find in the second volume of Valckenær's work, which has just reached me, the following passage: "*Ista significatione nusquam aut κοινος aut κοινῶν invenientur apud antiquissimos Scriptores Græcos; quem enim Pfochenius attulit § Libelli sui 65. locus alienissimus est. . . certe κοινος si scribatur literis Latinis erit cænus vel cænum.*" *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 63. Amst. 1817. I may here state, merely as a matter of fact, that much which in the present work is assigned to other authors, and thus appears to be derived from them, was originally conjectured by myself. Remote from society, and with a paltry library, I procured such books, slowly and sparingly (as the *res angusta domi* would permit), which seemed likely to aid my investigation. Far from exclaiming, however, "*Mule sit illis qui ante nos nostra dixerunt!*" I have ever rejoiced on such occasions to have my conjecture confirmed into opinion. I must own, too, that the inferences which I draw from the passages extracted by me, are often very different from the conclusions founded on them by the authors whence I quote

those to which I have now alluded, were common; and I shall here, in passing, give an example in which the translator of our common Greek text appears, if I err not, to have committed an oversight, by supposing a word to be an *abbreviation* which was not so. In 1 *Tim.* vi. 19. we have in our Vulgate Greek text the following curious phrase,—*αποθησαυρίζοντας ἑαυτοῖς ΘΕΜΕΛΙΟΝ καλον*, which in the Vulgate is translated “*thesaurizare sibi FUNDAMENTUM bonum.*” Now what is the meaning of *treasuring up a foundation*? The original Latin word, or at least the word in that Latin copy from which our Elzevir Greek appears to have been derived, seems to have been *fundum*; this had been mistaken for, or taken in the sense of, *fundamentum* (a foundation) by the Vulgate Greek translator of the epistle to Timothy. The passage in our version, therefore, ought not to be “*laying up in store for themselves a good FOUNDATION,*” but “*laying up in store for themselves a good FUND against the time to come*”⁶².

them; and that if sometimes I discover a paragraph, I very seldom find a page in my favour.

⁶² Le Clerc instead of *θεμελίον* conjectured *κειμήλιον*, and L. Bos *θεμαλίαν*, both of which conjectures have a place in Griesbach's margin. “Sed recedendum illic (says Valckenaer) non est a lectione vulgata, interpretatione duntaxat adjuvanda.” *Schol.* ii. p. 146. That is, we are to content ourselves with forcing upon it a sense which it will not bear. Perhaps also in the preceding verse to *θεμελίον*, v. 18. *πλετευνεν ΕΡΓΟΙΣ καλοις*, *divites fieri in bonis OPERIBUS*, ought to have been *ORIBUS*, which was mistaken for a contraction of *OPERIBUS*. As to contractions, Valckenaer observes of the name Luke, “*Libelli Auctor dicitur Λουκᾶς . . . Sylvanus dicitur in Libris nostris, Sacris et plene Σιλουανος et forma contracta Σιλᾶς.*” Ad eam rationem nostro plenum nomen est *Lucanus*, *Λουκανος*, contracte *Λουκᾶς*.—Plenum *Lucani* nomen in Codicibus aliquot Evangelio legitur præfixum, teste Mabillonio in *Museo Italico*, V. *Scholæ*, vol. i. 5. See also Sturz *de Dialecto Macedon. et Alexandr.* p. 135.

I shall have occasion afterwards to speak of errors from *abbreviation*; and shall content myself at present with a quotation from Montfaucon. “Græcos etiam Calligraphos in errorem interdum deducunt abbreviationes; sic in Codice Colbertino num. 646. locus *Epist. ad Galatas* iv. 26.

It appears to me, I may remark by the way, that the solecisms and incoherent figures which we shall find to have been generally attributed to Paul, may, as in the case above, be owing to his translator. I use the word translator in the singular number, merely to avoid circumlocution in speaking both of the Greek and Latin Vulgate. So far, indeed, as the elucidation of the succeeding hypothesis is concerned, it alters not the state of the argument whether we consider the books of the New Testament as the versions of *one*, or (which is far more probable) of *different translators*. In this stage of our progress, also, it may be proper to stop for a moment, to obviate an objection which may perhaps occur to my reader. This is, that it cannot be supposed that the Greek Church could have acquiesced in versions so imperfect in point of style as the Vulgate Greek text will be represented; and that if any of them were translations, the Church would have taken care that they should be as pure as possible. To this it may be replied in the first place, what we shall afterwards see confirmed, that when the Church first settled the Canon, no particular text seems to have been legally established, as in the case of the Clementine Vulgate, or King James's English Version. All that was necessary was to regard certain books as canonical; and hence the appearance of various readings before the close of the second century, and that intermixture of texts of which Origen and Jerome complain. We have seen that the Autographs of the Apostles, or rather perhaps of their amanuenses, seem speedily to have perished. "It is useless (says Michaelis) to appeal to the care and attention of the early Christians in copying the New Testament, since, with the best intentions, they had not ability to effect what lies not within the power of the best regulated press. But this boasted attention in every copyist

ἡ δὲ ἀνω Ἰερὺς, *Illa autem, qua sursum est Jerusalem*, ita mendose legitur ἡ δὲ ἀνθρῶπων Ἱερουσαλήμ: quia putavit Librarius ἀνω abbreviatum, et pro ἀνθρῶπων scriptum fuisse, uti fere semper solet in voce ἀνθρώπος per omnes casus." *Palæogr. Græc.* p. 342. See also Westein's *Proleg.* p. 3.

is totally ungrounded; for they were often men of no knowledge, who wrote for hire. To appeal to the interposition of Providence, which could not, as is supposed, allow the admission of errors, is a violation of common sense⁶³." On this subject, I shall content myself at present with quoting the words of Origen. This learned writer being of opinion that the words, *Matt. xix. 19. αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως σεαυτον*, are an interpolation, writes thus:—"It would be impious to suspect this commandment, '*Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*,' to have been inserted though not spoken by our Saviour to the rich man, if there were not many differences in the copies of Matthew's and the other gospels. But indeed (proceeds he) *it is manifest there is a difference between copies, whatever it is owing to; whether to the negligence of transcribers, or to the wicked rashness of some in altering what is written; or to a liberty taken by some of adding or leaving out some things, by the way of correction and emendation as they apprehend*⁶⁴."

⁶³ Michaelis, vol. i. p. 249. See also *supra*, p. 51. 53. As to any supposed superintendence of Providence over *translators*, this we know has not taken place in the Greek Version of the *Old Testament*, of which Scaliger asserts that "sive a Septuaginta, sive ab uno, quod verius est, conscripta, mendosissima et falsissima est." *Epist. ad Seguin.* xiv. et ap. Van Dale *Diss. super Aristeā*, p. 229. See to the same purpose Drusius, Lightfoot, Selden, and others, ap. Hody *De Bibl. Text. Origin.* p. 560. Jerome, denying any supernatural superintendence to the LXX, expresses himself as follows:—"Aliud est enim Vatem, aliud esse interpretem. Ibi Spiritus ventura prædicit; hic eruditio et verborum copia ea quæ intelligit, transfert. Nisi forte putandus est Tullius *Œconomicum* Xenophontis, et Platonis *Protagoram*, et Demosthenis *pro Ctesiphonte*, afflatus *rhetorico Spiritu* transtulisse. Hieron. *Prolog. in Genesim*. Indeed, Jerome not merely ridicules the notion of an inspired interpreter, but supposes that mistakes may have been committed by the Greek interpreter of Matthew's Gospel. "Mihique videtur (says he on one occasion) Evangelistam Matthæum, qui Evangelium Hebraico sermone conscripsit, non tam *vespere* dixisse, quam *sero*, et eum qui interpretatus est, *verbi ambiguitate deceptum*, non *sero* interpretatum esse, sed *vespere*." Hieron. *Hedibæ Quæst.* iv. vol. iii. p. 46. K.

⁶⁴ Νυν δε δηλονοτι ἡ των αντιγραφων διαφορα, εἴτε ἀπο βιβθυμίας τινων

The Greeks, moreover, even had they been so disposed, were infinitely less qualified than the Romans to exert a critical superintendence over versions into their respective languages. Possessed of an indigenous, extensive, and exalted literature, the Greeks, in general, studied no language but their own, or at least were very imperfectly acquainted with any other. Plutarch, with so many literary motives to learn Latin, (a language as he says used by every one,) yet informs us that notwithstanding his residence at Rome and other parts of Italy, he had not had time to make himself master of the Latin tongue⁶⁵. On the other hand, from the servile character of their literature, from the age of Ennius downwards, the literary Romans might be regarded in some measure as a race of translators. And yet, in spite of all this, how numerous are the mistakes! how numerous are the barbarisms even in our corrected Latin Vulgate⁶⁶!

γραφῶν, εἴτε ἀπο τολμῆς τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπο τῶν ταῖς αὐτοῖς δοκούντων ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων, ἡ ἀφαιρῶντων. Orig. in *Matth.* vol. iii. p. 671. ed. Ruæi. I have given the version of Dr. Lardner, *Works*, vol. ii. p. 522.

⁶⁵ Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διατετοῖς οὐ σχολῆς πρὸς γυμναζεσθαι περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διαλεκτὸν, &c. Plut. in *Demosth.* init. Longinus, giving his judgement of Demosthenes, allows that the Romans were better Greek than the Greeks Latin scholars. Εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς Ἕλλησιν ἐφείτῃ τι γινώσκουσιν—ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμεῖς ἀν ἀμείνων ἐπικρίνοιτε. *De Sublim.* § xii. See Tunstall, *Observations on the present Collection of Epistles between Cicero and M. Brutus*, p. 120 et seq. "A very sensible writer (says Sir Wm. Jones) observes even of Plutarch, that though he was supposed to have resided in Rome near forty years at different times, yet he seems never to have acquired a sufficient skill in the Roman language to qualify himself for the compiler of a Roman history." *Works*, vol. ii. p. 467, 8vo. Lond. 1807. Sir William refers here to Middleton. *Pref. to Life of Cicero*.

⁶⁶ "Omnes Eruditi, omnesque, excepta Ecclesia Latina, Christianorum societates credunt Libri Sacri ex Græco in Latinum sermonem negligenter et imperite sunt conversi." Wetstein *N. T.* vol. i. pp. 12. 83. Dr. Bentley, who is not, like Wetstein, hostile to the Latin Vulgate, says in a passage which will be afterwards more fully quoted, that he "is very sure that the author of it has translated the Greek wrong in

Now if the *Latin Church* could acquiesce in versions of such a description, can it be wondered at that the *Greek Church* might possibly do the same, especially as the Greeks were far less habituated to translation than the Latins? Nothing can be more absurd than some of the versions from the Latin given by Eusebius in his History; and if a man so learned committed or admitted such mistakes, what was to be expected from less distinguished members of the Church⁶⁷?

hundreds of places." Mill, its great admirer, in his account of the Vulgate version of the different books of the New Testament, expresses himself thus:—"In Latinis *Epistolæ ad Romanos* nihil non fere ad Græca accurate expressum est. Interpreti res erat cum codice (quales reliqui istius ætatis) ἀδιασκητῶ, nullisque accentuum ac spirituum notis affecto: unde *offusæ ipsi tenebræ*, uno et altero loco." *Proleg.* No. 549. *Heb.* xi. 1. "Fecit obscuritas loci, ut plane hic cæcutiret Interpres." *Ibid.* No. 590.

⁶⁷ As a specimen I shall here set down a short passage of Tertullian, with its version as given by Eusebius, *Apol.* cap. v. p. 6. "Consulite Commentarios vestros. Illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc ΣΕΤΑΜ, cum maxime Romæ ORIENTEM Cæsariano gladio ferocisse." The version, if it may be so named, of Eusebius, is as follows:—"Εὐτυχεῖς τοῖς ὑπομνημασιν ὑμῶν, ἐκεῖ ἐνέητε πρῶτον Νερώνα τῦτο τὸ ΔΟΓΜΑ, ἥΝΙΚΑ μαλίστα ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗΝ ΠΑΣΑΝ ὕΠΟΤΑΞΑΣ, ἄμους ἦν εἰς πάντας, διωζαντα." *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. 25. Various other mis-translations of the same kind are given by Eusebius in this work. We have seen formerly, p. 43, that one great Thaumaturgist Anthony could not learn the Greek language; and a still greater (even Gregory Thaumaturgus himself) seems to have been nearly equally nonplussed with Latin. Speaking of the Laws, he says, "Ἐκφρασθέντες δὲ καὶ παραδοθέντες τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ καταπληκτικῇ μὲν καὶ ἀλαζονί, καὶ συγχρηματιζομένῃ αὐτῶν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ βασιλικῇ, φωρτικῇ δὲ ὅμως ἐμοί. *Conceptæ vero sunt ac traditæ Romanorum lingua, terribili illa quidem, superba et imperium quod obtinent præferente, cæterum mihi molesta.*" In *Laud. Origenis*, ap. Bayle. CLAUDE. "Sed præterea (says Valckenæer) miraculi instar habebatur isthoc ævo [Apostolico] etiam in Græcia duas tresve linguas calluisse. Compar. Casaub. ad *Athenæum*, l. i. c. 2. ubi Galenus δαῦμα, inquit, τοῦτ' ἦν ἀνθρώπος εἰς ἀκριβῶν διαλεκτὴς δυο." *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 350. All this, however, did not prevent versions of the Scriptures. "Qui Scripturas (says Augustin) ex Hebrea lingua in Græcam verterunt numerari possunt: Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuius primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus et aliquan-

It seems inconsistent to say, then, that a barbarous Greek version might not find its way among members of the Greek any more than barbarous Latin versions in the Latin Church. The Church, in fact, had nothing to do, or at least seems to have taken no concern, in the matter. Is there any thing, either in the march of providence or in the nature of things, to have prevented the four modern MSS. of Erasmus (copies probably from one original) from having been versions from the Latin, any more than the *Aldine Simplicius*, and the Medicean MS. of this writer, from being a version from the Latin? Were the four modern MSS. of Erasmus more respectable than the venerable *Codex Beza*, and other antient compeers, against which the charge of Latinizing has been so long and loudly repeated? Are we to regard the Gospel of Matthew as less sacred, because its original has been allowed to perish? or the writings of Epicurus as more holy, because that amidst the ashes of Herculaneum they have been almost miraculously preserved? Many such questions might be put; which, if duly weighed, might probably induce us to conclude, that nothing can be more unphilosophical, and ultimately more injurious to religion, than to argue *downwards* from such *a priori* reasonings and presumptions. On the contrary, it is our business to argue *upwards* from phenomena, and to consider such phenomena as so many problems to be solved.

I shall now return once more to the *Gospel of Mark*; and, in order to do all justice to the opposite argument, shall conclude, for the present, my remarks upon the subject by producing the circumstances stated by Dr. Mill, in his very learned *Prolegomena*, against the hypothesis that this Evangelist wrote in Latin. Dr. Mill states, in the first place, that, though written for the use of the Romans, it

tulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari. De *Doctr. Christiana*, lib. ii. c. 2. In such versions, the phenomenon stated by Homer must often have occurred:

Καλλιδα κικλησκουσιν ὅσοι, ἀνδρες δὲ κυμινδον. II. E. 291.

Chalcidem nominant Dii, homines autem Cymindin.

was unnecessary that this Gospel should be in Latin, as Greek was familiar to them; but as if not satisfied with this, which he seems to affirm indeed less dogmatically than usually is done, he contends that the Greek context gives sufficient indications that it is not a version but an original. He argues that a translator would not have rendered *spiculatorum* by σπεκουλατωρα, and that, in another passage, he would not have employed the word κεφαλαιωσαν in the singular, and indeed unprecedented, manner that has been done⁶⁸.

It is worthy of observation, that in his argument upon this subject, Dr. Mill founds nothing on historical evidence, with regard to the language in which the Gospels were composed, (as he knew indeed that, with the exception of Matthew, we have no external evidence on this subject,) but rests the cause upon *internal* circumstances. Now these circumstances, and Dr. Mill's arguments, are such as seem to me considerably to confirm the hypothesis which he opposes; and almost to render it probable (prefaced too with the gentle word *arbitror*, and considering his known partiality to the antient Latin text) that the learned collator might internally have some leaning to an opinion which he

⁶⁸ "Cum autem Romanorum rogatu scripsisse dicatur à veteribus Evangelium suum D. Marcus, quo ob oculos in posterum haberent isti, assidueque lectitarent . . . tamen haudquaquam lingua ipsorum vernacula prodiisse *arbitror*, sed omnino Græca, Judæis ipsâ, cæterisque in urbe Christianis, tum temporis familiari. Hujus rei argumento est *ipse contextus Græcus*, si quis ipsum paulo accuratius expenderit. Si enim Latinus fuerit originarius Marci textus, unde σπεκουλατωρα? Quis unquam ita Græce reddiderit vocabulum *spiculatorum*? cum in promptu foret in Glossis δαρυφόρον qua voce, vel gemina saltem aliqua, Latinum illud commodissime reddi posset. Nemo, cui Latina Marci in Græcum sermonem transfundendi munus impositum, cum quotidianæ, et e trivio succurrant voces, quibus Græca accurate exprimi poterant, vocem hujusmodi usurpaverit. Capite Marci 12mo in parabola de vinea, si Latine primum prodierit hoc Evangelium, quibus obsecro Latinis respondent Græca ista κάκεινον κεφαλαιωσαν? quis unquam in capite vulnerare quem in sensum istud Evangelistæ hic omnes accipiunt, Græce transulerit κεφαλαιον? sed de his satis." *Proleg. ad N. Test.* No. III.

opposes so feebly.⁶⁹ His first argument is, that no translator would have rendered the Latin word *spiculator* by σπεκουλατωρ, as a proper Greek word might easily have been found. Now is not this, of *retaining* a foreign word or phrase, one of the chief tests of a translated text? In the Cambridge MS. or *Codex Beza* (for example) we find, in the Latin text in the Book of Acts, *adynatus* and *anetios* corresponding with the Greek αδυνατος and αναιτιος—and do we not thence legitimately conclude, that the Latin *Book of Acts*, in this MS., is a version from the Greek? No animal, it has been said, is so little inclined to laughter as the philologist⁶⁹. But if we could not laugh, should we not grin at one who asserted that the Latin in the above instance must be the original text, as no translator would have used *adynatus* and *anetios*, when he might easily have employed the common Latin words *impossibilis* and *innocens*? Were we to find in a book the Gallicisms of *proces verbal* for *trial*, *bibliotheque* for *library*, or *tambour* for *a drum*,—would it not form a presumption that such passages had a French original⁷⁰? Why, to refer to the

⁶⁹ Αγελαιον γαρ μαλιστα ζων ο φιλολογος.

Philologus enim animal minimè ridens. Grotii *Epist.* p. 48.

⁷⁰ Queen Mary Stuart, speaking in one of her Letters of her desire to be Bothwell's wife, says, in the Scottish version: "For obtayning of the quhilke, agains my naturall, I betrayis thame that may impesche me." Laing, vol. ii. p. 188. Here we have the original French word *contre mon NATUREL* retained in the version, and a verb *impesche* from the French EMPÊCHER, *to hinder*. In the Sonnets also we have the following translation of one of the verses:

"Pour luy j'attendz toute bonne fortune."—*Son.* viii. 9.

For him I attend all good fortune.

This is not a just version; but the error arises from retaining the original French word, instead of giving a proper English one. We have in our Latin Vulgate many Greek words, which have ever been considered as evidence of its being a version. Thus, 1 *Cor.* iv. 13, *peripsema*; v. 7. *azymi*. *Heb.* xi. 37, *in melotis*, &c. It is by the admixture of Greek or of Arabic words that we can determine what ancient version of Aristotle into Latin was derived from Greek, and what from Arabic.

quotation from Peyron, did W. de Moërbeka retain *illasi-bus* and *illominum* in his Latin version, but because he found these words in his Greek original? Why, in J. Horne Tooke's MS. New Testament above quoted, do we find *unenarrable*, but because the original had been *inenarrabili*? In like manner, why the unwonted Greek word *σπεκουλατωρ* in the text of Mark, but because the original had been *spiculator*?

The other argument of Dr. Mill, deduced from the word *εκεφαλαιωσαν*, proceeds on the principle, that in translation, that "great pest of speech," as Dr. Johnson calls it, a translator uses purer language (as an interpreter) than an original writer. The very contrary is usually the case. This word (*εκεφαλαιωσαν*), which in classic Greek signifies to *state or repeat a thing summarily*, has given great trouble to commentators; and, in this classic and common sense of the word, would make nonsense of the passage⁷¹. Accordingly the absolutely new sense of **WOUNDING ON THE HEAD** has been given to it, in contradiction at once to analogy and use. But let us examine the passage. *A certain man* (says the Evangelist in our English version) *planted a vineyard and at the season he sent to the husbandmen a servant, that he might receive from the husbandmen of the fruit of the vineyard; and they caught him, and beat him, and sent him away empty. And again he sent unto them another servant, ΚΑ' KEINON * ΕΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΣΑΝ and sent him away shamefully.* Now certainly we do not hear that the former servant had, as the Greek seems to imply, been *wounded in the head*. The text of the Vulgate is as follows: *Et iterum misit ad illos alium servum, et illum IN CAPIT*

⁷¹ For the disputes among commentators on the subject, see Poli *Synops. in Marc.* xii. 4. "Copiose (says Schleusner) de hoc loco, variis modis tentato, disputavit Alberti in *Obs. Philol. in N. T.* p. 174—183. et Elsner in *Comment. ad Marcum*, t. iii. p. 196. in v. ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΝ."

* *Διδοξαμεντες* is wanting in B. D. L. 1. 28. 33. 91. 118. *Copt. Arm. Vulg. It.* Griesbach. *N. T.*

VULNERAVERUNT et contumeliis affecerunt. Now taking this text compared with the Greek as our basis, it appears to me that the original of our Elzevir Greek version had run thus: *Et iterum misit ad illos alium servum, et illum quoque EXPULERUNT et contumeliis affecerunt.* The Barbarous word κεφαλαιωσαν (barbarous at least as here used) seems to me, but with all submission to the verdict of abler critics, to be merely *expulerunt*, written in Greek characters, and with a Greek termination. The reader will afterwards be introduced to a whole cohort of such words. It has been remarked by Michaelis, and I think with much plausibility, that several of the most ancient versions of the Scriptures, even into the Latin language, appear to have been made by native Jews or Syrians⁷². These persons (whose aid as interpreters was much more necessary to the Greeks) pronounced the letter P like the Greek Φ or our F⁷³.

⁷² Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 114—117.

⁷³ "Sed sciendum est quod apud Hebræos P literam non habetur, nec ullum nomen est quod hoc elementum resonet. Abusive igitur accipienda quasi per F literam scripta sint." Hieron. *de Nomin. Heb.* Montfaucon, giving a table of abbreviations, says: "Φασχα, quæ vox in secunda tabula cum abbreviatione legitur, in computis Ecclesiasticis Græcorum passim pro Πασχα sumitur: quoniam, ut inquit Joannes Damascenus, sic Hebræi pronuntiabant, inde usus manavit ad Græcos." *Palæog. Græc.* p. 344. We find 2 *Tim.* iv. 13. the Latin *Penula* converted into φαίλουη: and Philemon, ver. 2. the Latin *Appia* changed into Απφια or in D. Αφφια. Schleusner has made an article of Αφελότης—"Semel (says he) in N. T. legitur *Act.* ii. 46. αφελότητι καρδιας." It seems, however, to be the same word as Απλοτης, which frequently occurs in the N. T. and in the same sense;—ἀπλοτητι καρδιας, *Coloss.* iii. 22. *Ephes.* vi. 5. In *Acts* xiii. 18. we have the various readings *ετροποφορησεν* and *ετροφορησεν*. See Mill, *Prolog.* No. 863. In *Ephes.* v. 9. we have the readings *καρπος τῷ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ* and *ΦΩΤΟΣ*. This diversity probably arose from πῶς being read both *πνευματος* and *φωτος*. *Acts* xix. 18. we have the various readings *πραξεις* and *ἀμαρτίας* from *peccata* being pronounced like *facta*.

It is mentioned by Michaelis, as a proof of the antiquity of the Latin versions and that they were made by Jews, that "Oriental proper names are sometimes written in the Latin Testament, not according to

Accordingly, they would pronounce *EXPULERUNT*, *EKEΦALERUNT*: and nothing more was necessary than to change the Latin verbal termination *-erunt* into the Greek *-αιωσαν*, in order to produce *ΕΚΕΦΑΛΛΙΩΣΑΝ*. The reader, as I have remarked, will be afterwards introduced to a whole cohort of such words, the greater part of which have individually been the subject of long and numerous philological dissertations. Before concluding my observations on *Mark* xii. 4, may I be permitted, in passing, to offer one single remark on the last clause of the verse which, with the Vulgate, I have given *contumeliis affecerunt*, as sufficiently accurate for my purpose, since nothing is founded on it? This in the common editions is *απεστειλαν ητιμωμενον*. In the best MSS. we have, instead of these, only one word, *ητιμασαν*. Some other respectable MSS. read *απεστειλαν ητιμασμενον*, and in one MS. we have *απελυσαν ητιμωμενον*. Do not such diversities appear to betray versions? It is true that we find similar differences in the Latin Gospels; but it is not denied that the greater part of them are versions: and it should seem indeed, upon grounds to be afterwards stated, that an interchange of translations and retranslations has mutually taken place.

I have now examined the arguments of Dr. Mill against a Latin original of our Vulgate edition of Mark's Gospel; and we have seen (if I mistake not) that these very arguments seem to be exceedingly strong proofs of what they are brought by that able scholar to controvert. My chief object, however, in this Disquisition, has not been to prove that the Gospel of *Mark* was originally composed in Latin; but humbly

the Greek but the Syriac orthography: for instance, *Καπερναυμ* is written *Caphernaum* with *ph*." Vol. ii. p. 117. We find *Καφαρναουμ* in B. D. 33. Griesbach, N. T. *Matth.* iv. 13.

I know not whether the following remark have any weight. *Matth.* ix. 15. we find *οι υιοι του Νυμφανος* or in D. *Νυμφου*; also *Mark* ii. 19. These seem to have been merely the Greek *παρανυμφιοι*: but as *βαρ* signifies *son* in Syriac, hence the Greek *παρανυμφιοι* seems to have been changed into *οι υιοι του νυμφου*.

to submit to the reader that *the question is open for discussion*, and that Dr. Mill and the ablest biblical critics admit that it is to be decided by *internal* arguments. In fact, had we the evidence of the first, instead of the opinions of the fifth century, that the whole of the New Testament had been written in Greek, this would be no complete refutation of the hypothesis of the Latin origin of our present Elzevir text. For what might be argued by its supporter is, that this Greek copy of the New Testament (whatever was its prinigenial tongue, whether Greek, Latin, or Syriac,) seems, like the Aldine edition of the Greek Simplicius, to be a version from the Latin. Yet the attempt to show, from the persons to whom they were addressed and other circumstances, that it is probable that some of the Books of the New Testament were primitively composed in Latin, is not altogether without its use. It is desirable, if our Vulgate Greek text, or some Books of it, be proved to be derived from the Latin, that this Latin should rather be an Apostolical original, than itself a version. It is to be wished, for example, that our Vulgate Greek Mark should (if a version) be a version from *a Latin original of the Evangelist himself*, rather than a retranslation into Greek from some Latin version of a now lost or missing Greek original. By such a two-fold translation the chance of mistake would be doubled; and yet Grotius, while he contends against a Latin original of Mark's Gospel, is forced to admit that at least some Greek copies, and these too the most venerable for their antiquity, have been greatly altered from the Latin⁷⁴.

⁷⁴ To a passage quoted above (p. 68) from this distinguished critic, he subjoins the following: "Latinam vero Marci versionem veterem esse, et ejusdem à quo versos habemus cæteros Evangelii Libros, ipsa versionis similitudo facit probabile: *ad quam versionem quædam Græca Exemplaria mutata esse multis locis apparebit.*" *Annot. in tit. Marci.* That these *quædam Græca Exemplaria* were not of the meanest sort, appears elsewhere. Thus, *Mark* xv. 8. he remarks: "Quod Vaticanus Codex habet *αναλας* accedit ad ea argumenta quibus moveor ut credam quædam Marci exemplaria ad Latinam versionem mutata."—"Si cela

In his arguments against Baronius, on the subject of the original language of the *Gospel of Mark*, P. Simon observes, that if the Latin words which are found in it argue a Latin origin, it would also prove that the other Gospels had been written in Latin, as they contain similar expressions and Græco-Latin words⁷⁵. This is in some measure true, but what should be the inference? As to the *Gospel of Matthew*, we know indeed that it was originally composed in Hebrew; but our Elzevir Greek text gives many indications of having been translated through the medium of a Latin version of the original. The literary Romans were, as I have already remarked, in some measure a race of translators; and as, from motives of interest, Latin was perhaps the only language with which the Greeks endeavoured to become acquainted (though they succeeded very ill), this is one of the circumstances which weighs with me in suspecting that Greek versions from other languages were often translated through the medium or by help of the Latin. To this subject we shall subsequently have occasion to refer, and meanwhile shall return to the Gospel of Matthew. In this Gospel (ch. v. 26.) we find the word *κοδραντην*, *quadrantem*, as in Mark; and what is still more singular, without any explanation, as if become familiar. "Once more, (says Dr. Townson, who

est, (dit M. Mareschal,) il faudra aussi croire que l'Exemplaire Grec sur lequel on a fait la Version Gothe, et celui de Beze qui est si venerable à cause de sa grande antiquité, ont esté reformés sur la Vulgate." Simon, *Hist. Critiq. des Versions*, &c. p. 222. Thom. Mar. *Obs. in Vers. Goth.* ad c. xv. *Marc.* ver. 8.

⁷⁵ "Si cette dernière preuve conduiroit quelque chose, elle conclurroit en même temps, que les autres Evangelistes ont aussi écrit en Latin, puis qu'on trouve dans leurs Evangiles de semblables expressions, c'est-à-dire, des mots Latins grecisés." Simon, *Hist. Crit. du N. T.* p. 113. Though I occasionally controvert the sentiments of this distinguished writer, I would beg here to state, that I respect him as the great father of biblical criticism, and that I fully accord with the following panegyric of Villoison: "Summus ille Criticus, qui primus felicis et piæ audaciæ signum sustulit, cujusque fontibus hortulos suos irrigaverunt recentiores, Ricardus Simonius." *Nova Versio Græc.* Præf. p. xi.

gives a very lame explanation of Matthew's *quadrans*,) in the history of the Passion, to scourge is called *φραγελλουν* (xxvi. 26). Now if St. Matthew composed his Gospel first in Hebrew, he would not affect to Latinize his own tongue, but would declare the indignity suffered by Christ as he had predicted it, which was certainly by a Hebrew word, when he said xx. 19: *They shall deliver him to the Gentiles to mock, and to SCOURGE and to crucify*. And who else would think of recurring to the Latin, when his business was to turn it into Greek, if it afforded him a proper term? But *μαστιγουν* is employed for scourging both by secular authors and by the Evangelists. It seems then evident (continues he) that *φραγελλωσας* is not from the hand of a translator, but immediately of St. Matthew himself, whose intercourse with the Romans had made a word which the Greeks did not acknowledge, familiar to him; and who, being less curious in a foreign language, was disposed to employ it here⁷⁶!"

It appears to me that the above argument, like those adduced by Dr. Mill on the original language of Mark's Gospel, is (contrary to what was meant by their authors) a considerable confirmation of the Latin origin of our Elzevir Greek text. Matthew certainly did not employ the Latinized Greek word *φραγελλωσας*, but a good Hebrew or Syro-chaldaic one. Neither I own is it likely that any Greek translator of the Hebrew Gospel would have used a corrupted Latin, instead of a Greek word. But if we suppose our Vulgate Greek copy to have been translated into Greek *through the medium of the Latin*, we can at once account for the appearance of *φραγελλωσας* (*flagellans*), which otherwise seems inexplicable. Whoever has examined translations may have remarked that, from weariness or other causes,

⁷⁶ Townson, *Works*, vol. i. p. 173 *et seq.* I may here remark, by the way, that Dr. Townson seems to have considered the mass of ancient testimony on the subject where it is strongest (the original language of the Gospel of Matthew), as not able to hold up even against one or two internal arguments which seemed to him to point to a different conclusion.

translators are at some times less vigilant than others, and in such cases seem not very solicitous about a pure word, but content themselves with one furnished to them, or suggested by the original from which they translate. Mr. Hug, in his *Introduction to the Writings of the New Testament*, remarks as follows upon the famous Syrian version the *Peshito*. "The translator (says he) has laboured after a Greek Exemplar. This is evident from the many words which he has adopted from the Greek, exactly in the place and situation in which they exist in the original, although often a pure Syriac expression might have been obviæus. I have not found a larger group of this kind than in the xxviii chapter of Matthew, which I subjoin as a proof of my assertion. ver. 11. 12. ἡγεμων. 6. τιμη. 7. αγρος, ξενος. 19. βημα. 27. στρατιωται, σπειρα. 28. χλαμυς. 30. προσωπον. 38. λησται. 48. σπογγος. Here are not less than eleven words, all of which, with the exception of the appellation ἡγεμων, the Syrians had in their language; and even for this last, as for the others, a more suitable expression might probably have been found if the precise one was wanting.

"It cannot be denied (adds Mr. Hug) that these words might have been in some measure current since the sway of the Seleucides in Syria. But still, that the translator should have employed all these foreign words, to the exclusion of such as were native and vernacular; and that he should have employed them too as often, and in the same place and way, as they occur in the Greek Gospel, can only be accounted for by the hypothesis that they were occasioned by the Greek text before him. Moreover, Matthew (continues he) had in this very chapter adopted from the Romans some expressions into the Greek, as for example ver. 26. φραγελλωσας; 27. πραιτωριον; 65. 66. κουστωδια. These the Syrians in the same places faithfully repeat⁷⁷."

Now it is obvious to remark on this passage (though Mr. Hug draws no such inference); that if the adoption of Greek

⁷⁷ Hug. *Einführung*, vol. i. p. 292.

words by the translator of the *Peshito* be a proof that he translated from a *Greek* exemplar, the like phenomena would prove that our Vulgate Greek version of Matthew's Gospel had been translated into Greek through the medium of the *Latin*. Unless this were the case, it is difficult to account for the adoption of such words as *φραγελλωσας*⁷⁸, and, which is of more consequence than words, of phrases which seem inexplicable unless we call in the aid of the *Latin*.

It may not be improper, before we conclude this Disquisition, to bestow a momentary glance on our Elzevir Greek copies of the two other *Gospels of Luke and John*. My purpose in this, as in the passing notice we have taken of Matthew, is merely to prepare the mind of the reader, and to awaken his attention to the proofs which will be furnished, (if he shall think they merit that name,) or, if not proofs at least presumptions, that our Vulgate Greek copies have been derived from the *Latin*. As to Luke, he generally passes for having written the purest Greek in the New Testament⁷⁹. His Latinisms, however, though of a different kind from those in Matthew and Mark, are perhaps still more

⁷⁸ In the *Codex Bezae* (Cambridge MS. or D of Wetstein and Griesbach), instead of *φραγελλωσας*, *flagellans*, it is written *φλαγελλωσας*. [see Mill, *Prol.* No. 1271.] We have an analogous example to this in the French word *Flibutier*, sometimes written *Fribustier*, and which is merely the English *Freebooter*. It was a name given to those West India pirates otherwise named *Buccaneers*. Voltaire commences an article concerning them in his *Dict. Phil.* as follows: "On ne sait pas d'où vient le nom de *Flibustiers*, et cependant la génération passée vient de nous raconter les prodiges que ces *Flibustiers* ont faits; nous en parlons tous les jours, nous y touchons. Qu'on cherche après cela des origines, et des étymologies; et si l'on croit en trouver, qu'on s'en défie!" The Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius says, *συγγινες το Α τῷ Ρ*. And the change of λ to ρ is common in *Romaic*. In the very ancient MS. of the *Book of Acts* (in Greek and Latin) entitled *Laud* 3, and edited by Hearne, we have (ch. xxii. 24, 25.) *fragellis* and *fragellare* for *flagellis* and *flagellare*.

⁷⁹ "Lucas quidem inter Scriptores Sacros scribit elegantius cæteris." Valckenaer, *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 322.

decisive of a Latin original. In them they consist chiefly in Græco-Latin *words*; whereas, in Luke, they display themselves in *idioms*, and *phrases*, a characteristic of translation still more decisive than foreign words; and which, in literal versions, it is much more difficult to avoid. "There is no book (says Selden) so translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a French book into English, I turn it into English phrase, not into French English. *Il fait froid*, I say '*Tis cold*, not *It makes cold*; but the Bible is rather translated into English words than into English phrase. The *Hebraisms* are kept, and the phrase of that language is kept: as for example, *he uncovered her shame*, which is well enough, so long as scholars have to do with it; but when it comes among the common people, Lord, what jeer do they make of it⁸⁰!" Now though the Gospel of Luke abounds less with Latin *words*, it has more Latin *phrases* than either Mark or Matthew⁸¹. These Latinisms, indeed, are so frequent, that Valckenaer conjectures, after Grotius and others, that Luke when young had been a slave at Rome, and there imbibed the Latin language⁸². But if Luke had so completely imbibed the Latin language at Rome, as even to think in it

⁸⁰ Selden's *Table-talk*, ap. G. Blunt, p. 163.

⁸¹ As a specimen at once of what I mean, and as authority for my assertion, I shall quote Valckenaer's note on *Luke* xiv. 18, *ἐρωτω σε, εχεις με παρητημενον*. "Quamquam frequens apud Græcos v. *παραιτισθαι*, phrasis tamen Lucæ illis est ignota. Sagaciter autem Grotius animadvertit Lucam frequenter *Latinismos Græcis verbis* expressisse. In eam classem hæc phrasis est referenda, nam Latinè dicitur *Excusatum me habebas*. Sic, præter cæteros, Martialis ii. 79.

Invitas tunc me, quum scis, Nasica, vocasse—

Excusatum habebas me, rogo, cæno domi."

Valck. *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 221.

⁸² In the parable of the prodigal son Luke says, xv. 17, *εις ἑαυτον ελθων*. "Nostrum Lucaneum (says Valckenaer) e phrasi Latina videri queat efformatum. Servulus enim Lucas e Syria Romam ductus, atque ibi pro more Romano medicinam edoctus, *linguam*, nec mirum, *Latinam callebat*. Hinc tot in ipsius libellis divinis observati sunt a Grotio *Latinismi*." *Schol.* vol. i. p. 228. Price often also mentions the Latinisms

when writing Greek, he would have rendered his Gospel still more generally useful had it been composed in Latin. There is indeed a tradition, but by no means uniform, that the Gospel of Luke was written in Achaia. This, if true, would be no proof that it was not composed in Latin; as we shall afterwards find that at Corinth, and some other cities of Achaia, the Latin language was spoken at this period. Michaelis, who has collected nine opinions respecting the place where Luke wrote his Gospel, affirms that "there are only two of which it can be said that they have historical accounts in their favour; namely, that which refers the composition of it to Troas in the fifteenth year after the ascension, and that which refers its composition to Macedonia [Philippi] in the twenty-second year after the ascension. But even these historical accounts (continues he) are of such a nature that they hardly deserve the name of evidence. . . . The most ancient Fathers appear not to have known either the time or the place where St. Luke wrote." This Michaelis confirms by an appeal to Eusebius, and Origen, and thus proceeds: "under these circumstances we must be directed in our choice of the most eligible opinion, not by external but by internal evidence. Now in favour of Troas is the circumstance that this was the place where St. Paul first met with St. Luke, and took him into his company; in favour of Macedonia, [Philippi] that he resided there for some time while Paul was travelling in other countries⁸³."

My object, in this quotation from Michaelis, is not to make it the basis of an argument that Luke wrote either at Troas, or Philippi, (both of them Roman colonies in which the Latin language was spoken,) but merely to hint, in passing, a circumstance, which will receive further elucidation

of Luke: For example, xix. 15, "φωνηθῆναι αὐτῶν, si vera est lectio, Latinismus erit qualis sæpius apud Lucam." Again at verse 18, "ποιεῖν hei' forte Latinismus est, *facere pecuniam* enim dixit Cicero," &c. *Comment.* p. 427.

⁸³ Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 263.

in our next Disquisition. Paul, it should seem, first met with Luke at Troas, where the latter begins to speak in the first person, *Acts* xvi. 10. *WE* endeavoured to go into Macedonia. "He was therefore (remarks Michaelis) at that time in company with St. Paul: and from ver. 12, where he likewise speaks in the first person, it appears that they arrived together at Philippi. In the last verse of the same chapter he mentions St. Paul's departure from Philippi; and in this verse, and likewise in the following chapters, he speaks of St. Paul and his companions in the third person. xvii. 1. *Now when THEY* had passed through *Amphipolis*, &c. Consequently he staid behind at Philippi: for, if he had accompanied St. Paul (he observes), Luke would not have altered his way of writing. The third person (proceeds Michaelis) continues as far as *Acts* xx. 5, 6. where the first person is again used, *These going before tarried for us at Troas, and WE sailed away from Philippi*, &c. Hence we perceive that the author of the Acts of the Apostles remained at Philippi (probably with a view of edifying the newly founded community) during the whole of St. Paul's travels, which are described in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters, and that they again joined company in the same city⁸⁴."

From the name Luke or *Lucanus*, which, like that of Mark or *Marcus*, is Latin; and from his numerous Latinisms; from his first joining Paul in one Roman colony, and being left by him probably to edify another; and, further, from his accompanying the Apostle to Rome, where, as we shall see in our next Disquisition, he was probably useful to him chiefly as a Latin scholar, it might seem not unlikely that Luke wrote in Latin. Michaelis having mentioned that nine different opinions have been advanced respecting the place where Luke wrote his Gospel, Dr. Marsh adds in a note, "To these nine opinions may be added a tenth; for, accord-

⁸⁴ Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 235. 252.

ing to the subscription of some Greek MSS. quoted by Mill, it was written at Rome⁸⁵." Such subscriptions, however, seem to be merely conjectural; and are of little authority, unless when corroborated by internal circumstances. Jerome affirms that the *Book of Acts*, which may be considered as the second part of the Gospel, was written at Rome; but he founds this conclusion not on historical evidence but on a critical inference⁸⁶. There are, indeed, several internal circumstances which render it probable that Luke composed his works in Rome, or Italy. Michaelis supports an opinion of T. Hase, that the Theophilus, to whom Luke addressed his Gospel and Book of Acts, had been a Jewish High Priest. This is exceedingly improbable, as Luke supposes him to be quite a stranger to the geography of Palestine. He mentions i. 26. *a city of Galilee named Nazareth*, iv. 31. *Capernaum a city of Galilee*, viii. 26. *the country of the Gadarenes which is over against Galilee*. In mentioning Arimathea he states xxiii. 51. that it is *a city of the Jews*, remarks that Emmaus is *from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs*, xxiv. 13. and even, *Acts i. 12. that Mount Olivet is from Jerusalem a sabbath-day's journey*. Nor does Luke suppose Theophilus to be familiar with Macedonia or Greece. In speaking of Philippi he says, *Acts xvi. 12. which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia, and a colony*: a proof, by the way, how little foundation there is for one of the conjectures of Michaelis, that Luke wrote in this city. In describing Paul's visit to Athens, he observes that the Athenians *spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing*, *Acts xvii. 21*. On the other hand, when Luke brings the Apostle to the neighbourhood of Rome, all elucidations cease, and he supposes Theophilus to be quite familiar with the geography of the country. *And from thence*

⁸⁵ Michaelis, vol. v. p. 156.

⁸⁶ "Cujus Historia usque ad biennium Romæ commorantis Pauli pervenit, id est usque ad quartum Neronis annum. Ex quo intelligimus in eadem urbe librum esse compositum." Hieron. *Script. Eccl.* in *LUCA*.

(says he *Acts* xxviii. 13.) *we fetched a compass and came to Rhegium; and after one day the south wind blew and we came the next day to Puteoli; where we found brethren; and were desired to tarry with them seven days: and so we went toward Rome, and from thence when the brethren heard of us they came to meet us as far as Apii Forum and the Three Taverns.* Here every place is supposed to be familiar to Theophilus; and the force of the argument may appear more obvious when we find in the Syriac version, that the words *a city of Italy* are subjoined to Puteoli⁸⁷. Had Luke written in Syria, or remote from Rome, such, it is probable, would have been the nature of his elucidations.

Upon the whole, the opinion of the Patriarch Eutychius is as probable as any, that Luke wrote his *Gospel* "to a notable and wise man of the Romans whose name was Theophilus, to whom also he wrote the *Acts* or the history of the Disciples⁸⁸. The Patriarch indeed supposes that Luke wrote in Greek, but in that case there are various phenomena which would seem to argue that our present Greek copies of the writings of Luke are retranslations. So glaring indeed are the Latinisms, that they occasionally appear even in our English version though taken from the Greek⁸⁹. Whatever be the conclusions of the philologist, the presumptions, as we have seen, seem to be as strong that Luke wrote in Latin as in Greek, and that if the present Erasmusian and Elzevir copies of his writings could even be proved versions, we are not reduced to the necessity of supposing that they are merely the copies of a copy.

⁸⁷ "*Act. xxviii. 13. ad Puteolos explicatius addit civitatem Italiae.*" Ridley de Syriac. Nov. Fœd. Verss. Indole, p. 30.

⁸⁸ "*Etiam tempore hujus Imperatoris [Neronis] scripsit Lucas Evangelium suum Græce, ad virum nobilem ex sapientibus Romanis, cui nomen Theophilus, ad quem item scripsit Acta seu Discipulorum historiam.*" Eutych. *Annal.* ap. Lardner, *Works*, vol. vi. p. 112.

⁸⁹ Thus *Acts* xiii. 27. *They knew him not, nor yet the VOICES of the Prophets which are read every Sabbath-day.* Greek φωνας, Lat. voces, viz. words.

I shall now, for a moment before concluding, bestow a single glance on the *Gospel of John*; and as in treating of Matthew and Mark we have founded chiefly on Latin words, and in Luke on Latin phrases, I shall, though specimens of both these kinds of Latinisms occur in John, request the attention of my reader to a different characteristic⁹⁰. Our Lord is, at *John* viii. 31, 32, represented as saying, *If ye continue in my word...the truth shall make you FREE.* [*LIBEROS faciet*, Aug. *reddet*, Erasm.] To this they answer, *We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man; how sayest thou ye shall be made free?* [*Σπερμα Αβρααμ εσμεν, και ουδενι δεδουλευκαμεν πωποτε· πως συ λεγεις οτι ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΙ γενησεσθε;*] Now here it is exceedingly difficult to discern in the Greek text, what connexion the being *Abraham's seed* has with the sentiment, as the seed of Abraham might unfortunately be in bondage as well as any other seed. But let us read the answer in the Latin Vulgate, and we shall see, if I mistake not, the force of the passage. *Responderrunt ei, SEMEN ABRAHÆ sumus, et NEMINI SERVIMUS umquam: quomodo tu dicis LIBERI eritis?* The term LIBEROS has the two-fold meaning of CHILDREN, and of FREE. Our Lord's hearers therefore affirm that his expression *will make you LIBEROS*, was quite improper in either sense of the word. If he meant by LIBEROS, *children*, they could not *become* children, as they were *already* the *seed of Abraham*; if he meant by LIBEROS *free*, this also was improper, as they had *never been slaves*⁹¹.

I shall now allude, for an instant, in this prefatory sketch, to the other great work, *the Apocalypse*, attributed to the

⁹⁰ For example, John twice uses the Latin word *τιτλον titulum*, xix. 19, 20, where in the parallel passages the other Evangelists use pure Greek words. See Schleusner in TITAOΣ. As to his Latin *Phraseology*, I need only appeal to his *πηγη υδατος αλλομενης* iv. 14. *fons aquæ salientis*, which seems to astound even Georgii.

⁹¹ Various passages in the New Testament appear to me to have peculiar beauty and propriety in Latin. I may mention for example the

Evangelist John. This work has been treated with less circumspection than some other books of the canon, even by the most cautious and orthodox critics. Mr. Middleton, in his *Treatise on the Greek Article*, observes on a phrase in the tenth chapter; "I have already remarked that some critics have been disposed to assign to the *Apocalypse* a Hebrew original: I do not know that in behalf of this opinion any stronger argument could be adduced, than that which might be founded on the present passage . . . As to the hypothesis (continues he) of a Hebrew original of this singular composition, the reader probably will not readily assent to it, unsupported as it is by the evidence of history; at the same time he will recollect, that if it could be established, it would relieve us from all difficulties attending the objection, that the style of the *Apocalypse* differs from that employed by St. John in his *Gospel* and *Epistles*." Once more, *Apoc.* viii. 11, Mr. Middleton remarks as follows on ἀψιρθος: "A great many MSS. have ὁ ἀψιρθος, and the article has found its way into the text of Bengel and Griesbach, and even of Matthäi: yet nothing can be more certain than its spuriousness; I mean on the supposition that the present Greek of this writing is the original⁹⁹." Now if a few supposed Hebraisms (which, as we shall afterwards find, may be explained as Latinisms) have induced the most cautious critics to suspect the originality of the present text of the *Apocalypse*,—what are to be the conclusions from the numerous phenomena in proof of a Latin original of our Elzevir Greek copies, which shall be

parable of the sower, *Mark* iv. 14. *Qui seminat, verbum* [sermonem] *seminat*, &c. "Nemo dubitavit (says Valckenaer) quin sermo sit a *serendo*. Respiciens originem, Virgilius, *Æn.* vi. 160,

'Multa inter sese vario sermone serebant.'

Serendi etiam verbum, hac in re posuit Horatius, linguæ patriæ mirum in modum gnarus, in *Arte* 43,

'In verbis etiam tenuis, cautusque serendis.'

Sermones conserere dixit Apul. p. 98." Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 412.

⁹⁹ Middleton's *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, &c. pp. 665, 666, 662. See what the same writer says of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *supra*, p. 65. This learned writer is now Bishop of Calcutta.

laid before the reader? The very word *αψιϑος* in the text above quoted by Mr. Middleton, seems to argue that the writer of the *Apocalypse* wrote the text in Latin; or at least that our present Greek copy is a re-translation from the Latin into Greek ⁹³.

I have now offered a preliminary view of the writings of the Evangelists, as preparatory to what will appear in our subsequent Disquisitions. From what has been already said, it may seem *exceedingly probable* that Mark originally wrote in Latin—*probable* that the Gospel of Matthew was translated through the medium of a Latin version from Hebrew into Greek—not *improbable* that Luke, like Mark, composed his Gospel and its sequel in the Latin tongue—and at least *plausible*, that whatever was the primigenial language of John's Gospel, our present Greek copies are merely versions from the Latin. The general evidence, with respect to the languages originally employed by the Evangelists, is (with the exception of that of Matthew) exceedingly defective; but, were it clearer than it is, would form no conclusive argument against the Latin origin of our present *Erasmian* or *Elzevir* Greek. *Simplicius* wrote his *Commentary De Cælo* in Greek; the original Greek work still exists in MS.; and yet the only printed edition of that work, and from so distinguished a press as that of *Aldus*, is a re-translation from the Latin. Such re-translations as this of *Simplicius* seem to have been much more common than is yet suspected by philologists ⁹⁴. Can we wonder, indeed, at any fact of this sort, when we consider the metamorphosis

⁹³ "Ejusdem cap. viii. 11. S. Joannes ait tertiam partem aquarum factam eis αψιϑον, ac multos homines inde bibentes periisse. Quo dicto alludere videtur ad istud *Jeremiæ* cap. ix. 15, ubi *Vulgata Latina* juxta *Hebræum* habet *Ecce ego cibabo populum istum absynthio, et potum dabo eis aquam fellis*, ac aliud geminum cap. xxiii. 15, ubi *Deus* mendacibus ac impiis *Prophetis* minatur: *Ecce ego cibabo eos absynthio, et potabo eos felle*. Verum LXX. neutro loco habent αψιϑον, sed priori αναγκας, posteriori οδυνην." *Grabe, Diss. de variis Vitiis LXX. Interp.* p. 45.

⁹⁴ See *Appendix*, Note C.

of Mount Hymettus, a hill in the very vicinity and view of Athens, and consecrated by history and song? The modern name of this hill is *τρελλοβουνό*, or the *mad mountain*. "The Venetians (says Mr. Walpole), who called it *Monte Hymetto*, corrupted it into *Monte Matto*; *Matto* signifies *Mad*, and the modern Greeks have chosen to translate the two words literally by *Trelo-Vouni*, the *Mad Mountain* ⁹⁵." This *Mad Mountain* may yet furnish us a lesson well worthy a few ounces of its ancient honey. If the Greeks thus condescended to re-translate the name even of Mount Hymettus, not merely from Italian, but an Italian barbarism, we need not wonder at any similar metamorphosis; or that what had been once Greek might become Latin, and again, like the *Aldine Simplicius* and the *Mad Mountain*, be re-translated into Greek.

⁹⁵ ap. Clarke, *Travels*, vol. iii. p. 573, 4to. See also *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxiii. p. 332, note.

DISQUISITION III.

The Author in this Disquisition, after some prefatory Account of two celebrated Controversies, one concerning the Purity of the Style of the New Testament, and the other relating to the proper Designation of that Style, proceeds to examine the Style of the Apostle Paul.—He submits to the Reader, whether the barbarous Words and Solecisms which the Greek Fathers, &c. profess to discover in that Apostle's Style, and of which Examples are given, do not seem to betray a Latin Origin.—The Author concludes by giving an Account of the Origin of his Disquisitions, and of the Defects of the Hypothesis of Hardouin.

ΙΔΙΩΤΗΣ ΤΩ ΛΟΓΩ. 2 Cor. xi. 6.

IN the preceding Disquisition I have offered a number of observations, which seem to prove that (with the exception of the *Gospel of Matthew*) we have no accurate ancient evidence relative to the language in which the Gospels were originally composed. Even though we had, however, this might not greatly affect a stubborn philologist; since his argument might be, not that the Holy Apostles wrote in this or that language, but merely that our modern Greek Elzevir is a version from the Latin. To refer again to Simplicius—The learned Peyron does not affirm (for he well knew the contrary) that Simplicius originally wrote in Latin, but merely that the Aldine edition of his work *De Calo* is a re-translation from that language. So what might be argued, is not that Luke or Paul originally wrote in Latin, but merely that our Elzevir Greek text seems to bear innumerable marks of having been translated or re-translated from the Latin language. This is a mere question of philology, and is to be

decided upon philological principles, and its own internal evidence. It is possible that we may yet meet with some MS. of greater age and worth than we have hitherto had the fortune to find¹. It is possible that, like the Turin MS. of Simplicius, some MS. of the New Testament, bearing no marks of a version from the Latin, may be exhumed from the dark recesses of some unexplored cloister. It is not impossible that the lost original of Matthew may yet be recovered; but in the mean time let us be thankful to Providence, and make a proper use of such documents as we have.

As in the preceding Disquisition I have taken a cursory view of the style of the Evangelists, so far as regards their Latinisms, it is my purpose to devote the greater part of the present one to an examination of the style of the most copious writer of the New Testament, the Apostle Paul. As introductory to this, however, and in order that this book may be

¹ See *Preface*, p. v. "Lactance a fait lui-même un abrégé de ce grand ouvrage intitulé *Epitome Institutionum*. Une grande partie de cet extrait s'étoit déjà perdue du temps de S. Jérôme: Christophe Mathieu Pfaff, professeur de Tubingue, retrouva l'abrégé entier dans un très-ancien manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Turin." Schoell. *Hist. Abreg. de la Litt. Rom.* tom. iv. p. 30. Paris 1815. Gibbon, mentioning the writings of Procopius, says: "His works were mutilated by the first Latin translators, Christopher Persona and Raphael de Volaterra, who did not even consult the MS. of the Vatican Library, of which they were prefects." And speaking of the *Anecdotes* of the same writer, he says: "Baronius regrets the loss of this secret history: it was then in the Vatican Library in his own custody." *Decline and Fall*, chap. xl. vol. vii. p. 62, 63. Tyrwhitt tells us that he was aided in his conjectures de *Babrio* "præsertim ope codicis ejusdam MSti in Bibliotheca Bodleiana servati, qui editores Esopi huc usque latuit. Et tamen (adds he in a note) qui postremam editionem curavit anno 1718 Johannes Hudsonus Bibliothecæ illius a multis retro annis Protobibliothecarius fuerat. Neque id dico ut obtretem viro docto, industrio, et de literis præsertim Græcis optime merito, sed ut luculento exemplo demonstrem quantum incommodi res literaria sustinuit, et sustinebit ex Indicibus Manuscriptorum minus accurate confectis." *De Babrio*, p. clxi. These, and other facts of the same kind, show that we may not yet know the extent of our *Manuscript* treasures.

a more complete work on the language of the New Testament, I shall here set down some general observations, partly of a historical nature.

I. The **STYLE** of the Books of the New Testament has been the subject of a double controversy, and many dissertations and some considerable works have been written upon the subject. Of these controversies, one related to its *purity*. Origen and Chrysostom, Theodoret and others of the Greek Fathers, agree, with one voice, that the style of the New Testament is full of barbarisms and solecisms; and Jerome, almost the only Latin Father who could judge of it, is of the same opinion². Henry Stephens indeed affirmed, in a Preface to the New Testament, that this matter had been exaggerated, and promised to write a book in defence of the style of the sacred writers³.

² Quotations from Origen and Chrysostom on this subject will, by and by, be given. Theodoret, Serm. v. *De natura hominis*, says: “Ὁρῶντες βαρβαροφώνως τὴν ἑλληνικὴν εὐχλωττίαν νενιηκότας, καὶ τῆς ἀλειτουργικῆς σολοικισμῶς τῆς Ἀττικῆς καταλελυκότας ξυλλογισμῶς. Cum viderent barbare loquentes homines Græcam eloquentiam devicisse, ac piscatorios solacismos solvisse Atticos syllogismos.” The reader will find a collection of the opinions of the ancients on the subject of the rudeness of style in the Books of the New Testament, at p. 591 *et sqq.* of Rhenferd’s *Dissertationum Philologico-Theologicarum de Stylo Nov. Test. Syntagma*. Leovardiae 1702, in 4to. See also Simon, *Hist. Crit. du N. T.* chap. xxvi. p. 303 *et sqq.* How strongly the current of authority sets in against the style of the N. T. appears from the declaration of Georgii, that as this doctrine “contra Spiritus Sancti sapientiam, ac sanctitatem pugnet, non audiendum est, licet id centies omnes affirmassent Patres!!” *Hierocrit. Nov. Test.* p. 102. Witt. 1733. 4to.

³ Henr. Steph. *Nov. Test.* in 12mo, 1576. This Preface is republished in the *Syntagma* of Dissertations collected by T. H. Van den Honert. Amst. 1702. 4to. “A particular account (says Dr. Marsh) of the writings of those authors who have engaged in this controversy, may be seen in Walchii *Bibliotheca Theologica*, tom. iv. p. 276—289. See also Fabricii *Bibl. Græca*, lib. iv. tom. iii. p. 224—227.” *Notes to Michaelis*, vol. i. p. 392. There are some very good remarks on the subject of the style of the New Testament in the first volume of Michaelis, p. 111 *et seq.* The reader may also consult with advantage Ernesti’s *Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti*. P. i. § ii. c. iii. p. 83 *et sqq.* edit. Ammon. Lipsiæ, 1809.

This, however, he never accomplished. The earliest work on this subject was a small treatise by Pfochenius, published in 1629, and entitled *Diatribæ de Lingua Græcæ Nov. Test. Puritate*. Rhenferd in the Preface to his *Synitagma*, in which it may be found, gives an account of the origin of this *Diatribæ*. Its author and the Rabbinical Cocceius, both young men, were students at Franequer; and the latter having translated two Talmudical treatises—*Sanhedrim* and *Maccoth*—gave notice in his Preface, that he meditated a work in which he would show that the Talmud and Talmudical writers greatly contribute to illustrate the New Testament. Pfochenius (whether from waggery or jealousy of Cocceius) wrote his *Diatribæ* to show that the style of the New Testament is pure Greek, and is to be illustrated not from Jewish but from classic writers⁴. Gataker composed a work on the style of the New Testament expressly in refutation of Pfochenius; and many dissertations were written on either side; but with this difference, that the ablest scholars were in hostility to the

⁴ I beg to recommend to the reader's notice the following remarks of Rhenferd, in giving an account of the origin of this controversy: "At quorsum, inquires, hæc, quæ tot annos latuerunt, quæque ipsi Cocceius et Pfochenius vulgata noluerunt, nunc in lucem protracta? Non aliam sane ob causam B. L. nisi ut ne tu originem et historiam hujus controversiæ ignorares: quandoquidem ad momentum disputationis recte ponderandum magni interesse existimo, principium ejus atque fontem, ex quo fluxit, probe novisse. Non raro enim fieri videas, siquis modo sit, qui signum efferat, et causam Dei vel Spiritus S. disputationi suæ prætexat, eximiumque pietatis studium et ardorem præ se ferat, ut hunc reliqui plerique omnes sequantur; qui tamen, si ipsas rerum causas intelligerent, et fontes scirent ex quibus controversiæ primum manarunt, vix dubium est, illos multo aliter de re tota esse existimatu-ros." *Synitagma, Præf.* The vile attempt to overwhelm opponents by calumny, instead of criticism, has existed from the earliest times, and has been employed against individuals the most illustrious. "Nos quotiescunque (says Jerome) solæcismos, aut tale quid annotamus, non Apostolum pulsamus, ut malevoli criminantur." Hier. *Comm. in cap. iii. Ephes.* And Erasmus thus exclaims, *Apol. adv. quosd. Monach. Hisp.* "Nunc cum, contemptis linguis, totaque lectionis curâ neglecta, ne Codicum quidem habitâ ratione, tam multa confusa corruptaque sint in Sacris Codicibus,

Purists⁵. I may add, that Hemsterhuis, Rhunken, Valckenaer, and the chief Greek scholars and critics of modern times, speak of those who defend the purity of the style of the Greek Testament as absolutely ridiculous⁶.

Of the various writers on the subject of the style of the New Testament, no one seems to me to have spoken with more good sense than Dr. Campbell, and I must beg leave to make a pretty long extract from him. After some prefatory remarks concerning the inspired authors, he thus proceeds: "The homeliuess of their diction, when criticised by the rules of grammarians and rhetoricians, is what all the most learned and judicious of the Greek Fathers have frankly owned. And is it modest in us, petty critics of modern times, to pretend to be nicer judges of purity and elegance in the Greek language than Origen and Chrysostom, whose native language it was; and who, besides, were masters of uncommon skill, as well as fluency in that language?" I have.

isti nihil aliud occinunt nobis, quam auctoritatem Ecclesiæ, et Spiritum Sanctum Scripturarum Auctorem." One of the most bigoted defenders of the style of the N. T. is Georgii, who displays a most malignant temper, while pretending to defend the glory of the Holy Spirit against the blasphemies, as he pretends, of Erasmus, Beza, Salmasius, &c.

⁵ See Ernesti, *Int. N. Test.* p. 83. "Qui scripsere de stylo N. T. quos inter eminet Th. Gatakerus." Valckenaer *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 10. He is learned, indeed, but diffuse; and one is sometimes tempted to exclaim, in his own phrase and orthography, *Sed qorsum isti?*

⁶ "Eorum, qui orationem N. F. Græcam esse castigatissimam contendunt, opinio mihi semper ridicula fuit visa." Hemster. *ad Lucianum*, ii. p. 361. "Qui quidem contendunt stilum in his Libris (N. F.) esse pure Græcum, his de rebus sic judicant, ut de coloribus cæci." Valckenaer *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 21. ii. 317. "Quod superiore seculo [xvii] hujus etiam initio magna cum fiducia fecere nonnulli, de stylo, re perdifficili, sicut cæci de coloribus, plerique judicantes, quis hoc tempore scribere his in oris auderet stylum Novi Fæderis esse purum et Græcum?" Valckenaer *Coroll. ad Orat. de Critica*, &c. p. 319.

⁷ As a specimen of the absurdity here justly ridiculed by Dr. Campbell, I shall give a quotation from the work of Mr. Middleton *on the Greek Article*. This learned writer, making some remarks on *John* i. 1. *ὁ λόγος*, says: "It is, therefore, not very easy to perceive what Origen could mean in his Commentary on this verse, when he commends the

heard of a French critic who undertook to demonstrate that Aristotle did not understand Greek, nor Livy Latin. There is hardly an opinion so paradoxical or absurd as not to find some admirers. What wonder then that we should meet with people who esteem a Pfochenius and a Blackwell better judges of Greek than the greatest orators amongst the Grecians; and maintain that Paul's style, in spite of his own verdict, is as classical as Plato's? The writings of the ancient Greeks have been rummaged for the discovery of words and phrases which, in the import given them, might appear to resemble what has been accounted Hebraism or Syriasm in the New Testament. The success of such endeavours has been far from giving satisfaction to readers of discernment. It will readily be acknowledged by the impartial, that several idioms in the New Testament have been mistaken for Oriental, which may be as truly denominated Grecian. But there remains a much larger number of those brought under that class, concerning which there can be no reasonable doubt."

"The methods by which our opponents on this article (continues Dr. Campbell) support their hypothesis are, I say, unsatisfactory. There are such negligencies in the style, even of the best writers, as to render it unsafe to pronounce on the goodness of an expression which we have only once met with, though in a celebrated author:—much less ought a singular phrase found in one single classic, similar to an idiom frequent in the New Testament, to be accounted evidence that the idiom was in general and approved use, which always determines purity in every tongue. The singularity in the one case, opposed to the frequency in the other, should lead us to a very different conclusion." In fact, in the case here adduced by

caution of the Evangelist in omitting the article before *Θεός* as applied to the Logos: whatever degree of divinity that Father might impute to the Logos, the *article could not have been used in this place*, for the reasons already alleged." p. 343. This is somewhat in the style of "*Chespire, que les Anglais écrivent Shakespeare*." [See *Q. R.* vol. xxiii. p. 197.] or the following correction in the *Recherches sur les Bibliothèques* of Petit-Radel—"York *liscs* Yorck."

Dr. Campbell, it is probable that the negligence is not in the original author, but in his transcriber. The copyists of ancient MSS. were, for many ages back, Christians imbued with the style of the Greek Testament; and nothing was more natural, than that occasionally a modern or impure word should from carelessness have been substituted for its synonyme, which, though classical, was less familiar^a.

The learned Doctor proceeds to show in what respects the methods employed by the defenders of the purity of the style of the N. T. are unsatisfactory. I shall only mention the last of these, and chiefly on account of the admirable illustration. "Further (says Dr. Campbell) a strong resemblance in an expression admitted to be classical, will not suffice for removing the charge of foreign idiom from the resembling but different expression:—in most cases nothing less than identity will serve. I shall illustrate this (continues he in a note) by an example in regard to which every English reader can with safety be more decisive than even men of li-

^a Fischer in his *Prolusions*, mentioning the occasional *confutations* of the ancient grammarians, by Georgii, Triller, and others, says: "Et quis non videt, Grammaticis antiquis adire fere contigisse Codices scriptorum Atticorum accurate scriptos, atque integros, neque contaminatos, certe multo integriores, minusque corruptos iis, ex quibus libros eorum nostræ ætatis editos expressos, atque deductos, esse novimus? Librarios enim recentiores, qui essent communis, non item Attici sermonis consuetudine assueti, res ipsa loquitur, pro verbis Atticis verba Macedonica et Alexandrina, pro formis verborum interioribus, reconditisque, vulgares eorum, cotidianasque formas, sæpenumero, vel sponte sua, vel sedulitate recentiorum grammaticorum deceptos, substituuisse. Itaque tantum abest, ut e scriptura Librorum editorum sententia ferri contra præcepta grammaticorum veterum possit, ut etiam auctoritas eorum ad illam emendandam fere magis, ut prius, quam recentiorum codicum fides, adhiberi debeat, præsertim quum Scriptura antiquissimi cujusque codicis, si non omnibus, tamen multis in locis, vocibus grammaticorum respondere reperiatur." Fischer, *Prolusiones de Vitiis Lexicorum Nov. Test.* p. 663. Lips. 1791. This mode of substitution and modernization, as he observes in a note, is ancient. Quintilian tells us that the ancients wrote *po' meridiem*; and that Cato the Censor wrote *die' hanc*; "quæ in veteribus libris reperta (says he) mutare imperiti solent, et dum librarium insectari volunt incitiam, suam consentunt." *Inst. lib.* ix. 4. 39.

terature are qualified to be in regard to an example taken from a dead language. In a letter during the late war from the captain of a French privateer to the magistrates of a sea-port, demanding a contribution, and threatening, in the case of non-compliance, to destroy the town, there was this expression—‘I will *make* my duty.’ No Englishman, we are certain, would have expressed himself so, unless he had done it for a disguise. Yet I can easily conceive that a foreigner, who has learnt our language only by book, might speciously maintain that the expression, so far from being a Gallicism, is unexceptionable English. ‘Is it not (he would argue) common to say I will *do* my duty? Now if this expression be classical, where is the impropriety in substituting one synonymous word for another?’ And to show that *do* and *make* are synonymous, he might urge, First, that in most other tongues one word serves for both. Thus each of them is rendered into Latin *facere*; into Italian *fare*; into French *faire*. Secondly, though he had not found in any English book the identical phrase, *to make duty*, he could produce expressions in which there is an entire similarity. *To make court*, *To make obeisance*, are both good; nay it strengthens the argument that *to do obeisance* is also used in the same signification. Shakespeare says ‘What *make* they there?’ which is equivalent to ‘What *do* they there?’ Dryden speaks of ‘the faults that he had *made*,’ though, doubtless, the more usual expression would have been, ‘the faults that he had *done*.’ Now from the first principles of analogy, we are warranted to conclude, that if *making a fault* be proper to express *doing wrong*; *making a duty* is proper to express *doing right*. All this is very plausible, and would probably be sufficient to convince most strangers; but would only extort a smile from an intelligent native, on whom a thousand such arguments could make no impression. Yet I will venture to affirm that, if there be no solidity in this reasoning, nine-tenths of what has been so pompously produced to show that the supposed Hebraisms of the New Testament are in the genuine idiom of the Greck tongue, are no better than arrant trifling. It

was to triflers of this sort that Chrysostom said very appositely, ‘That we may not render ourselves ridiculous, arguing thus with Grecians, for our dispute is with them; let us accuse the Apostles of being illiterate, for this accusation is an encomium.’ Origen goes still further, and says, ‘The Apostles, not insensible of their own defects, profess themselves to be of the vulgar *in speech, but not in knowledge*.’”

The admirable remarks which I have now quoted from Dr. Campbell, render it quite unnecessary for me to bring any further evidence in proof of the unclassical style of the writers of the New Testament. I would only, before proceeding to give an account of the other controversy concerning the style of these writers, observe, that, applying the illustration above given on “I will *make* my duty” to translation, the adoption of *foreign idioms* is no less decisive of a version,

⁹ Campbell on the Gospels, Prelim. Dissert. i. p. 21 et seq. The words of Chrysostom are, (Hom. iii. in 1 Cor. i.) ‘ἵνα μὴ καταγελωμεθα, ἕτο διαλεγόμενοι πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀγωνίην, κατηγοροῦμεν ἀποστόλων ὡς ἀμαθῶν· ἡ γὰρ κατηγορία αὕτη ἐγκωμίων. Those of Origen, quoted and translated by Dr. C., are; Οὐκ ἀσυναίσθητοι οἱ Ἀπόστολοι τυγχάνοντες τῶν ἐν οἷς προσκοπτοῦσι, φασὶν ἰδιῶται εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ γνώσει. *Philocal.* cap. iv. See Simon, *Hist. Crit.* p. 308. See also the Apology of Basil to Libanius: Τί γὰρ ἀνείποιμεν πρὸς οὕτως Ἀττικίζουσαν γλῶσσαν πλὴν ὅτι ἄλιων εἰμι μαθητῆς, ὁμοῦ καὶ φίλων. *Quid enim dicam ad egregiam illam Atticam linguam nisi quod Piscatorum Discipulus esse, ac audiri volo et amo.* *Epist.* clxiii. or ap. Ducange, *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Græc.* p. v.

As a relief from this learning, and a proof of the danger of founding conclusions on synonymes, (a practice much resorted to by the Pfochenians,) I beg leave to quote Joe Miller.—“A Frenchman, whose knowledge of the English language was rather imperfect, wishing to see the will of a friend, went to Doctors’ Commons, and very politely inquired ‘whether they had the SHALL of Monsieur Gresset.’ The clerks to whom the application was made, informed the accomplished stranger that their office was not the emporium of SHAWLS: upon which he said, that ‘he wanted the Testament’—‘Oh! you wish to see a WILL?’—‘Dat is what I want,’ replied Monsieur, ‘and I did tink dat SHALL and WILL was de same ting, *car* my grammar say *Je serai* I shall or will be.’”

than the adoption of *foreign words*. Mr. Laing, speaking of the Letters attributed to Queen Mary, observes, that "Whitaker struggles hard to obviate the French idioms produced by Hume. In limiting (continues he) the idioms quoted by Hume to the similarity of a single word, he overlooked a plain proposition,—that the idioms of a language may reside either in the peculiar use and acceptation, or in the peculiar collocation, arrangement, or construction of a word or of a phrase. To *make fault, make breck, make gude watch*, &c. are evidently translated from the French phrases *faire des faults, faire breche, faire bonne garde*, &c. in which the construction and the use or acceptation of *faire* are peculiar to the tongue. *Have you not desire to laugh—The place will hold untill the death*, are derived also from French constructions, 'N'avez-vous pas envie de rire'—'La place tiendra jusque à la mort : ' in the first of which the article is omitted, in the other inserted, in strict conformity with the French, and in direct opposition to the Scottish idiom. *He may not come forth of the house this long time ; put order to it*. ' Il ne peut pas sortir du logis de long tems ; mettez ordre à cela'—in which Whitaker searches in the word for that idiom which consists in the construction and acceptation of the phrases.....Such writers forget the question, that it is not whether a few French words as *moyen, faschious* have crept into Scotch ; but whether a professed translation, word for word from the original French, contains a literal transcript of such French idioms, as *a journey* for a day's work, and a *voyage* for a journey¹⁰."

I cannot, before leaving this part of my subject, omit to take notice of an error committed by Mr. Tooke, in his *Diversions of Purley*, not less gross than that of Pfochenius and his followers. In all literal versions, it is extremely difficult to avoid the occasional adoption of the idiom of the language from which the version is made¹¹. Owing, perhaps, to a

¹⁰ Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 339. See *supra*, p. 107.

¹¹ This is ingeniously illustrated by Salmasius as follows. "Est enim et quidam ἐρμενευτικός χαρακτήρ eorum proprius et peculiaris, qui de

laudable reverence for the Sacred Writings, but which has led to unlucky consequences, the versions of Scripture have often been so slavishly literal as to be unintelligible. The idioms and phraseology of the original have been preserved; and an acceptation given to words wholly remote from their common signification. Mr. Tooke often quotes a MS. version from the Vulgate, which is slavishly and often ludicrously literal¹². In this version, from which I gave some quotations in my preceding Disquisition [p. 87], the idioms of the original are servilely preserved, and English words are tortured to an exact coincidence with the original Latin ones.

alia in aliam linguam scripta alicujus auctoris converterunt. Vix enim fieri potest quin ex ea lingua unde vertitur, lineamenta ipsa transfundantur, quibus alia pæne evadit scribendi idea a communi ejus linguæ, in quam sermo alterius translatus est. Sic qui ex patre nigro seu Æthiope natus est, et matre alba, imaginem plerumque utriusque parentis ita mixtam refert, ut colorem facie præferat nec atrum nec album, sed ex utroque temperatum, fuscum." *Hellenist.* p. 247.

¹² As examples of its servility, we have [see *Divers. of Purley*, vol. ii. p. 213.] *the heigeste preistis makinge counseil* (consilium facientes summi sacerdotes), *forsothe the Morewn maad Jhesu stood* (mane autem facto stetit Jesus), p. 213. *For my tyme is not yit fillid. . thanne and he, &c.* (quia meum tempus nondum impletum est. . tunc et ipse, John vii. 8.) p. 278 : *in al the rowndnesse of erthis* (in universo orbe terrarum, *Act.* xi. 28.) p. 510. This scrupulous adherence to the original has led the old translator to make use of some coarse words. Thus in the parable of the barren Fig-tree, *Luke* xiii. 7, he makes the master say, " wherto occupieth it the erthe. And he answeringe seide to him, Lord, suffre also this yeer : *til the while I delue aboute it, and sende Toordis. And if it shal make fruyt, &c.*" Here the translator wished to give *stercora* in the plural, as in the Latin Vulgate—*usque dum fodiam circa illam, et mittam STERCORA; et siquidem fecerit fructum, &c.* For a like reason, *Philip.* iii. 8. he makes the Apostle say that all things, " I deme as Toordis, that I wyne Crist." See *Divers. of Purley*, vol. ii. p. 297. I know not whether it was a copy of this version which Mr. Evelyn saw in the Bodleian Library. " He shew'd us (says he) amongst the MSS., an old English Bible, wherein y^e Eunuch, mentioned to be baptized by Philip, is called the Gelding : ' And Philip and the Gelding went down into the water,' " &c. *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 277. Lond. 1819. These quotations may also serve to show that it is not a matter of indifference in what style the sentiments of Scripture are clothed and conveyed.

Mr. Tooke, however, overlooking this circumstance, and the unnatural phraseology produced, appeals occasionally to the sense of words as given in this MS., as a proof of their *ancient genuine English* signification. I shall here add an example of this his fallacious mode of reasoning. "There was anciently (says he) in our language a *Minute* of money as well as a Minute of time; and its value was half a farthing—'She *sente* twey *Mynutis*, that is, a *Ferthing*.'" Mark xii. 42. Now this is merely a slavish version of the Latin Vulgate "*misit duo Minuta, quod est Quadrans*;" and it does not follow (as Mr. Tooke supposes) that we had ever a particular coin so denominated. In like manner Mr. Tooke, endeavouring to prove that *send* was in old English equivalent to *cast* or *thrown*, argues thus—"But the plainest instance I can recollect of the indifferent use of *SEND*, and *cast* or *thrown*, is in the xiith chapter of Mark [41—44], "And Ihesu sittinge ayens the tresorie bihelde hou the cumpany *castide* money into the tresorie: and many riche men *castiden* manye thingis. Sotheli whanne a pore widewe hadde come, she *SENTE* twey minutis, that is a ferthing. And he clepinge togidre hise disciplis, seide to hem, treuly I seie to you, for this pore widewe *SENTE* more than alle men that *SENTEN* in to the tresorie: for alle *SENTEN* of that thing that was plenteuose to hem: sotheli this *SENTE* of hir povert¹³.'" Now all this use of *send* for *cast* is merely owing to the servility of the version, which follows the original at the expense both of sense and English¹⁴.

¹³ *Diversions of Purley*, vol. ii. pp. 28. 143. "Et sedens Jesus contra gazophylacium, aspicebat quomodo turba JACTARETÆS in gazophylacium, et multi divites JACTABANT multa. Cum venisset autem vidua una pauper MISIT duo minuta, quod est quadrans. Et convocans discipulos suos, ait illis, Amen dico vobis, quoniam vidua hæc pauper plus omnibus MISIT, qui MISERUNT in gazophylacium. Omnes enim ex eo quod abundabat illis MISERUNT, hæc vero de penuria MISIT." *Marc. xii. 41—44. Lat. Vulg.*

¹⁴ In the *Bibliothèque Mazarine* there is a MS. Psalter, "dou Latin trait et translateit en Romans en langue Loreenne" (l'an mccc. et lxxv.

II. I shall now proceed to give a very short account of the other great controversy relative to the *STYLE* of the New Testament. In this dispute, all the contending parties were agreed that the phraseology of the sacred writers is unclassical; but they differed as to the denomination which should be assigned to this singular diction. "The first author (says Dr. John Blair) who adventured to give this peculiarity of style of the New Testament a technical or characteristical title, was the learned Joseph Scaliger, who was one of the boldest and most universal critics of the age in which he lived. For in his animadversions upon the *Prolegomena* of St. Jerome, he is pleased to express himself thus: *aptissimè phrasin Novi Testamenti, HELLENISTICAM vocari posse*—that the language of the New Testament was most properly to be distin-

ans), from the Preface to which I shall extract some sentences bearing upon this point. 'Quar pour tant que langue Romance et especialement de Loreenne est imperfecte, et plus assés que nul aultre entre les laingages parfaits, il n'est nuls tant soit bons clerc, ne bien parlans Romans, qui lou latin puisse translater en Romans, quant a plusour mos dou latin, mais convient que per corruption et per diseite des mos *francois*, que en disse lou Romans selonc lou latin. Si com, *iniquitas*, iniquiteit; *redemptio*, rédemption; *miser cordia*, misericorde, et ainsi de mains et plusours aultres tels mos qu'eil convient ainsi dire en Romans comme on dit en latin' . . .

"Auci est il a savoir que li latins ait plusour mos que nullement en Romans on ne puet dire, maiques per circonlocution et exposition, et qui les vorioit dire selonc lou latin en Romans, il ne dit ne latin boin, ne Romans; mais aucune fois moitieit latin, motieit Romans. Et per une vaine curiouseteit et per aventure, per ignorance, vellent dire lou Romans selonc lou latin de mot a mot: si comme dient aucuns *negocia ardua* negoces ardues, et *effunde Frameam et conclude adversus eos*, effunt ta frame et conclut encontre eux. Si nait ne sentence, ne construction, ne parfait entendement." ap. Petit-Radel, *Recherches sur les Bibliothèques*, p. 340, 341. 8vo. Paris 1819. We see from the above how dangerous it is to appeal to these old Scripture versions as tests of language. I may add that many Greek and Latin words were adopted into the Gothic and other old versions of Scripture, with a very slight change; and these words now often pass for *northern primitives*. Hence, also, one chief source of the introduction of Greek and Latin words into the modern languages.

guished by the designation of the *Phrasis Hellenistica*. This new title was soon after espoused and adopted by a number of men of learning, who were pleased to honour it as 'acutum Scaligeranum *ἑλληνισμὸς*.' This is the expression of Drusius in his book *De tribus Sectis Hebræorum*, as also of Sixtinus Amama in his *Bibliotheca Antibarbarica*, and likewise of Petrus Cunæus *De Republica Hebræorum*. But these were soon followed by another learned critic, viz. the famous Daniel Heinsius, who carried this hypothesis to a much greater length, and distinguished those who wrote and spoke the same species of Greek-language that was made use of in the books of the New Testament by the name of *Gens Hellenistarum*, a nation of Hellenists, and asserting that the language itself was the *Hellenistic dialect*, which was well known both in the Lesser Asia and all over the East, blending and mixing the Hebrew with the Greek language.... The learned Salmasius (continues Dr. J. Blair) has very ably examined and refuted this hypothesis of Heinsius, first in his dissertation *De Lingua Hellenistica*; and in a second publication that able critic, with a presumption and arrogance which has been too much assumed by critics in all ages, entitled the two parts of his work *Finis Linguae Hellenisticae*, and the second part *Ossilegium Linguae Hellenisticae*; as if he had first regularly performed the funeral ceremony, and then as deliberately, after a little time, gathered the bones of it into his charnel-house of 'critical learning'¹⁵."

¹⁵ *Lectures on the Canon*, pp. 207. 208. 214. Lond. 1785, 4to. Dr. Blair has here for several pages translated or paraphrased Olearius (one of the best writers on the Style of the N. T.), but without once naming him. I shall quote the original: "Josephus Scaliger, ut ingeniosus fuit Artifex, sic aptissime phrasin N. T. HELLENISTICAM vocari posse, primus Auctor extitit *Animadv. in Proleg. Hieronymi*. Insecuti, mox alii non pauci, qui ambabus, quod aiunt, manibus acutum hoc Scaligeranium *ἑλληνισμὸς* fuerunt amplexi...Vide cumprimis Drusium *De tribus Sectis*, p. 89. [69] Sixtinum Amamam *Antibarb. Bibl.* p. 14. Petrum Cunæum de *Republ. Hebr.*" &c. Now here (which I would point out to the reader as a warning against copying, unless from necessity, at second hand) we have

The treatise of Salmasius *De Hellenistica* is exceedingly valuable on account of its remarks on the Greek dialects; and particularly on their disuse, or on the manner in which they were blended and fell into decay in consequence of the Macedonian conquests. I have no where met with better observations on the formation of what has been termed the κοινή διαλεκτος or common language. The book, however, contains many controversialisms (if I may so term them), or, in truth, mere cavils about a word; since Salmasius agreed with his adversaries that the Greek of the versions of the Old and of the New Testament is singular in its phraseology, and the term *Hellenistic* is as good a denomination to designate the peculiar style of the Greek Scriptures as any other. To me, indeed, it seems to deserve the preference, as involving less theory than any other that has been hitherto proposed. Father Simon, for example, (with whom Villoison consents,) wishes it to be termed the *Greek of the Synagogue*, assuming thus a fact which is still disputed, whether the Greek versions of the Scriptures were anciently read in the Synagogues or not¹⁶. A third designation has been given to the

in Dr. Blair's paraphrase of the above passage—1. the title of the work of Drusius filled up *De tribus Sectis HEBRÆORUM* instead of *JUDÆORUM*.—2. that of Amama, which is *Antibarbarus Biblicus*, converted into *Bibliotheca Antibarbarica*.—3. Dr. Blair, mistaking the proverbial phrase *quod aiunt* [as the saying is], represents Drusius, Amama, and Cunæus, as using the expression "*acutum Scaligeranum ἰνσημα*:" which are not their words, but those of Olearius. See Rhenferd. *Syntagma*, p. 123.

Salmasius was of opinion that Drusius was the first author of the term Hellenistic [*Ossileg. L. H.* p. 387]. On turning to the passage above referred to by Olearius, we read thus [in J. Drusii *De tribus Sectis Judæorum*]: "Quæ produxi propter vulgus Literatorum. Nam ignorant Apostolos et Evangelistas peculiarem dialectum habuisse, *quam Hellenisticam vocamus*, qua usi sunt post Interpretes LXX., Aquila, Theodotio, Symmachus, item autores librorum Apocryphorum, omnesque adeo Judæi qui Græco sermone aliquid conscribebant. Excipio Philonem, Josephum, et alios paucos." ap. Trigland. *Syntagma*, vol. i. p. 252.

¹⁶ "On lui [à Saumaise] accorde volontiers qu'il n'y a jamais eu chez les Grecs aucune *dialecte* de ce nom [Hellenistique], c'est pourquoi j'ai ap-

style of the Greek Scriptures, and this of late years seems to have become more fashionable than any other. It has been termed the *Alexandrian dialect*, and sometimes the *Macedonian*; as Alexandria was founded by a Macedonian, and in part colonised from that country—

—*Pellæi gens fortunata Canopi*

Accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum. Georg. iv. 287.

It is well known that a strong resemblance exists between the idiom and phraseology of the Greek version of the Old Testament, commonly named the *Septuagint*, and that of the New Testament. "In order," says Valckenaer, "rightly to understand the text of the N. T., nothing is so useful as the study of the Alexandrian version of the Old, from which alone more aid may be derived, than from all the ancient Greek writers collected together. Hundreds of words may be found in the N. T. not to be met with in the writings of the ancient Greeks, but common in the Alexandrian version¹⁷." The name of *Alexandrian* has been given to this version in preference to

pellé ailleurs cette langue Grecque des Juifs Hellenistes un *Grec de Synagogue*." Simon, *Hist. Crit.* p. 320. There is a very good account of the Hellenistic controversy in this *Hist. Critique du N. T.* chap. xxvii. and xxviii.; but Simon is too severe on Salmasius. Nor is he much better treated by Hody, *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 229 *et seq.* The cavils (if they may be so called) of Salmasius on the impropriety of naming the Hellenistic style a *Dialect*, have occasioned discussions on the dialects which are the most valuable parts of his book.

¹⁷ "Græcum N. T. contextum rite intellectu nihil est utilius, quam diligenter versasse Alexandrinam antiq. F. interpretationem, e qua una plus peti poterit auxilii, quam ex veteribus scriptoribus Græcis simul sumtis. Centena reperientur in N. T. nusquam obvia in Scriptis Græcorum veterum, sed frequentata in Alex. Vers. In horum fere censum (adds V. who is treating of διασκορπισε *Luc* i. 51.) referri poterunt σκορπίζειν, et διασκορπίζειν, quæ in Macedonum dialecto, atque adeo Alexandrina, significarunt *spargere, dispergere*." Valckenaer. *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 48. In fact, it appears to me that *spargere* and *dispergere* are the parents of σκορπίζειν and διασκορπίζειν; and that Macedonia has about as much concern in the matter as Monmouth. It will be seen in a subsequent Disquisition that much of the *Septuagint* is probably modern, and translated or altered from the Latin.

that of the LXX. by some who wished to discountenance the legend on which the latter designation is founded. Whoever was the translator, it is generally agreed that a version of the *Pentateuch* was made at Alexandria in the time of one of the Ptolemies. This is usually supposed to be the version still extant; and as it differs so much in words and phrase from classical and common Greek, it was natural to attribute this peculiarity to Alexandrian idioms. Salmasius first threw out some hints on this subject. Fischer in his *Prolusions* has some valuable remarks on the Macedonic and Alexandrian dialect, and Sturz has devoted a whole treatise to this topic¹⁸.

I confess I have considerable doubts on the existence of this Alexandrian dialect; but, as I do not wish to involve myself in unnecessary disputes, it is sufficient for me to state that we seem to have no good reasons to give the name of *Alexandrian* to the singular idiom and phraseology in the *Septuagint* and *New Testament*¹⁹. We have the works of Philo, and of Clemens of Alexandria, of Origen, and Cyril, and Athanasius; yet in none of them (though resident at Alexandria and employed in the constant study of the LXX.) do we find those peculiarities which are conglomerated in our existing copies of that version, and in the New Testament. According to the legend, the translators of the *Pentateuch* in the

¹⁸ Salmasius *De Hellenist. Prof.* p. 49. pp. 443. 444. Fischeri *Prolusiones de Vitiis Lex. Nov. Test.* p. 659—727. Lipsiæ 1791. F. G. Sturzii *De Dialecto Macedonica et Alexandrina*, 8vo, Lipsiæ 1808.

¹⁹ There are some very good remarks by the Editor of Matthiæ's Greek Grammar on the "gratuitous suppositions, and unphilosophical shifts, for which grammarians have invented fine names, that serve as circumlocutions to express our ignorance of the real causes and reasons of the peculiarities which we would explain." Editor's *Preface*, p. ii. Cambridge 1820. "Quis autem non miretur (says Heinsius) B. Hieronymum, qui omnia vel ἀπλως λεγόμενα ab Apostolo [Paulo] vel quibus videtur solus uti (quam multa autem scripta veterum perierint, quis nescit?) ad Tarsensem refert dialectum? quæ qualis fuerit, utinam nos docuisset!" D. Heinsii *Exercitt. Sacræ* in *Coloss.* ii. 18. p. 465. He proceeds to show this absurd pretext of Jerome.

time of Ptolemy were not Alexandrians, but Jews sent from Jerusalem. I say of the *Pentateuch*; for it is now generally agreed among critics that this alone was translated in the time of Ptolemy²⁰. Should we allow, however, that the five books of Moses were translated by natives of Alexandria, still it is uncertain in what age or country the other books of the Old Testament were translated; and some of these bear a still greater resemblance than the *Pentateuch* to the style of the New Testament²¹. Again: should it be contended that the interpreters of the other books adopted the version of the *Pentateuch* as their model, this will not apply to Aquila, and Theodotion, and Symmachus, the very object of whose undertakings was to supplant the *Septuagint*. Symmachus is said to have been a Samaritan; Aquila, a native of Sinope in Pontus; and Theodotion is by some called a native of Sinope, and by others of Ephesus. Now how did it happen that all these should have adopted the Alexandrian dialect or idiom, while at the same time we can find no trace of it in Philo and Clemens and the other writers of Alexandria?

But should we allow, for a moment, that the peculiarities in the phraseology of the LXX. were owing to the Alexandrian dialect, how does this apply to, or what influence could it have on, the Evangelists and Apostles? They were not Alexandrians; and, with one or two exceptions, appear to have been even unacquainted with Greek. Of the twelve Apostles,

²⁰ See Hody *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 159 et sqq. Sturz. *De Dialect. Maced. et Alex.* p. 2—6. Valesii *Epist. ad Usserium*.—"Hieronymus vero, *Comment. in Ezechielem* xvi. 13, ait, Eruditorum sui temporis opinionem esse, solos quinque Libros Mosis a LXX. versos esse...idem porro existimant Eruditi hodierni." Montfaucon, *Prelim. in Hexap. Origenis*, p. 62. ed. Bahrtdt.

²¹ "Si cui placeat libros omnes Scripturæ Vet. ab *Alexandrinis* non translato fuisse, sed aliquos translato fuisse à Judæis aliarum regionum, *Palæstininis* puta, aut *Antiochenis*, in usum suorum popularium, is me adversarium non habebit." Hody *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 191. If we consider the Samaritanism of the Egyptian Jews, this is not improbable.

the name of Philr̃p only seems decidedly Greek; and Hardouin makes a very good remark on the incident mentioned by John, that some Greeks who were at the feast and wished to see Jesus applied to that Apostle²³. But it will be said that they caught the Alexandrian dialect by the perusal of the Septuagint. Now what reason is there to suppose that they perused the LXX., and if they read at all that they did not rather read the Hebrew, or in the allied languages, the Syriac or Chaldee²³? Would it not be a strange procedure in a student of the Word of God to content himself with a version if he could read the original? And if an English theologian would be contemptible who should study the Epistles of Paul merely in the English version, can we suppose that the disciple of Gamaliel studied the dictates of Jehovah in a barbarous and erring translation? It is true that we find many passages in the New Testament which correspond with the version of the Seventy; but many also have no such agreement: some coincide with that of Aquila, and many strong probabilities exist that the *Septuagint* and *New Testament* have been occasionally altered from each other by transcribers²⁴. But let us allow that the *Septuagint* was the con-

²³ *John* xii. 21. "Græci (says Hardouin) Apostolum inter Græcos natum, ut ejus nomen indicat, et Græce scientem adeunt." *Comment.* p. 301. *Ανδρεας* seems also Greek, but I believe is from the Hebrew. It is to be remarked, that on the day of Pentecost the Greeks wondered, as well as the Medes and Parthians, that the Apostles, who were Galileans, could speak Greek.

²³ See Salmasius *De Hellenistica*, p. 252, and his *Præf.* pp. 18. 21. I have remarked above, p. 130, that one objection to the name *Grec de Synagogue* proposed by P. Simon (followed by Villoison and Campbell) instead of *Hellenistic* style, is, that it "assumes a fact which is still disputed, whether the Greek versions of the Scripture were anciently read in the Synagogues, or not." Lightfoot and Vitringa deny this; while other learned men affirm it. See Hody *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 224 et seqq. Sturz' *De Dialect. Maced.* p. 5.

²⁴ See Usher, *Syntagma*, cap. viii. pp. 84, 5. Lipsiæ 1695. 4to. "Sunt loca (says Ernesti) in N. T. e Vetere commemorata, quæ iisdem verbis sunt in Græcis V. T. exemplis. Ergo Spiritus S. ista sumsit e versione

stant study of Paul, how will this account for the supposed Alexandrianisms of the Apostle? Philo was a zealous student of the *Septuagint*, and was himself a native of Alexandria; yet in *his* style we have confessedly none of the supposed Alexandrian words or idioms. And should we grant that, by great care, he might avoid every thing provincial, yet Clement, and Origen, and Athanasius preached to or instructed the people of Alexandria; and how happened it, with all this (and with the constant study of the LXX. and N.T. to boot) that *they* caught nothing of that dialect which was imbibed by persons who had never been in Egypt—by natives of Galilee, and Tarsus, and Pontus?

But the best proof that the peculiarities of words and idiom which exist in the *Septuagint* and *New Testament* are not to be attributed to the common language of Alexandria, is to be found in the occasional remarks of Origen. This distinguished writer frequently takes notice of the singular words and significations of words in the *Septuagint*, and uniformly attributes them to the *coinage* of the translators, and not to the common currency of Alexandria, with which he must have been perfectly acquainted. In speaking, for example, of the word *εργοποφογησε*, he observes that it seems to have been coined, like many other new words, by the translators of

illa Græca. Bellissima conclusio! Enimvero, si quis summæ locorum omnium detrahat primum ea, quæ sunt diversa, et vel pressius ad Hebræicum exemplum expressa, quod maxime fit in libris eorum qui inter Græcos non sunt versati, ut Johannis, vel ab utrisque exemplis Hebræicis Græcisque diversa, deinde quæ plane ad verbum Hebræica exprimunt, in quibus vertendis quisque sua sponte consentiat cum versione Alexandrina etiam nunquam lectâ aut inspecta, parvæ reliquæ fuerint: et his ipsis restat dubitare annon exempla τῶν Ὁ subinde ad N. T. lectionem conformata a librariis Christianis inter describendum fuerint, quod nullo modo abhorret." Ernesti *Exercit. Flavian.* § 9. ap. Michaelis i. p. 231. On this subject the reader may consult *The Prophecies and other Texts cited in the New Testament compared with the Hebrew Original and with the Septuagint Version*, by Dr. T. Randolph. 4to. Oxford 1782; a work of which a new and improved edition is much wanted.

the Hebrew Scriptures²⁵. Who (says he in another place), who of the Greeks ever used *ενωτιζου* or *ακουτισθητι* for *εις ταυτα δεξαι*, &c.²⁶? For this latter quotation I am indebted to Sturz, who, accordingly, classes both these words with his Alexandrians, though the expression of Origen might have taught him that they were from the mint of the translators themselves. In fact, a considerable number of the words given by Sturz as probably Alexandrian, seem to me to be mere corruptions from the Latin²⁷. It may seem at first to the reader a dream as wild 'as any of Hardouin's, that the Greek translators of the Hebrew Scriptures should have derived words from the Latin; but, as we shall afterwards have occasion to mention more fully, the time and place of this version or rather versions is uncertain; and it is even, as we shall see, not improbable that (as we have conjectured with regard to Matthew) some of the books of the Old Testament were translated into Greek through the medium of the Latin.

²⁵ Καὶ εοικασιν οἱ ἀπὸ Ἑβραϊσμῶν ἐρμηνεύσαντες, μὴ ἔνροντες τὴν λεξὶν κείμενην παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἀναπεπλάκεναι, ὡς ἐπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν, καὶ ταύτην, καὶ πεποικέναι τὴν ΕΥΤΡΟΠΟΦΟΡΗΣΕ κυρίου ὁ Θεὸς σὺ. Origen, *Homil.* 18. in *Jerem.* ap. Huet. *De Interp.* p. 70. I believe this word to have been formed from PORTAVERIT. It occurs *Deut.* i. 31. for *κωζ तुलित*. See Schleusner in *τροποφορεω* [an echo of *portavero*]. In our version we have "the Lord thy God BARE thee, as a man doth bear his son," *Deut.* i. 31. So Terence, *Andr.* iv. 3, 4. "Mi homo! quid istud obsecro est? Quo PORTAS puerum?"

²⁶ Τίς γὰρ ποτὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρησατο τῇ ΕΝΩΤΙΖΟΥ προσηγορίᾳ, ἢ τῇ ΑΚΟΥΤΙΣΘΗΤΙ, ἀντὶ τοῦ Εἰς τὰ ὧτα ΔΕΞΑΙ, καὶ ΑΚΟΥΣΑΙ ΠΟΙΕΙ. Origenis *De Orat.* p. 97. ed. Wetstein, ap. Sturz, *De Dialect. Maced.* &c. p. 145. The first of these (like our own *notice*) seems from the Latin *annoto*. The other is probably from *excute*.

²⁷ Let us take for example his very next word to *ενωτιζεσθαι* [which I suspect to be *annotare*]. This next word is *εξολοθρευειν*, *vox mere Alexandrina*, says Krebsius, with whom Sturz consents, p. 166. especially as it is used, not merely for *ολλυναι*, but more commonly in the sense of expulsion. Thus *Exod.* xii. 18. *εξολοθρευθησεται ἐξ Ἰσραηλ*, &c. I suspect this shade of meaning was given it from *exulabitur*. Sturz appears to have a hesitation in allowing even the word *καττα*, a *cat*, to be from the Latin *catta*, p. 175.

However this may be, and whether the new words of the LXX. came from Italy or India, it is evident from the expressions of Origen that they are not to be attributed to the dialect of Alexandria²⁸. In like manner (I may remark in passing), when he finds a singular word in *the Gospels*, Origen does not assign it to any dialect of Egypt or Palestine, but (as when he speaks of the new words of the LXX.) represents it as of new coinage. Thus, for example, he says of *ἐπιουσιον*, a word found in the Lord's prayer [*Matth.* vi. 11. *Luke* xi. 3.], that it is to be remarked that this word has been used by no one of the Greeks, either by the learned in their writings, or by the vulgar in their conversation; "but it seems," he adds, "*to have been coined by the Evangelists*"²⁹. We find here no reference to an Alexandrian dialect; nor does Isidore of Pelusium when he speaks, as he often does, of the barbarisms and solecisms of the Apostles, give the slightest hint that their style is Egyptian³⁰. In fact, were this true, it would form no

²⁸ Jerome also expresses himself as follows, in speaking of what he deems a new word: "Unde mihi videntur, quemadmodum in aliis verbis quæ de Hebræo in Græcum Septuaginta Interpretes transtulerunt, ita et in hoc magnopere esse conatos, ut proprietatem peregrini sermonis exprimerent, *nova novis verbis, verba fingentes*." Hieron. in *Epist. ad Galatas*, cap. i. And Mede tells us, "that *Θυσιασθηριον* is a word not used by any Pagan writer, but is a mere Ecclesiastical and Hellenistical term, first devised (as Philo in his *Vita Mosis*, lib. iii. would give us to understand) by the Septuagint." Mede's *Works*, vol. i. p. 497. London 1664. fol.

²⁹ Πρωτον δε τουτ' ιςεν, οτι η λεξις η ΕΠΙΟΥΣΙΟΣ παρ' ουδενι των Ἑλληνων ουτε των σοφων ωνομασται, ουτε εν τη των ιδιωτων συνηθειᾳ τριπται, ἀλλ' εοικε πεπλασθαι ὑπο των Ευαγγελισταν. Origen, *De Orat.* 16. This word, which has been the subject of a vast number of discussions, (see Schleusner, *Επιουσιος*,) seems to me to be formed from the Latin *effuse*; and that the Latin must have been *Panem nostrum effuse*, or *effusum*, or *effusus*, *da nobis hodie*. P and F were often interchanged. See *supra*, p. 100. I must here premise that the evidence of such etymologies as the above is not to be estimated by its *individual* force, but from the *summation of a series*, consisting of a great number of individuals of the same nature, and accumulating as we proceed.

³⁰ He calls it βαρεβαρίζουσα and σολοιμιζουσα, lib. iv. *epist.* 28. ap. Rhenferd *Syntagma*, p. 603; and asks if it be not a proof of divine mission

slight presumption that the text of the New Testament came not from the Evangelists and Apostles, but that it had been translated or remoulded by the Christians of Alexandria.

The fourth and last designation which has been given to the peculiar phraseology and idiom of the New Testament, is Græco-Hebraic, or *Hebrew-Greek*. Ernesti, in his excellent *Institutio*, after a variety of remarks on the words and phrases of the N. T., observes, that the title of *Hebrew-Greek* may be assigned with great propriety to the style of its authors³¹. Dr. Campbell (who generally follows Father Simon), in speaking of the Hellenistic controversy, blames Salmasius for his disputes on this subject: "I readily admit (says he) that this speciality of diction is not properly a peculiar language, nor even a peculiar dialect, in the same sense as the *Attic*, the *Ionic*, the *Eolic*, and the *Doric*, are called different dialects; for there are in it no peculiarities in the inflexions of either nouns or verbs. In strictness of speech the peculiarity does more properly constitute a difference of idiom, than either of language or of dialect. *The phraseology is Hebrew and the words are Greek*³²." In this latter

that, while Plato, the Prince of Philosophers, could not, with all his eloquence, convert one tyrant, the Apostles had, with their solecisms and barbarisms, converted the world? Tzetzes ap. Hody, *De Bibl.*, &c. p. 340, says that the LXX. *forgetting* (as he thinks) a right word, had given a wrong one, which obtained currency.

³¹ "Ex quibus fit, ut *Stilus* N. T. recte dicatur *Hebræo-Græcus*. Qui *Hellenisticam* malit appellare cum Scaligero (*Animadv. ad Euseb.* p. 134) Drusioque, a quo primo hanc appellationem usurpatam putabat Salmasius (*Ossil. L. H.* p. 387), caveat, ne cum Dan. Heinsio peculiarem Dialectum intelligat, (*Diss. de Hellenistis et L. Hellenistica*, et *Præf. ad Nonn.* et *Exercit. in N. T.*) quam expolit idoneis argumentis Salmasius multis locis et libris. Nec *Dialectum Alexandrinam* cum nonnullis appellem, (v. *Præf. ad Biblia*, Grab. t. ii. c. i. § 40,) cum et aliis locis similiter locutos Judæos constet." Ernesti, *Instit. Interp. N. T.* p. 92.

³² Campbell on the *Gospels*, *Prelim. Diss.* p. 16. vol. i. Dr. Campbell is not quite correct in saying "there are no peculiarities in the inflexions." We shall afterwards see specimens of what have been deemed *Alexandrian* inflexions, and that what Valckenær, Sturz, &c. consider as such are merely *Romaic* ones.

sentiment, indeed, all the disputants in the Hellenistic controversy agreed; and perhaps it was that in which they chiefly ought to have differed, and which alone was really worthy of discussion. They agreed with one voice that, whether it ought to be termed *Hellenistic*, or a *dialect*, or not, its peculiarity was owing to its Hebraisms. *Lingua Hellenistica* (was its definition) *est quæ verbis Græcis utitur, phrasibus Hebraicis*. "With the greatest justice (says Dr. Campbell) it is denominated a peculiar idiom, being not only Hebrew and Chaldaic phrases put in Greek words, but even single Greek words used in senses in which they never occur in the writings of profane authors, and which can be learnt only from the extent of signification given to some Hebrew or Chaldaic word corresponding to the Greek in its primitive and most ordinary sense³³." If there be an allowance at all that every thing in the New Testament which is not pure Greek may not be Hebrew, the exceptions are made so scanty as merely to confirm the rule³⁴.

This disposition to find *Hebraisms* in every unusual phrase of the N. T. seems to me to have impeded not a little the progress of sacred criticism. It has even imposed upon the illustrious Grotius; who, however, has the merit of having brought, or rather attempted to bring, to more general notice the Latinisms of the New Testament³⁵. Nay, Hardouin himself, whom his hypothesis might have put

³³ Campbell, *ibid.* p. 32.

³⁴ "Nec tamen omnia (says Ernesti) quæ non bene Græca esse constat, sunt eadem ex Hebraismo ducta: sed insunt *quædam* etiam Latina, e consuetudine cum Latinis inducta, quæ facile deprehendi a quolibet possunt, et alia: item Syriaca, Chaldaica et Rabbinica." *Instit. Interp. N. T.* p. 94. These latter classes may also be termed *Hebraisms*.

³⁵ Let us take for example the phrase used by the importunate widow, *Luke* xviii. 5. *ὥστε εἰς τέλος ἐρχομένη ὑπωπιάζει με*. Grotius remarks on *ὑπωπιάζει με*, "Non dubito quin sit *Latinismus*, quales multi apud Lucam, nam *ὑπωπιάζειν* ad verbum est *obtundere*, at *obtundere* Latinis est ad fastidium aliquid repetere. Terentius: *Obtundis tametsi intelligo*," &c. This is very well; but let us now examine his remarks on the first part of the phrase *εἰς τέλος*. "Noli accedere (says he) *vertentibus tandem*. Est enim, ut vir doctissimus productis loci

upon his guard, remarks in his *Commentary* [Matt. i. 25], that to *know a woman*, is a Hebrew phrase signifying sexual intercourse. "*Et non cognoscebat eam*] Hebraica phrasis est, uxorem cognoscere, qua usus matrimonii honeste significatur." Now surely Cæsar (who, during his stay at Alexandria, probably spent very little time in perusing the *Septuagint*;) Cæsar did not employ a Hebraism when he says, speaking of the Germans, "intra annum vicesimum *femine notitiam habuisse* in turpissimis habent rebus." Ovid also, in speaking of Cadmus changed into a snake, writes thus: "

———"ille suæ lambebat conjugis ora
Inque sinus charos, veluti cognosceret, ibat"³⁶.

It seems, indeed, to be a maxim established among commentators, that, with a few exceptions which are scarcely worth naming, whatever in the New Testament is not classical is Hebrew-Greek. "Sunt in his Libris (says Valckenaer) centenæ loquutiones, quarum exempla frustra quis quærat in Scriptoribus Græcis, ex *Hebræo nempe fonte manantes*." Still stronger is his remark on a phrase used *Acts* vii. 34. "Disputant utrum loquutio Græca sit, an minus, atque adeo de *Hebræo fonte ducta*;" as if it followed, as a matter of course, that whatever in these books is not pure Greek is Hebrew³⁷. As I have given from Grotius and Hardouin a specimen of their Hebrew-Greek, I shall subjoin in a note the first example which I find in the *Scholæ* of this profound scholar, in which what Valckenaer asserts to be an Alexandrian or Hellenistic

aliquot demonstravit, Hellenistica locutio ex Hebræo נָחַם, quod significat *perpetuo*," &c. Grotius in *loc.* Now how unlikely is it that the first part of this short phrase should be a *Hebraism*, and the latter a *Latinism*! In fact, it is wholly a Latinism, and is literally *ne (non ad finem veniens) obtundat me*, lest not coming to an end, i. e. never having done, she weary me.

³⁶ Cæsar, *de B. Gall.* vi. 21. Ovid. *Metam.* lib. iv. So also, in the same writer, Hypsipile says of Medea,

"Turpiter illa virum cognovit adultera virgo."

So also, Turpilius ap. *Non. Marcell.* "*Mulier meretrix, quæ me causâ quæstus cognovit sui*."

³⁷ Valckenari *Scholæ*, vol. i. pp. 575, 427.

word, appears to me to be a Latin one corrupted into Greek³⁸. From the days indeed of Drusius, who compiled a Hellenistic dictionary, which he complains he could not get printed, it appears to me that the examples given of Hellenistic words prove that they are either the children or first cousins of Latin ones³⁹.

It is not my design to deny that Hebraisms exist in the New Testament, but humbly to inquire of the learned reader, whether a great part of what go under the name of Hebraisms be not really Latinisms? In my opinion the profoundest Hebrew scholars have been very far from being the most successful commentators: nor does much appear to have been effected by those who have busied themselves in forming collections from the classical Greek writers with a view to the illustration of the New Testament. One of the

³⁸ *Schol. in Luc. i. 13.* εισηκουσθη ἡ δεησις σου, *exaudita fuerunt preces tuæ.* "Compositum v. εισακουειν (says V.) apud Judæos Alexandrinos significat, sic audire, ut dicenti benevolus favcas. Quando Deus O. M. voti compotes reddit homines pios, dicitur illorum preces εισακουσας... Istiusmodi phrases Hellenisticæ non e Scriptoribus Græcis profanis, sed ex Interpretibus antiqui F. ceterisque Scriptis Judæorum Græcis illustrandæ sunt." vol. i. p. 24. Now it seems to me that the word εισακουω, with the above meaning, is merely the Latin *exaudio*—*echoistically* (if I may so term it) converted into Greek.

"—*precesque supplicis EXAUDI.*" Ovid. *Met.* xiii. 856. In *John xi. 41.* we find ευχαριστω σοι, ὅτι ηκουσας μου which Tertullian quotes—*Gratias ago tibi quia semper me EXAUDIAS* = ηκουσας.

³⁹ Drusius ad *Marc. vii. 3.* Κοιναις χειρσι, "hoc est *pollutis* [see *supra*, p. 89.] Vocabulum est, hoc significatu, linguæ Hellenisticæ proprium: Qualia sunt χαρις pro gaudio [hilaris], διαθηκη pro *fœdere*, pacto [dispositio, scil. *Edictum*, thus ἡ καινη Διαθηκη ought to be not the New Testament, but the New Law,] αναγκη pro *veratione* [anxie], ιτοιμος *firmus, stabilis*, unde in 1 *Macch. i. 17.* ἡτοιμασθη ἡ βασιλεια αὐτου, *firmatum fuit* [metuebatur?] *regnum ejus.* De hujusmodi vocibus (adds Drusius) *Lexicon mihi domi ad privatum usum a me collectum, quod publici juris facerem, si esset typographus.*" It is to be regretted that this *Lexicon* was not published, but the public were more partial to *Summa's* and *Systems*. I have offered some conjectures between the brackets.

most valuable results of this investigation is the discovery of the great resemblance of the style of Polybius to that of the sacred writers. In denying that the peculiarities of phraseology in the N. T. were owing to Alexandrianisms, I have stated, as one of the presumptions against this opinion, that no traces of such peculiarities appear in the voluminous works of Philo, a Jew of Alexandria, and constantly occupied with the perusal of the Scriptures. Josephus, also, is not Hellenistic in his style; though he learned and wrote Greek with difficulty, and though his History of the Jewish War was in some respects a version of his Hebrew History upon the subject. It was not, therefore, the mere circumstance of being a Jew, and a greater familiarity with Hebrew than with Greek idioms (any more than being a native of Alexandria, and a constant student of the Scriptures), which stamped the image of the Hellenistic style. Had this been the case, we should not have looked for it in vain in the writings of Philo and Josephus, while it would have been absurd to expect it in the writings of Polybius. On the contrary, however, as I have already hinted, this Græco-Latin historian has a strong resemblance in his style to that of the New Testament; so that it has even been strangely said that the diction of Polybius must have been exceedingly agreeable to the Holy Spirit⁴⁰. Now it appears to me that

⁴⁰ "Unde aliquis dixit (says Ammon in his notes to Ernesti, *Institutio*, p. 93.) Spiritum S. admirabiliter delectatum fuisse dictione Polybiana. Rationem similitudinis ostendit Ernesti *Opp. Phil.* p. 212. *sqq.*" These I regret that I have not an opportunity of consulting; but I find the following quotation from Ernesti in the *Quart. Rev.* vol. xxiii. p. 142. "The intercourse (it is remarked) between the Jews and Greeks was very great in all commercial towns, and many of the latter became acquainted with the Hebrew idioms. 'Dudum est (says Ernesti) cum docti quidam viri observarunt, Polybium, imprimis, multa habere cum oratione sacrorum scriptorum convenientia.'" Whatever might be "the intercourse" between the Jews and Greeks, it is remarkable that Polybius should have become better "acquainted with the Hebrew idioms" than Josephus.

the peculiarities of this writer's words and style must be chiefly attributed to his Latinisms. Great part of the life of Polybius was spent at Rome; doubtless in the constant habit of speaking Latin, and engaged in the study of Latin documents for the composition of his history. No wonder therefore if his style abound in Latinisms. "Torn by violence (says Mr. Hampton his translator) from the service of his country, and fixed to a long abode in that great city which was the fountain of all the councils that directed and sustained the Roman Empire, he had now both leisure and the means to draw together the instruction that was requisite for carrying into execution the design which he had formed; to compare observation and conjecture with fact and certainty, to copy the detail of all great events from authentic monuments, and from the memoirs of those illustrious persons who had been the chief actors in the scene; to view closely, and without disguise, the manners, temper, inclinations and whole conduct of a people who had thus forced the most powerful kingdoms to receive their laws." And, after an eloquent display of the mighty undertaking of the historian, Mr. Hampton adds: "In discharging a task of so great extent and difficulty, and of such vast importance likewise in its use, it cannot surely be thought astonishing or strange that this wise historian should have been diverted or withheld from paying a due attention to the embellishments of art, and charms of eloquence." How deficient Polybius was in language and composition, is most forcibly shown by his very able translator. He speaks very strongly of his "redundance of impure expression," and of what he says "may well be termed a congenial and inbred obscurity; an obscurity (adds Mr. H.) which results from complicated and embarrassed sense; from periods disordered and transposed; from useless expletives, and from words which either are destitute of any signification, or employed in one so different from their own, that even those who are most conversant in the language are oftentimes entangled in a maze of doubt, and

intricacy, from which, after all their efforts, they are never able to get free⁴¹.

These defects in the style of Polybius, and the Latin tinge of his composition, may easily be accounted for by his conversing in Latin, during his long residence in Rome, and his assiduous study of Latin documents. But how will this apply to Paul, who was a native of Tarsus (a city eminent for Greek learning), and whose residence, with the exception of the time spent at Jerusalem, had been in Antioch, Ephesus, and other Greek cities? Several of the Apostle's Epistles, indeed, were written from Rome; but these we shall find to be not more full of Latinisms than those which were written previously to his arrival in this city. To this Apostle's style let us now direct our attention.

It has already been seen, in a former part of this Disquisition, that according to the Greek Fathers, and the ablest scholars of modern times, the style of the books of the New Testament is exceedingly rude and unclassical. Nay, this very circumstance is generally urged as a proof of their being genuine. "The writings of the New Testament (says Dr. Campbell) carry in the very expression and idiom an intrinsic and irresistible evidence of their authenticity. They are such as in respect of style could not have been written but by Jews, and hardly even by Jews superior in rank and education to those whose names they bear." A similar remark is made by Dr. Paley; and Michaelis employs a section upon the subject⁴². Now this argument, which, as Dr. Paley

⁴¹ *Polybius* by Hampton, *Pref.* pp. 6, 17. Lond. 1761. 8vo. Mr. Gibbon remarks as follows on Polybius, and Mr. Hampton his translator: "The English translator has preserved the admirable sense, and improved the coarse style of his Arcadian original. A grammarian like Dionysius might despise Polybius for not understanding the structure of words; and Lord Monboddo might wish for a version into Attic Greek." *Miscell. Works*, vol. iii. p. 583. Lond. 1815. 4to.

⁴² Campbell, *Prelim. Dissert.* vol. i. p. 21. Paley, *Evidences*, vol. i. chap. ix. p. 161. Michaelis, vol. i. p. 45.

remarks, is “ an argument of great weight with those who are judges of the proofs upon which it is founded,” not merely loses all its weight, but even perhaps becomes an objection, when applied to some of the writings of the Apostle Paul. If the style of other books of the New Testament be such as might be expected from fishermen of the lake of Genesareth, the style of Paul ought perhaps to be such as we might expect from a man of talent and education, who was a native of the learned and polished city of Tarsus. Yet no one, I think, will venture to affirm that the style, for example, of the two Epistles to the Corinthians is, in point of purity, to be in the least degree compared with that of the two Epistles of Peter. It is (if I may use the comparison) a fisherman of Loch-Lomond, whose English is purer than that of a native of Oxford.

In fact, the style of the Apostle Paul not merely shares the reproach of want of purity, which the Fathers attribute to the other writers of the New Testament; but appears to be the *peculiar* subject of their animadversion: No one was a more ardent admirer of Paul than Chrysostom, who has composed no less than seven orations in his praise, and who ransacks heaven and earth for images to adorn him⁴³. Yet this rapturous admirer of the Apostle seems to have thought that he was incapable of understanding a common Greek phrase. This appears from a remark which he makes on the saying of Agrippa, *Acts* xxvi. 28. [*Εν ολιγω με πειθεις Χριστιανον γινεσθαι*] which is in our version *Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian*. According to Chrysostom, the Apostle misunderstood the king's meaning, and supposed him to say

⁴³ Two of these orations of Chrysostom are published with Tib. Hemsterhusii *Orationes*, Lugd. Bat. 1784: one of which orations of Hemsterhuis is also a panegyric of the Apostle. The following is a specimen of Chrysostom's mode of treating the subject. After attempting to prove that Paul excelled each saint in his own pre-eminent virtue, as Job in patience, &c. he thus proceeds: *Λειτουργει προς τας αγγελιας αυτον εξετασαι, διοτι αφεντες την γην, προς τας των βραβυων αναδοησομεθα αψιδας*. *Restat ut Paulum jam Angelis comparemus, ideoque relinquentes terram ad cælorum fastigia transeamus*, &c. p. xxxii.

that he was almost persuaded to be a Christian when he had said directly the reverse, *οὕτως ιδιωτῆς ἦν* (adds Chrysostom), *so illiterate was Paul*⁴⁴!

“Jerome (as is remarked by Daillé) tells us, and repeats the same too in many several places, that St. Paul knew not how to speak, or to make a discourse hang together, and that *he makes solecisms . . . and was not able to express his own deep conceptions in the Greek tongue*. And, again, in another place, he tells us that it was not out of modesty, but it was the plain naked truth that he told us, when the Apostle said of himself that he was *imperitus sermone*, rude in speech, because that the truth is, *he could not deliver his mind to others in clear and intelligible language*⁴⁵.” Daillé expresses

⁴⁴ Οὐκ ἐνοήσεν ὁ Παῦλος τι εἶναι ἐν οὐαίῳ, ἀλλὰ ἐνομίσειεν ὅτι ἐξ οὐαίῳ, διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποκρίνεται ὅτι οὕτως ιδιωτῆς ἦν. *Chrysost.* vol. iv. p. 901. Ed. Savil. “But the Father (says Twells) was mistaken, not the Apostle.” *Critic. Examin.* ii. p. 17. This again is “Chespire.” (see *supra*, p. 121.) See also the fine passage of Chrysostom from his Hom. iii. in *Corinth.* cap. i. Σὺ δὲ ἐκεῖνο μοι δεῖξον, εἰ Πέτρος λογίος ἦν, καὶ Παῦλος ἀλλ’ ἢ ἂν ἐχούς. Ἰδιώται γὰρ ἦσαν, καὶ ἀγράμματοι. ap. Rhenferd, *Syntagma*, p. 595.

⁴⁵ Daillé, *Right Use of the Fathers, Eng. Vers.* ii. p. 94. Hieron. *Comm.* 2. in *Ep. ad Ephes.* “Solecismos in verbis facit,” &c. *Comm.* 2. in *Ep. ad Tit.* “Qui non juxta humilitatem, ut plerique æstimant, sed verè dixerit, *imperitus sermone*, &c. profundos sensus Græco sermone non explicat, et quod cogitat, in verba vix promit.” *Ep.* 15. *ad Algas.* Q. 10. “Illud, &c. *etsi imperitus sermone*, &c. nequaquam Paulum de humilitate dixisse: profundos, enim, et reconditos sensus lingua non explicat, et cum ipse sentiat, quid loquatur, in alienas aures puro non potest transferre sermone.” Hieron. *Opera*, vol. ix. p. 90. C. *Ibid.* p. 103. B. vol. iii. 55. A. See *supra*, p. 119.

A propos of Daillé, I may here remark, that it is from him, and not from Alexander Ross, that Bentley “pilfered his well-known apophthegm,” (*Quart. Review*, vol. xi. p. 278.). The passage is a fine one: “Who knoweth not (says Daillé) that a dwarfe, mounted upon a giant’s shoulders, looketh higher and seeth further than the giant himself? It would be ridiculous in any man that should conclude, that that which the dwarfe pretends to discover is not at all in nature, because then the giant must also have seen it. Neither would he be much wiser that should accuse the dwarfe of presumption, because, forsooth, he hath

some astonishment that the Apostle should be so used ; but Jerome, like Chrysostom, had the highest opinion of the genius and natural eloquence of Paul ; and the reflections which he frequently makes on his solecisms, and barbarous style, could only have been forced from him by a conviction of their truth.

It seems unnecessary, after the declarations of Chrysostom and Jerome, both of them rapturous admirers of the Apostle, yet both considering him as ignorant of Greek, to summon further evidence upon the subject. Hemsterhuis, in his *Oratio de Paulo Apostolo*, celebrates in the highest strains his genius and intellect, as well as his piety and virtues ; but when he comes (as he unwillingly does) to speak of his style, he was too able a scholar to dispute the matter with Origen and the other ancient Fathers⁴⁶. It appears then that the

told us that whereof the giant said not a word ; seeing that it is the giant to whom the dwarfe is beholden for the greatest part of his knowledge. And this is our case, say the Protestants : we are mounted upon the shoulders of that great and high giant, *Antiquity*." *Ut supra*, p. 192. Lond. 1651. It appears from this, that " honest Alexander Ross," as the *Review* calls him, was himself a pilferer, and that it may appear dubious whether Bentley be one of those

" That had read Alexander Ross over."

HUDIBRAS, *Cant. II. ver. 2.*

I have no doubt, however, that it was to Alex. Ross that Butler was himself indebted for the same image, *Canto II. ver. 71.*

⁴⁶ "In eum autem me devenisse locum video (says H.) in quo subterfugere non possum, ut personæ, quam cum maxime sustineo, satisfiat, quin *de stylo Pauli* scribendique genere judicium interponam....De Origene quid dicent ? qui tametsi Paulum inprimis admiretur, de descriptione liberius aliquanto censuit : non enim *solæcismos* contentus et *barbarismos* notasse, illa nonnunquam totius orationis figurarumque esse statuit impedimenta, quæ prorsus difficillime possint explicari : quid de Hieronymo ? qui Græci pæne sermonis imperitum fuisse scribit, disertioreque in Hebræa lingua quam Græca, Paulum illum, qui mediis Athenis ad aures illas Atticorum eruditæ verba facere non dubitavit...De Pauli autem stylo, si voces solas phrasiumque et orationis juncturam spectes, inficias ire non possum, illum a castigata Græcorum eloquentia multum discedere, nec talem esse qui purus dici possit atque elimatus...quod si

warmest admirers of the sublimity of Paul's sentiments confess with one voice the imperfections of his style. Some have carried this to an extraordinary length. "The late Ernesti, in his *Interpres Novi Testamenti*, (says Michaelis,) even doubted whether St. Paul, who, as some affirm, had read the works of Philo, was capable of understanding an author whose style he compares with that of Plato or Demosthenes." Dr. Marsh, in his note on this text, seems to doubt the fact of Ernesti having made this observation; but it is indeed extant in Ernesti's work⁴⁷. Nothing, however, can be more absurd than to suppose that an author who writes a very bad style, cannot understand another who writes a very good style in the same language. But though Paul might have understood Philo, or Plato, I much doubt whether either of these personages could have understood the writings of the Apostle. It seems certain, that a person imperfectly acquainted with a language, will sometimes understand a composition in it, of which the style is barbarous, better than a master of that language will do, and that we find not the smallest difficulty in understanding many compositions in modern Latin, which Cicero would have given up in despair. An example, which Dr. Campbell introduces for a different purpose, will explain what I mean. "Hardly any foreigner of the last century (says he) has been more conversant with English men and English books than Voltaire.

a stylo (continues H.) salutiferi nuclei solo putamine, discedamus, animusque ad ipsum orationis Paulinæ contextum adducatur, jam nihil ejus cogitatis et argumentorum nervis sublimius esse et incitatus fatendum est...ergo (he concludes) ut paucis dicam, haud vereor adseverare, non fuisse disertorem Demosthenem in illa venustatis Atticæ copia, in isto virtutis oratoricæ regno, quam fuerit in his humilis et *vulgatæ dictionis*, si lubet, *sordibus* Paulus, verissimum religionis Christianæ fulmen." Ti. Hemsterhuis, *Oratio de Paulo Apostolo*, p. 28—31.

⁴⁷ Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 158, 431: "Vix credi potest, Paulum Græcæ linguæ ita peritum fuisse, ut Philonis orationem, plane abhorrentem ab Hebraica indole, et Platoniciæ ac Demosthenicæ æmulam, intelligeret." Ernesti *Inst. Interp. N. T. P. III. c. 8. p. 319.*

Yet his knowledge of our language, on which I have been told he piqued himself not a little, has not secured him from blundering when he attempted to write it. In a letter to the Parisians, prefixed to his comedy *L'Ecoissaise*, which he thought proper to introduce to the world as a translation, he quotes the following sentence as part of a letter he had received from the English author, '*you have quite impoverished the character of Wasp, and you have blotted his chastisement at the end of the drama.*' An Englishman (continues Dr. Campbell) might have guessed what he meant by the first clause, but must have remained in total darkness about the second, if he had not explained himself by subjoining the translation,—*Vous avez affaibli le caractère de Frelon; et vous avez supprimé son chatiment à la fin de la pièce*; an explanation (adds Dr. C.) not less necessary to many of his English readers than to his French⁴⁸." I may venture to assert that the explanation is not merely not less necessary to an English than to a French reader, but probably more so. A Frenchman would take his dictionary, and finding the words *effacer*, *supprimer* correspond to the phrase *blot out*, would go on without suspicion or trouble, while an Englishman would torture himself, and perhaps in vain, to understand the meaning of the passage. It is thus, I may remark by the way, that the Greek Fathers, though excellent judges in pronouncing upon the purity of a word or idiom, are by no means the best scholiasts upon the Scriptures. Their very knowledge of Greek occasionally tended to mislead them. "It is well known (says Dr. Bentley) to any one that has ever perused the Septuagint, that they often translate word for word, though the phrase that results from it be against the genius of the Greek tongue. This has so filled that version with Hebraisms, that one may affirm Demosthenes himself could not have thoroughly understood it, and the Greek Fathers oftentimes mistook the sense of it, for want of skill in the Hebrew⁴⁹."

⁴⁸ Campbell's *Gospels*, Prelim. Disc. p. 28.

⁴⁹ *Phalaris*, p. 297. See what Basil writes to Libanius of the βαρβαρισμοί

But to return again to the Apostle Paul. Although the solecisms in his style are confessed by every one, there is often a ludicrous attempt not merely to apologize for⁵⁰, which is all very well, but even to convert such faults into beauties. This renders one paragraph often contradictory to the next, and that again at variance with the one which follows. The English reader may have a sample of this in the third Preliminary Essay of the excellent Dr. Macknight, (*Of the Apostle Paul's Style and Manner of Writing*), which is prefixed to his version of the Apostolical Epistles. "The change, too, of the *person*, (says Dr. M.) and the sudden transition from the *one number* to the *other*, often found in Paul's writings; though *violations of the rules of grammar* loudly condemned by the *lesser critics*, are *real beauties*! as they render discourse more lively; on which account these irregularities have been admitted even by the best authors. And with respect to the few uncommon words and phrases, to which the appellations of *barbarisms* and *solecisms* have been given, the reader ought to know that the best Greek authors have used the very same words and phrases, which, if they are not commended as *diversifications of the style*, must at least be excused as inaccuracies flowing from the vivacity of these justly admired writers, or from their attention to *things of greater moment*" [as if any matter were of greater moment in a teacher than to use intelligible language] . . . "There are other peculiarities also (continues Dr. M.) which render the Apostle's style dark, such as that on some occasions he hath inverted the order of his sentences, and used the *same words* in the *same sentence* in *different senses*:" and after more to the

φωνης, and concerning the λεξιν δε αμαθη of Moses, Elias, &c. *Epist.* cxlvi. or ap. Du Cange *Gloss. Græc.* Præf. p. v. *supra* p. 124.

⁵⁰ Bucer, c. xii. *Proh. in Epist. ad Rom.* writes thus: "Ex Spiritu S. Apostolus scripsit, imo hæc ipse omnia scripsit Paulo usus tanquam organo. Nihil ergo hic frustra dicitur, nihil non rei congruens eoque apposite. Sunt alicubi, ut videtur *Carni*, anapodata, sunt hyperbata, sunt mioses, tautologiæ, macrologiæ, pleonasmī, ανοικονομητα, et alia quæ inter vitia orationis numerantur." ap. Fabric. *Bib. Græc.* vol. iii. p. 153.

same purpose he adds, "Let it be acknowledged, then, that in general Paul's ordinary style is not polished and *perspicuous*, but rather harsh and *obscure*;"—the very worst qualities which the style of any writer can possess; and particularly to be regretted in a teacher whose epistles, according to Dr. M., "must be regarded as the grand repository in which the whole of the Gospel doctrine is lodged, and from which the knowledge of it can be drawn with the greatest advantage⁵¹." How incautious is the following remark of the same learned doctor!—"In the second place, the obscure manner of writing used by the Apostle Paul, though the natural effect of his own comprehensive genius, may have been designed for the very

⁵¹ Macknight, *Apost. Epistles*, vol. i. pp. 65. 68. 55. I cannot but regret that such a scholar as Valckenaer should occasionally sanction such sentiments as those here quoted; as nothing tends so much to render the truth of our religion suspicious, as weak arguments used by distinguished men in its supposed defence. In speaking, for example, of the use of a word in the New Testament, contrary to the practice of good writers, Valckenaer says: "Comp. Græv. ad Lucian. *Solacisist*, p. 55. qui prudenter condonandum hunc usum judicat reverentiæ S. Scripturæ, quæ superstitiosis Grammaticorum et Criticorum legibus semper soluta fuit." *Schola*, II. p. 145. This sentiment is worthy Gregory the Great, who nobly exclaims: "Non Iotacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito: *situs, motusque præpositionum, etiam casusque servare contemno*; quia *indignum* vehementer existimò, ut *verba cœlestis oraculi* restringam sub regulis Donati." *Epist. ad Leandr. in Job.* cap. 5. So Valckenaer, though he affirms of the author of the *Apocalypse*, that "Neque ille *Generum* sæpe rationem habuit nec *Casuum*," *ibid.* p. 322, thinks that it is a defence of the Sacred Writers to say "Rebus intenti negligunt sæpe verborum proprietatem," p. 290, as if an accurate knowledge of *things* could be conveyed without accuracy of *words*. Augustin in like manner exclaims: "Non timeamus ferulas Grammaticorum, dum tamen ad veritatem solidam et certiozem perveniamus." *Tract. ii. in Joan.* as if this were possible without attention to Grammar. How much more just is the remark of the early and distinguished critic Valla, who replied to such as wished to represent Theology as above the restraints of Grammar, "Ego dico illam debere servare etiam cujuslibet linguæ usum; nam quid stultius quàm linguam quod uteris velle corrumpere, et committere, ne ab iis apud quos loqueris, intelligaris?" Laur. Valla. *Annot. Matth.* cap. iv.

purpose of rendering some of his passages difficult, that by the pains necessary to the right understanding of them, their meaning, when found, might enter the deeper into the reader's mind. This use of obscurity was thought of such importance, that the most celebrated teachers of religion concealed their doctrines under fables, and allegories, and enigmas, in order to render them the more venerable, and to excite more strongly the curiosity of their disciples. Of this the Egyptian priests were famous examples⁵²! The Egyptian priests were dark, because their religion was a craft; as the Delphic Oracles were obscure, because they were impostures. But the very essence of Revelation seems to be something clearly imparted; and surely it is more pious as well as more probable to suppose, that the genius of Paul may have had injustice done to it by an imperfect translation, than that either his faculties were so weak that he could not write his own language, or that he had recourse, in a religion of light and truth, to the miserable mummeries of a fraudulent priesthood. In fact, upon the supposition that the Epistles of Paul in our Greek Vulgate, are not versions but originals, we are presented with phenomena which, whether we consider the great talents of the Apostle, or his advantages of birth and residence, seem utterly inexplicable. For how shall we account, upon the common hypothesis that the Apostles were themselves the authors of our Vulgate Greek text,—how shall we account for the circumstance that the Greek style of a native of Tarsus, and of a man, too, of learning and exalted genius, should be less pure than that of Peter, a fisherman of Galilee? “The inhabitants of this place (says Strabo in writing of Tarsus about the time that Paul was born) cherish such a passion for philosophy and all the various branches of polite literature, that they have greatly excelled Athens

⁵² Macknight, *Apostolical Epistles*, vol. i. p. 69.—“Les Pheniciens (says Voltaire) en qualité de négociants rendaient tout aisé; et les Egyptiens, en qualité d'Interprètes des dieux rendaient tout difficile.” *Dict. Phil. ALPHABET.*

and Alexandria and every other place famed for eloquence in which there are schools and academies for philosophy and learning⁵³." But to this it may be replied, that we have no reason to suppose that Paul spent his youth at Tarsus, and that we know that he was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel. The probability, however, is, that Paul actually spent his youth at Tarsus. His instructions by Gamaliel seem to have been subsequent to the crucifixion of our Lord; for, had he been at Jerusalem during the ministry of Jesus, he could hardly have avoided seeing him, which, however, he had never done till the time of the vision at Damascus. And that his youth was spent at Tarsus appears the more probable, as his relatives seem to have lived there. We are told that when he was persecuted in Judea, the brethren *brought him down to Cæsarea and sent him forth to Tarsus*; and we are also told that some years afterwards Barnabas departed *to Tarsus for to seek Paul*⁵⁴. Paul had thus all the advantages of birth, and education, to become eloquent in Greek; or, at least, to write the language with purity. There is a very good remark on this subject made by Mr. Falconer—"The account of Tarsus (says he) and the character of St. Paul diminish very much the probability that he remained an exception to the remark of Strabo, or that he

⁵³ Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 678. Paris 1620. *Τοσαυτη δὲ τοῖς ἐνθαδὲ ἀνθρώποις σπουδὴ πρὸς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν ἐγκυκλίον ἀπάσαν παιδείαν γεγενῆσθαι, ὥσθ' ὑπερβέβηται καὶ Ἀθῆνας, καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείαν, καὶ εἰ τινα ἄλλον τόπον δυνατόν εἰπῆν, ἐν ᾧ σχολαὶ καὶ διατριβαὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τῶν Λογῶν γεγενῆσθαι.*

⁵⁴ *Acts* ix. 30. xi. 25. Even Jerome allows, while he accuses the Apostle of ignorance of Greek, that he had imbibed it in his youth at Tarsus: "*Illud quod crebrò diximus, Etsi imperitus sermone, non tamen scientia; nequaquam Paulum de humilitate, sed de conscientie veritate dixisse, etiam nunc approbamus. Profundos enim et reconditos sensus lingua non explicat. Et cum ipse sentiat quid loquatur, in alienas aures puro non potest transferre sermone..... Si autem in Græca lingua hoc ei accidit, quam nutritus in Tarso Cilicie à parva ætate imbiberat,*" &c. Hieron. *Epist.* xv. ad *Algas*. Q. 10. *Opus.* vol. iii. p. 55. A.

confined his reading to the Greek poets, and neglected the Greek philosophy. St. Paul would not deserve attention, if he had spoken of the wisdom of this world without being acquainted with its nature and teachers⁵⁵." It appears, then, probable that Paul had been a student of philosophy at Tarsus; and we know from his own writings in which he quotes Aratus, and Epimenides, and Menander, that he was well acquainted with the writings of the Greek poets⁵⁶. Add to all this, that no person whatever seems to have had more of the natural qualities of the orator and fine writer, than the Apostle Paul; and the beauty, pathos, and sublimity of his sentiments, form a striking and strange contrast to the barbarity and solecisms of his style. Where shall we find in the whole range of oratory a more beautiful eulogy than that of Charity in the thirteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians? Nor can the phenomenon of the style of Paul be accounted for by a long absence from Greek society, since, on the contrary, after he became a Christian much of

⁵⁵ *Bampton Lectures*, p. 315. Mr. F. had already remarked (p. 10) on Paul's expression, *Where is the disputer of this world*, that "St. Paul does not ignorantly censure the philosophy of his own or any other age in these expressions, but decides upon its nature and incompetency from a learned acquaintance with its tenets." Bishop Warburton also remarks, in speaking of the Apostle, that he was one "to whom both nature and discipline had given powers to equal even the heights of Greek and Roman elocution. For we see, by what now and then accidentally flames out in the fervor of his reasoning, that he had a strong and clear discernment, a quick and lively imagination, and an extensive and intimate acquaintance with those masters in moral painting, the Greek Sophists and Philosophers." *Doctrine of Grace*, p. 59.

⁵⁶ "Videtur præterea multis Paulus Auctores quoque Græcos profanos lectitasse. Nituntur autem hi tribus præsertim Poetarum Fragmentibus, quæ orationi suæ intextuit. Notissimum est *Arati Hemistichium*, quod etiam nunc legitur ipso initio *carminis* hujus *Astronomici* τὴ γὰρ καὶ ρηένος εἶμεν.....Hæc ut Poetæ verba adhibuit Paulus Athenis*Act.* xvii. 28. *Epimenidis* Hexam. versum posuit in *Epist. ad Titum*, i. 12. *Menandri* Senarium inseruit *1 Cor.* xv. 33." Valckenaer, *Scholæ*, ii. p. 5. see also p. 333.

his time was spent at Tarsus, in Ephesus and in Antioch, cities which were greatly distinguished for Greek literature⁵⁷.

But it may be said that instances frequently occur of men profoundly learned, who yet write a very bad style. The style of such men, however, is rather unpolished and rugged, than impure and ungrammatical; and is, or rather *was*, to be found chiefly among men of science, who utterly despised oratory and poetry. But the style of some of Paul's Epistles, it has been remarked, is such Greek as the *Epistola Obscurorum Virorum* is Latin; or, to recur again to a former example, it is such Greek as the English of the French captain, "I will *make* my duty." This seems to expose us to be gored by one of two horns of a dilemma, but horns of very unequal length and sharpness. Either we appear forced to suppose that the Epistles which go under his name were not written by Paul, which would occasion a grievous wound indeed; or we must conclude that the sentiments are those of the Apostle, but that the imperfections of their style are to be attributed to a translator. To an enumeration of some of the phenomena, which seem to support this latter conclusion, let us now direct our attention; since it is not enough to show, by the united testimony of the Fathers, that the style of the Apostle is full of barbarisms and solecisms, unless we can elucidate their nature and origin.

It happens, very fortunately, that a distinguished Greek Father, not satisfied, like some of his brethren, with general

⁵⁷ *Acts* ix. 30. compared with xi. 25. He is supposed to have remained at Tarsus three years before his return to Antioch, where he continued a year, xi. 26. Antioch was the native place of Archias, and Cicero says of it: "Antiochiæ, nam ibi natus est, loco nobili, celebri quondam urbe et copiosa, atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluenti." Cicero, *Pro Archia Poeta*. Paul spent two whole years at Ephesus, *Acts* xix. 10. "Versatus enim Paulus diutissime in Græciæ civitatibus, cum Græcis quotidie Græce fuit loquutus, et Athenis Atticis orationem habuit elegantissimam. Est itaque stylus Pauli Græcus quidem, nec tamen ad Atticam castimoniam exactus, sed simplex! sed refertus idiotismis et Hebraïsmis." Valckenær, *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 11.

declamation, enters into some detail with respect to the peculiarity of phraseology in the Epistles of the Apostle Paul. This is Gregory of Nyssa in Cappadocia (the younger brother of Basil), who died in 396 with the title, it has been said, of Father of the Fathers. Gregory in one of his orations praises the Apostle Paul for using new words, or affixing new senses to old ones, without regard to their usual signification⁵⁸. Among these new words, or words singularly applied, he mentions first *ἐκένωσε*, *exinanivit*, which latter word I have no doubt might suggest or give occasion to the other. In general, among synonymous words, that one will most readily occur to a translator, which has the strongest resemblance, and greatest affinity in sound, to the corresponding word in the language from which he translates. If his knowledge in one or both the languages be not accurate, and ex-

⁵⁸ A Latin version of the remarks of Gregory may be found in the section of Glassius, *Philol. Sacra*, entitled *De Stylo Pauli Apostoli*, in which the learned writer observes, that among Paul's other peculiarities "vocibus quibusdam novâ significatione et sensu utitur. Notat istud Gregor. Nyssen. *Orat.* in illud 1 *Corinth.* xv. . . his verbis: 'Solet sapientia magni Pauli ad id, quod visum fuerit, ad arbitrium suum verbis uti, et ad suæ sententiæ seriem atque complexum, verborum significationes adaptare, etiamsi ad alios quosdam intellectus consuetudo abusus dictionum trahat. Nam unde sumsit usum verbi *ἐκένωσε*, id est, *exinanivit* seipsum (*Phil.* ii. 7.) et illud gloriationem meam nemo *inanem* reddet (1 *Cor.* ix. 15.) et, ne *inanis* reddatur crux Christi (1 *Cor.* i. 17.) ex quo usu hæc ad suum traduxit sermonem? Quis item judicabit eum, quod dixerit *ἡμερομένοις ὑμῶν*, i. e. *cupidi* vestri, et erga vos *propensi*? (1 *Thess.* ii. 8.) per quam dictionem *dilectionis* habitum et *affectum* ostendit. Quomodo per dictionem *μη περιεργεῖσθαι*, i. e. *perperam agere*, et procacem ac temerarium esse (1 *Cor.* xiii. 4.) charitatem a superbia vacuam demonstrat? Studium item contentionis et ulciscendi cupiditas, quo pacto per verbum *ἐπιθειας* ab eo significatur? (*Rom.* ii. 8. *Gal.* v. 20.) cùm perspicuum sit omnibus, quod ex *ἐπισκευίας*, i. e. *lanificio*, & *ἐπίδος*, i. e. ancilla, proprie quæ *lanam* tractat, ex ipsa Scriptura nominatur, atque exercitium et studium *lanæ* nomine *ἐπιθειας* significare solemus: attamen, omissis frigidis etymologiis, quibus verbis ei visum est, animi sui conceptum exprimit atque exponit." Glass. *Phil. Sacra* p. 156. Amst. 1711. 4to.

tensive, he will not only be uniformly directed by a kind of echo in his choice of words, but it will even seem to him that in this way he gives a more faithful transcript of his original. With regard to *ἡμεῖς ὡς ἀγαπᾶμεν* or *ὡς ἀγαπᾶμεν*, as adopted in the text of Griesbach and Matthæi, it seems to me to have been suggested by the Latin *amaremur*. In our version we read, *But we were gentle among you; even as a nurse cherisheth her children, so being affectionately desirous of you*, &c. Instead of *ἡπιοι*, *gentle*, the best MSS. read *νηπιοι*, *babes*; and the sentiment of the Apostle seems to have been, *But we were as babes among you; even as a nurse cherisheth her children, so ought we to have been beloved by you*⁵⁹.

The next singular word, mentioned by Gregory of Nyssa, is *περσεύομαι*, a word which even the keenest advocates for the purity of the style of the New Testament must acknowledge to be framed from the Latin⁶⁰. But, above all, the remark which Gregory makes on the word *ἐριθεία* is curious, and worthy of consideration. He observes that this was employed by the Greeks to signify, not *contention* and *tearing* one another, but *working among wool*. Now when we find that in Latin there is a near resemblance between *LANA* *wool*, and *LANIO* *to tear*, and that *laniatio* is the literal version of *ἐριθεία*, one cannot help supposing that the latter, by an etymological *qui pro quo*, was employed as a version of the former of these words; and that what was plain in Latin, became strange and a solecism in Greek. The phrase of Seneca [*De Clem.* ii. 4.] *in cædes hominum, et LANIATIONES percutit*, would, if we insert *ἐριθείας* instead of *laniationes*, have imported to a Greek the slaughter of the ope-

⁵⁹ In the Latin Vulgate the passage runs thus: *Sed facti sumus parvuli in medio vestrum, tamquam si nutrix foveat filios suos, ita desiderantes vos*. Instead of the three last words the Greek translator seems to have found in his text *ita amaremur a vobis*. "Pro *ἡμεῖς ὡς ἀγαπᾶμεν* (says Schleusner) nonnulli Codices legunt *ὡς ἀγαπᾶμεν*, quod verbum, quamquam Scriptoribus Græcis plane ignotum, tamen in textum recipere non dubitavit Cel. Matthæi." Schleusner. ἸΜΕΙΡΩ.

⁶⁰ "In hoc verbo, facile observatur, non esse Græcum sed Latinum, a *perperam*." Schleusner. ΠΕΡΠΕΡΕΥΟΜΑΙ.

rators in a wool manufactory, and succeeding to their employment⁶¹.

It has, for several years, been a practice with me in reading our Vulgate Greek Testament, whenever I found an anomalous word, to convert it into Latin; and I have scarcely ever failed to find it a seeming corruption from that language. Sometimes it appears to be an echo of the original Latin word: sometimes it is compounded in Greek after the model of a Latin compound, but forming a solecism in Greek: sometimes there is an etymological mistake, as in the case above of *επιθεια*. Many dissertations, for example, have been written on the origin and meaning of the word *τετραχλισμενα* in the following passage [*Heb. iv. 13*], *omnia autem nuda et τετραχλισμενα sunt oculis ejus*. It is evident from the context that something *clear* and *distinct* is meant; but the word *τετραχλιζω* signifies *in collum resupino*, or *obtorqueo collum*, &c. all having reference to the *neck*. Chrysostom and Theophylact accordingly, and (as may be seen in Schleusner) several modern philologists, have recourse to the most forced and ridiculous metaphors in order to explain and justify the word⁶². In fact, the Latin copy from which our Vulgate Greek version of this epistle seems to have been made, ap-

⁶¹ I may here remark, in passing, that in an able article in the *Edin. Review*, vol. xvii. p. 233, there is an unlucky attempt at an emendation of Hesychius: *Εργατις παρα δε Σαμιοις ή Αθηνα ελεως* (sic in cod.): *Εργασιναι αι τον πεπλον υφαινεσαι*. In my opinion, for *ή Αθηνα ελεως* we ought to read *τη Αθηνα πεπλος*, an emendation confirmed by what follows, and which the reader may compare with that in the *Review*. In Greek MSS. *γ* is often used like the English *y* for *i*, and this also may perhaps be the case here, and that the *πεπλος* was of *wool*.

⁶² Schleusner *TPAXHAIZΩ*, an article which the reader is requested to consult. It is evident, also, from the vain attempts of Valckenaer and Lud. Capellus, how little Hebrew and Greek literature have been able to illuminate this word. Valck. *Schola*, ii. p. 481, 482. I may again remark, in passing, that the little that has been effected in Scripture interpretation by the Lightfoots and the Valckenaers, seems to show that the most profound Rabbinical or Greek learning will not furnish a thread to conduct through the labyrinth, and that it must be spun from some different material.

pears to have had this text, *omnia autem nuda et COLLUCENTIA sunt oculis ejus*; and the translator not understanding the word *collucenia*, but thinking it derived from the word *COLLUM neck*, thought that he could not do better than translate τετραχλισμενα, formed from the Greek word τετραχλος, *collum*.

This method of converging Greek into Latin, if applied, will be found successful in a great number of instances; and the result is far more decisive of a Latin original than a mere intermixture of Latin words. Michaelis has a chapter of *conjectural emendations of the New Testament*, in all of which he has been exceedingly unfortunate. I shall take a page of them as they occur, and apply my method to them. At 1 Cor. viii. 10. we read as follows—*For if any man see thee, which hast knowledge, sit at meat in the idol's temple, shall not the conscience of him which is weak, οικοδομηθησεται, be EDIFIED to eat those things which are offered to idols?* “The phrase, *his conscience will be edified to eat things offered to idols* (says Michaelis) is so very extraordinary, that many critics have here suspected an error in the Greek text: I am of the same opinion, and venture a new conjecture.” This conjecture is that we should read οικονομηθησεται, which is much worse than οδοποιηθησεται suggested by Tan. Faber, and rejected by Valckenaer⁶³. I shall now apply my canon. It has been remarked above, and we shall afterwards see numerous examples, that the translator of the Epistles is not merely a literal but an etymological translator, though his etymologies are sometimes not the most happy. Thus, as we have seen, finding *lanatio*, and supposing it from *lana*, he translated it by εργεια, or working among wool, and in like manner finding *collucenia*, and supposing it from *collum*, he translated τετραχλισμενα, or twisting the neck. In the same way, I suspect, that finding *domabitur* in the Latin text of the Epistle to the Corinthians, and looking out for a Greek word beginning with οικος a house, as *domabitur* seems to begin with *domus* a house, he fixed on οικοδομηθησεται as an equivalent to *domabitur*. I have little doubt that the Apostle

⁶³ Valckenaer, *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 232. Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 407.

wrote, *shall not the conscience of him that is weak BE SUBDUE* [by your example] *to eat of those things which are offered to idols*⁶⁴?

The next proposed emendation of Michaelis is, "1 Cor. xiv. 10. *γενη φωνων*. Did not St. Paul (says he) write *γενη εθνων*?" He certainly did not. The Latin had been *genera vocum*, and the passage, which is quite unintelligible in our version, ought to be translated as follows—"There are I know not how many kinds of words in the world, and none of them without signification. Yet if I know not the force of the word, I shall be a barbarian to him who speaks, and he who speaketh will be a barbarian to me." A like definition of barbarian is given in the well-known verse of Ovid. [*Trist.* v. 10.]

"*BARBARUS hic ego sum, quia NON INTELLIGOR ulli.*"

⁶⁴ In like manner, the word *οικουμένη* properly seems to mean *dominium*. See Schleusner in *OIKOYMENII*, where many passages will be found which this view of it will elucidate. The same etymological method will explain a passage which has long tortured commentators. See Valckenaer, *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 273—275. *Οφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ εἶχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς*. 1 Cor. xi. 10. The Latin original of our present text had been *HABITUM, a dress*; and this was etymologically translated *ἐξουσίαν*. At verse 4 of the same chapter, *κατὰ κεφαλῆς εἶχειν* (which does not differ from *εἶχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς*, Valck. *ibid.* p. 269,) means with a *HEAD-DRESS*. Let the reader compare this view of the verse with the attempts of Valckenaer, Toup, and others, as stated in the *Scholæ*. I may add, that the reason assigned by the Apostle, *διὰ τὸ ἀγγελῆς, propter NUNTIOS*, may mean *on account of divorces*. "*NUNTIUS enim libellus repudii dicitur.*" [Faber.] The Apostle cautions the married women (for it is they of whom he is speaking) to wear a veil to avoid those dangers which might end in divorce. We shall by and by see that the Corinthians, in the time of the Apostle, were Romans.

Among the Glosses of Philoxenus we find *dilator*, i. e. *delator*, *Ἀγγελος*, which would suit the above passage; but I know not if it rests on good authority. As to the conjecture offered above, that *Εξουσία* is used as a version of *Habitum*, this is in some measure confirmed by another passage in the same Epistle, where *Εξουσία* seems also a version of *Habitus*, taken in a different sense. The Apostle, speaking of a practice of some of the Corinthian Christians joining the feasts in the Idol Temples, says, 1 Cor. viii. 9. *Take heed, lest by any means this HABIT of yours* [*ἡ ἐξουσία ὑμῶν*] *become a stumbling-block to them that are weak.*

Michaelis proceeds, "1 Cor. xv. 1. γνωρίζω. Has no MS. γνωρίσω? which I would take interrogatively, and render the passage *opusne est ut evangelium meum vobis narrem?*" I do not see any necessity for the change proposed by M.; but, if there were, we shall afterwards see examples in which the future *Indic.* and present *Subjunct.* in Latin verbs have been confounded. If the original were *tradam*, it was (as we shall find) an equal chance that it would be translated γνωρίζω or γνωρίσω. I mention this, in passing, not for the purpose of applying it to the above text, (which seems to require no change, and which if it did might be explained without having recourse to Latin,) but merely to give a preparatory hint with respect to a class of phenomena which frequently occur in the New Testament, and which will be subsequently fully elucidated.

The next passage mentioned by Michaelis is 1 Cor. xv. 27. *δὴλον ὅτι ἐκτός*. I have sometimes suspected, that here and in one or two other passages of the New Testament the word *ἐκτός* has been taken not in its usual sense of *extra*, but for the Latin *actus*, *act*. What is more certain is, that more than once in the New Testament the Greek *παρεκτός* seems to be a mere corruption of the Latin *peractus*. Thus *Matth.* v. 32. *παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας*, which in its usual interpretation, *saving for the cause of adultery*, is (besides the redundancy of *λόγος*) in opposition to our Lord's precept in the parallel passages [*Mark* x. 11. *Luke* xvi. 18.], where putting away one's wife is *absolutely* forbidden. It appears to me, then, that the Latin had been *peracto crimine adulterii*, and that our Saviour's sentiment is, that *Whosoever shall put away his wife having instituted a suit of adultery, causeth her to commit adultery*. The phrase *peragere reum* means to *implead one and prove him guilty*; and Ovid thus complains, 1. *Trist.* 1. 24.

*Et peragar populi publicus ore reus.*⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Cappellus, after some remarks on the phrase, 2 Cor. xi. 28. *Χωρίς των παρεκτός, ή επισυνασσις*, &c. observes, "Atque ita ego simpliciter acciperem ista Pauli verba, *Χωρίς των παρεκτός, præter ea omnia quæ ego*

The next passage mentioned by Michaelis is 2 Cor. i. 17. *ἵνα ἡ παρ' ἐμοὶ το ΝΑΙ ΝΑΙ, καὶ το ΟΥ ΟΥ.* The Apostle thus writes in the preceding verses, according to the received version: *I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a second benefit, and to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia unto you, and of you to be brought on my way toward Judea. When I therefore was thus minded, did I use lightness⁶⁶? or the things that I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, ἵνα ἡ παρ' ἐμοὶ το ΝΑΙ ΝΑΙ, καὶ το ΟΥ ΟΥ.* "Here (says Michaelis) the alteration which Bowyer mentions as proposed by some person who signs himself R. [Markland], namely, *ἵνα ἡ παρ' ἐμοὶ το ΝΑΙ, ΟΥ, καὶ το ΟΥ, ΝΑΙ,* had not only occurred to me as probable, but as absolutely necessary." The solution which I would offer is different. The Corinthians, as we shall see anon, were a Roman colony, and spoke the Latin language, in which two negatives affirm; and the Apostle here defending himself against the charge of fickleness, or falsehood, seems to say that they were not to suppose that as two negatives make an affirmative, so two of his affirmatives (for he had twice asserted he would visit Corinth) were equivalent to a negative. The allusion appears to be utterly unintelligible and devoid of meaning in the Greek language.

longa serie enumeravi, accedunt et ista, ἡ πισυσσις," &c. Lud. Cappelli in loc. The Apostle seems to mean, *In addition to those things already undergone. παρεκτος, peractas, ἡ πισυστασις.* Qu. *superstites?* The last clause of the verse in our Elzevir text, *ἡ μεριμνα πασων των εκκλησιων,* is a bad version, *ÆRUMNA omnium Ecclesiarum,* for *CURA omnium Ecclesiarum.*

⁶⁶ The following, *en passant*, is Hardouin's note on this phrase: *Did I use lightness?* as it exists in the Greek: "*Numquid levitate usus sum?*" Græce, *μητι ἀρα τῇ εὐαφρείᾳ ἐχρησάμην;* Hominem sub Græco cælo natum dicturum esse vel fuisse *εὐαφρεία* pro *αστασία*, nunquam credam, vel si centum Hesychii, aliive similes Lexicographi vel Scriptores affirmant, ut huic Græcæ Scriptioni, seu verius interpretationi, auctorem afferant. Est *εὐαφρεος levis*, hoc est, *agilis*, instar cervi, quem *εὐαφρον* Græci vocant: non *levis*, hoc est *inconstans αστατος*. Eadem vox *εὐαφρον* iterum occurrit cap. iv. 17." Harduin. *Comment.* p. 531.

* It appears, if I err not, from the examples of difficulties given above from Gregory of Nyssa, and from Michaelis, how easily some which had hitherto seemed insurmountable are solved by the simple hypothesis of a Latin original. These examples have been taken without selection as they occur; but, as I have here mentioned the colony of the Corinthians, it suggests itself to me that it may not be improper to introduce here a short narrative of the origin of the present work. It was, in fact, the perusal of the *two Epistles to the Corinthians* which first led me to conjecture, that some portion, at least, of our Vulgate Greek Testament is a version from the Latin. It occurred to me several years ago, while reading them, that by translating the Greek into Latin the rugged text not only read more smoothly, but that many words and phrases which in the Greek seemed rude and unexampled, became clear and idiomatical in a Latin version. I shall give the reader an example or two of what I mean.

In the first chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the Apostle, when describing the triumph of the Gospel over worldly power and wisdom, thus writes [ver. 28]: *And base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and THINGS WHICH ARE NOT* [καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα], *to bring to nought things that are.* The meaning is, owing to the context, not difficult to discover; but the phrase τὰ μὴ ὄντα seems unwarrantable as here employed, and denotes not *meanness* but *non-existence*. The commentators cry out, as they usually do in such cases, that it is a Hebraism, a Hebrew hyperbole, &c.⁶⁷ But let us translate it into Latin; and we at once find an idiomatical phrase. In this language *Res nihili—nihilum homo*, mean not a non-entity, but what is despised, or of no estimation, as on the contrary *esse aliquem* signifies to be *somebody* or *of consequence*. On the other hand, as I have said, in Greek, τὰ μὴ ὄντα appear to signify not *insignificance*, but *non-existence*; and the language of

⁶⁷ "Hebraismus est! Calvin, Erasmus, &c. ὑπερβολὴ Ἑβραϊκά!" Grot. See Poli *Synops. in loc.*

the text is extremely harsh and hyperbolic. In Greek the phrase runs, *and non-entities to bring entities to nought*; whereas in Latin it is, *and things contemned to bring to nought things of consequence*.

Another example of what I mean may be found 1 Cor. v. 1. *It is reported commonly that there is impurity among you, and such impurity as is NOT SO MUCH AS NAMED among the Gentiles*, [καὶ τοιαυτὴ πορνεία ἥτις ΟΥΔΕ ἐν τοῖς ἐθνέσιν ΟΝΟΜΑΖΕΤΑΙ,] *that one should have his father's wife*. Now, although it was bad enough that a man should have commerce with his step-mother, yet (as the commentators remark) worse things than this were not merely *named*, but practised among the Gentiles. But if we translate οὐδὲ ονομαζεται by *nefandum* or *nefas* (a word of the very same etymological composition), the passage becomes at once clear: *It is commonly reported that there is impurity among you, and such impurity as is shocking even among Gentiles, that a man should possess his father's wife*⁶⁸. I may add, while on this topic, that the Apostle, speaking of the incestuous person in the succeeding verse, calls him ὁ το ἐργον τουτο ποιησας (or, as in several other MSS., περαξας). This Dr. Macknight translates, *He who hath done this work*, and adds the following curious note—"The Apostle, very properly, terms this sin, *εργον* a *work*; and in the following verse speaks of the persons *working it out*, because it was a practice continued in." How *committing incest* can be *very properly* termed a *work*, it is not easy to see. The original word seems to have been *facinus*, *crime*, which the etymological translator had derived from *facio*, or confounded with *factum*, and so translated *εργον*. The word *facinus* is quite appropriate to the occasion:

Nullum crimen abest, FACINUSQUE LIBIDINIS ex quo

Paupertas Romana perit.

JUVEN. VI. 293.

⁶⁸ Ονομαζεται is rejected from the text by Griesbach. "Sed causæ nihil apparet (says Valckenaer) cur illud hinc expelleremus." *Scholæ* II. p. 175. It was probably suppressed in order to lessen the extravagance of the hyperbole.

From a number of passages, similar to those now stated, in which a phrase which, in Greek, seemed forced and hyperbolic, became smooth and clear, when translated into Latin, I was at length induced to suspect that the *two Epistles to the Corinthians* (the worst in point of style of those of Paul⁶⁹) had been originally composed in Latin, and translated into Greek in the servile and etymological manner of Aquila and Arias Montanus. One circumstance, however, long led me to reject this idea. This was, that it seemed ridiculous to suppose, for I then knew nothing of re-translations, that Paul of Tarsus, a city where Greek was spoken in great purity, should write a *Latin* letter to the inhabitants of Corinth, a *Greek* city. I long rejected my hypothesis, therefore, as one of those airy phantoms with which solitary and speculative persons are sometimes apt to be beguiled; and which, from frequent contemplation, assume at length the form of real and solid substance.

⁶⁹ Chrysostom remarks, Hom. vi. in 1 *Corinth.* Ἐμοὶ δέδοκει καὶ ταπεινότερον αὐτοῖς διείλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις, τὸν τυφὸν αὐτῶν καταστέλλων. *Mihi autem videtur cum ipsis* [Corinthiis scil. Paulus] *loqui humiliter, quam cum aliis, fastum eorum deprimens,* ap. Rhenferd *Synagma*, p. 599. M. Schoell, speaking of the Apostle's warm and indignant defence of himself from the aspersions of his opponents, in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, says, "Non seulement on remarque dans ce morceau un certain desordre dans la suite des idées, mais il s'y trouve aussi beaucoup plus de solecismes, et d'Hebraïsmes que dans les autres Epitres de St. Paul." *Hist. Abregée de la Litt. Grecque*, tome ii, p. 100. That the difficulties in the Epistles to the Corinthians are not to be ascribed to *Hebraisms*, might almost be inferred from Lightfoot's complaint of this difficulty: "Hæc Epistola (says he of 1 *ad Corinth.*) varietate rerum nulli secunda est, et difficultate styli in iis tractandis, omnium quidem prima." Lightfoot [ap. Pol. *Synops.*] Gabler says that the style of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians is quite unlike that of the First, and is indeed quite horrid: "Nec fore puto quemquam, si utrasque Pauli litteras ad Corinthios datas diligenter inter se comparet, quin eas scribendi genere dissimilimo esse animadvertat..... Quid igitur miremur Paulum...horrido in his litteris usum fuisse dicendi genere?" Gabler, *Dissert. Crit. de Capit. ultim. ix—xiii. post. Epist. Pauli ad Corinthios*. 8vo. Gætting. 1782.

In the course of my reading, however, I found accidentally that the objections to my hypothesis which had occurred to me, were not so forcible as I had supposed. Corinth, in the time of Paul, was a Roman colony; its inhabitants were Romans, and spoke the Latin language. After the destruction of that city by Memmius, it remained for some time in ruins⁷⁰, but was restored (as Carthage was the same year) by Julius Cæsar, who sent thither a colony. "No one (says Pausanias) of the ancient Corinthians inhabits Corinth, but colonists sent by the Romans."—And again, speaking of a certain offering at Elis, he says, "The offering near the great Temple was dedicated by a certain Corinthian, not one (continues he) of the ancient Corinthians, but of those whom Cæsar colonized⁷¹." Dr. Clarke, speaking of Corinth in his

⁷⁰ Corinth is one of the ruined cities mentioned by Sulpicius in his beautiful Epistle to Cicero: "Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, cæpi regiones circumcirca prospicere; post me erat Ægina, ante Megara, dextra Piræus, sinistra Corinthus: quæ oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent." *Epist. ad Familiar.* lib. iv. 5.

———"as my bark did skim
The bright blue waters with a fanning wind,
Came Megara before me, and behind
Ægina lay, Piræus on the right,
And Corinth on the left...."

CHILDE HAROLD, *Cant.* iv. st. 44.

⁷¹ Pausan. *Corinth.* cap. i. *Eliac.* cap. xxiv. The former of these passages is, "Κορινθον δε οικουσι Κορινθιων μεν ουδεις ετι των αρχαιων, εποικοι δε αποσταλεντες υπο Ρωμαιων. p. 111. ed. Kuhnii. Fabricius, speaking of Pausanias, says, "Affirmat se scripsisse anno post Corinthum coloniam deductam 217. Corinthum instauravit Julius Cæsar anno postremo vitæ, urbis 710." Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* lib. iv. p. 468. See also Plutarch in CÆSAR. Festus says, "*Corinthienses*, ex eo dici cæperunt, ex quo coloni Corinthum sunt deducti, qui antea *Corinthii* sunt dicti." And Justin Martyr, at the beginning of his Dialogue with Trypho, represents the latter as saying, "Sum autem ex circumcisione Hebræus, ex bello proximo profugus, atque in Græcia, et in Corintho, plurimum degere solitus εν τη Ἑλλάδι, και τη Κορινθῳ τα πολλὰ διαγων." p. 217, or p. 3. ed. Jebb. Here Corinth is distinguished from Greece.

Travels, says, that "in the second century the inhabitants of Corinth consisted entirely of the remains of that colony which had been sent thither by the Romans. The original race with all their customs and habits had long been removed." And, again, mentioning the canal of Nero in the neighbourhood of Corinth, he tells us that "all around this place are sepulchral caves hewn in the rocks near the sea, resembling the burial-places in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem: but the caves (continues he) here are much smaller; and the recesses within them, instead of being intended as receptacles for bodies, were evidently niches for cinerary urns, a mode of sepulture relating rather to the Romans than to the Greeks: whence it may be proved (adds he) that these excavations cannot be more ancient than the restoration of Corinth by Julius Cæsar, and in all probability they are of a much later age⁷²." Another distinguished traveller, Dr. Chandler, informs us that "Corinth has preserved but few monuments of its Greek or Roman citizens⁷³." In fact, even

⁷² Clarke, *Travels*, vol. iii. pp. 745, 744.

⁷³ Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 239. Dr. Clarke also states, that at Corinth "there were no inscriptions, nor was there to be seen a single fragment of ancient sculpture. Such is now the condition of this celebrated seat of ancient art." vol. iii. p. 739. "When we had concluded our business in Hexamillia, we returned again to Corinth, and saw in our road the remains of some buildings evidently Roman, from the appearance of the *opus reticulatum* in the masonry." *ibid.* p. 759. A. Gellius, speaking of Colonies, says, "*Ex civitate quasi propagatæ sunt . . . populi Romani, ejus istæ Colonie quasi effigies parvæ, simulacraque esse quædam videntur.*" The Corinthians carried with them the worst practices of the parent state. "When, in the time of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, it was proposed to the Athenians, in imitation of the *Corinthian Gladiators*, to introduce them, the philosopher Demonax exclaimed, with noble indignation, 'O men of Athens! before you indulge in battles like these, rise and demolish the altars which your fathers have erected to Mercy.'" Stolberg ap. *Month. Rev.* N. S. vol. xxiii. p. 375. The Apostle, 1 Cor. iv. 9. borrows an image from the Amphitheatre; and I agree with Dr. Macknight in his note on 1 Cor. xii. 25.: "In this allegory the Apostle represents the different characters, stations, and offices of man-

from the names of the inhabitants of Corinth given in the New Testament, it might have been inferred that they were Romans. When Paul was at Corinth, he lodged [*Acts* xviii. 7.] in the house of one Justus, or (as the Vulgate and good MSS. and versions have it) of Titus Justus. He baptized, as he himself tells the Corinthians [*1 Cor.* i. 14.], none but Crispus and Caius; "And I baptized also (he adds) the household of Stephanas." The three first of those names are Latin, the last is Greek. It is not unlikely, nay it is exceedingly probable, that Greeks gradually mingled with the Roman colonists, or lived in the suburbs of the city; but the great body of the inhabitants were Romans. And this, I may remark by the way, will obviate a difficulty which seems to have perplexed Dr. Paley. We are told that when the Jews at Corinth had brought Paul before the Proconsul Gallio, and Gallio had dismissed their complaint as unworthy of his interference, and had driven them from his judgement seat, "*Then all the Greeks* [*Acts* xviii. 17.] *took Sosthenes the chief ruler of the Synagogue, and beat him before the judgement seat.*" Dr. Paley suspects "some error in our present text," and that the words *οἱ Ἕλληνες* should be expunged. "It is certain (says he) that, as the whole body of the people were Greeks, the application of *all* to them is unusual and hard. If I was describing an insurrection at Paris, I might say *all* the Jews, *all* the Protestants, or *all* the English acted so and so; but I should scarcely say *all* the French, when the whole mass of the community were of that description⁷⁴." Now the mass of the community at Corinth were not Greeks, but Latins; and the application of the word *all*, according to Dr. Paley's own illustration, is suitable and proper. The Jews at Corinth appear to have prompted the Greeks to do what they

kind in society, by the different members of the body, as Menenius Agrippa did in his allegory of the *Belly and Members*, which, *perhaps*, *St. Paul* had in his eye." He was writing to Romans, to whom the allegory was familiar.

⁷⁴ Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, 1 *Cor.* No. viii. p. 92. Lond. 1805.

themselves dared not, especially as they were at that time under a cloud, having [*Acts xviii. 2.*] been just banished from Rome by Claudius Cæsar. I may here remark, in passing, that Paul's chief converts at Corinth seem to have been the Latin population, whom he exhorts [*1 Cor. x. 32.*] to *give none offence, neither to the Jews nor to the Greeks*, [*καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Ἑλλήσι*] *nor to the church of God.*

It appears from what has now been stated, that Corinth was a Roman colony in the time of the Apostle, and that the great body of the inhabitants of that city were Romans. Transported thither from the countries of the West, they must naturally, like their sister colony of Carthage, have spoken only the Latin language. An individual or a family removing to a distant country, must, of necessity, learn the language of the country; but in a colony there is no necessity for this, as they converse with one another; and those of their neighbours who find it for their advantage to have commerce with them, will acquire a smattering of their language for that purpose. The first Christians, as we formerly remarked, were in general not persons of rank to whom Greek was familiar as French among ourselves, but poor and uneducated persons, as the Apostle himself tells the Corinthians, [*1 Cor. i. 26.*]: *For you see those of you who are called, brethren*, [*τὴν κλησιν*, i. e. *classem? ὅμων*] *how that (according to the flesh) there are not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble.*

But the proof that Latin was the prevalent language of the colony of Corinth, does not rest upon mere presumptions and natural probabilities. We have a series of coins, struck at Corinth after it became a colony, amounting to above three hundred and forty, and reaching from the time of Julius Cæsar till that of Elagabalus, all of which, with the exception of three or four, are in the Latin language⁷⁵. All this is

⁷⁵ See Rasche *Lexicon universæ Rei Numariæ*, tom. ii. p. 927—958. This writer, speaking of Corinth, says, “Ejus numi rarissimi sunt ante fatalem A. V. C. 608. ante Chr. 146. sub Mummio eversionem. A Ro-

a proof that the Latin language was that which was used in the Roman colony of Corinth⁷⁶. It thus appears that I needed not to have been so much puzzled with the objection—that it seemed ridiculous to suppose that Paul, a native of Tarsus, where Greek was spoken in great purity, should write a *Latin* letter to the inhabitants of Corinth, a *Greek* city. We now see that Corinth was not a Greek but a Latin city in the time of Paul; and was chiefly inhabited by persons who spoke

manis enim capta, direpta, prostrata, quæ antea totius Græciæ lumen fuit, postea suis sepulta ruinis tamdiu delituit, donec simul cum Carthagine, quæ eodem, quo Corinthus, concidit anno, ab Julio Cæsare instaurata, et *Colonia Romana* facta est. Ab eo autem tempore, numorum tam dives est Corinthus, quam pauper dum adhuc incolumis stetit.” p. 920. Of these *numi* a great catalogue follows, from which I shall give two as examples of what is stated in the text. We have one of Nero as follows, NERO CLAYD. CÆSAR AVG. GERM. IMP. with a laurelled head; on the obverse, ADVENTVS AVG. COR. and a ship with oars. Domitian was a patron of the Corinthians, who struck a variety of coins in his honour: the first of these given by Rasche is, IMP. CÆS. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. with a radiated head of Domitian; on the obverse, COL. IVL. FL. AVG. COR. with a flying Pegasus. In the next we have the Legend, PERM. IMP., *Permissu Imperatoris*, &c. &c.

⁷⁶ See some canons laid down by Spanheim in his excellent work *De Præst. et Usu Numism.* One of these, concerning the languages used in colonies, he concludes as follows: “Immo inde factum, ut sola Romanorum dialectus in quibusdam id genus coloniis invaluerit, omisæ aut desueta loci vernacula...Quod potissimum in iis coloniis locum habuit, ubi indigenis extinctis, soli admissi aut relictis lapsu temporis cives Romani, quemadmodum *de Corintho* sua ætate tradit Pausanias, nullos eam habuisse indigenas, omnes colonos Romanorum; unde non mirum quoque *Latine* passim efferri nummos *Corinthis* sub Cæsaribus a tempore deductæ coloniæ percussos.” p. 914. Amstel. 1671. See also Harduin. *Comment. in N. T.* p. 487. Hardouin mentions that in some cities or towns there were two kinds of inhabitants: “uti in Hispania oppidum Emporiæ, teste Plinio *geminum fuit, veterum incolarum et Græcorum...* Interim indigenæ Græci sejunctim a colonis Latinis numismata sua conflagabant. Sic colonia Augusta Aroë Patrensis in Achaia, Claudio, aliisque Augustis usque ad Gordianum juniorem...nummos illa, inquam, Latine inscripsit, COL. A. A. PATR. dum Græci Patrenses sub eodem Claudio scriberent ΜΙΝΔΙΟΣ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΣ. ΠΑΤΡΕΩΝ & ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΡΟΥΦΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ. ΠΑΤΡΕΩΝ.” *Chronol. Vet. Test.* p. 297.

the Latin language. And this, by the way, seems to account for the very indifferent figure which (so far as human eloquence was concerned) the Apostle made as a preacher at Corinth. Though an adept in Greek, there is no reason to suppose that he knew much Latin; and accordingly, though he had discoursed with great eloquence at Athens, and in another Greek city had been mistaken for Mercury the god of eloquence [*Acts* xiv. 12.], the Corinthians considered his *speech as contemptible*. On the other hand, they acknowledged that his letters were (according to our version, *2 Cor.* x. 10.) *weighty and powerful*. If this was meant as a compliment to the Apostle's first Epistle, and not a sneer at its high and threatening tone, it is not difficult to account for the contrast. In writing, the Apostle made use of an amanuensis, who could easily correct any imperfection in his Latin style. Thus, for example, in writing to the Romans, Tertius was his amanuensis [*Rom.* xvi. 22.], and the first Epistle to the Corinthians seems to have been written by Sosthenes, a man of consequence at Corinth, whom he associates with himself in the inscription⁷⁷. Hence might arise the contrast between the style of Paul as a speaker and a writer. In the mean time I would, in passing, request the reader to take notice of the remark of the Corinthians with respect to the Apostle's letters; and how different the sentiment is in the Greek and in the Latin language. *His letters (say they) are βαρεῖαι καὶ ισχυραί*. Now, to confine myself to the first of those epithets, the Greek word *βαρεῖαι* means literally *heavy*, and the sentiment of the Corinthians in our *Elzevir* text, seems to be as if in modern times one were to complain of the postage of a letter, as being above the necessary *weight*. Let us now suppose that the Epistle was written in Latin, and that the word *graves* was used, and how different is the idea!—how much more suitable to the sentiment meant to be expressed⁷⁸!

The circumstance that Corinth was a Roman colony, in

⁷⁷ *1 Cor.* i. 1. *Acts* xviii. 17. and *supra*, p. 168.

⁷⁸ See the remark of Hardouin on *ελαφρεια*, *supra*, p. 162.

which the Latin language was spoken, may throw light upon some passages in the *Book of Acts*. We are told that Paul preached at Philippi, a Roman colony in Macedonia, in company with Silas or Sylvanus, a Roman citizen, and probably a Roman [*Acts* xvi. 12. 37.]. At Thessalonica Paul left Sylvanus and Timotheus, who seem to have acted as Latin interpreters; and travelled to Corinth, by way of Athens, where, being a Greek city, he had no need of assistance. At Athens he delivered his noble sermon in the Areopagus. Let us now follow the Apostle to Corinth, where it is supposed that he arrived in the year of Christ 51. *After these things* (we are told in the received version, xviii. 1.) *Paul departed from Athens and came to Corinth . . . and he reasoned in the Synagogue every Sabbath, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks*, *επειθε τε Ιουδαιους και Ελληνας*. Although *ελληνες* is often, in the New Testament, a general term signifying *alieni*, (and probably in such instances formed from or occasioned by it,) yet it sometimes means *Greeks in its proper sense*, and this seems to be its signification in the above passage. The Apostle was well acquainted with the Hebrew and Greek languages, and consequently he used persuasion with the Jews and Greeks. He does not appear to have had much success; and, accordingly, when his two Latin friends Sylvanus and Timotheus arrived, he resolved to turn to the Corinthian or Latin population. *And when Silas and Timotheus* (continues the historian) *were come from Macedonia, Paul was pressed in spirit*, [*συνειχετο τῷ λογῳ*, Griesb. instabat verbo *Vulg.* sermoni *Cant.* was assiduous in the language, i. e. in the study of Latin,] *and having testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ; and when they opposed themselves and blasphemed, he shook his raiment, and said unto them . . . From henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles* [*τα εθνη*]; *and he departed thence and entered into a certain man's house named Justus, one that worshipped God, whose house joined hard to the Synagogue. And Crispus, the chief ruler of the Synagogue, believed on the Lord with all his house: and many of the Corinthians hearing, believed and were baptized.* The

Apostle, in consequence of his ill success with the Jews and Greeks, and having attained some little knowledge of Latin, went to reside with Justus, or Titus Justus; and seems to have bent his chief efforts to the conversion of the Latin population. Hence we are told, a few verses afterwards, that the *Jews* stirred up the *Greeks* to beat one of the Apostle's friends before the judgement seat of Gallio;—a circumstance which perplexed Dr. Paley, and of which an explanation has been given above⁷⁹.

Before taking leave of this part of my subject, and as undesignedly corroborative of the above observations, I will here take notice of a remark of Jerome on a passage which occurs in the second Epistle to the Corinthians. *Further-
more* [says Paul, 2 Cor. ii. 12.] *when I came to Troas to preach Christ's Gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit because I found not Titus my brother; but taking my leave of them I went from thence into Macedonia.* It appears that Titus, who by his name seems to have been of Roman origin, had been sent (it is com-

⁷⁹ *supra*, p. 168. Of the *three* parties at Corinth, those of Paul, Apollos, and Cephas, 1 Cor. i. 12, the converts of Paul seem to have been chiefly Latins, of Apollos chiefly Greeks, and of Cephas chiefly Hebrews. When the Apostle Paul said, Acts xviii. 6, that he would go unto τα ἔθνη, he seems chiefly to have meant the Romans. In his Epistle to the Romans he says ὑμῖν γὰρ λέγω τοῖς ΕΘΝΕΣΙΝ: and Valckenaer incidentally remarks: "Nusquam frequentius ἔθνων gentilium fit, quam in Epist. ad Roman. mentio." *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 176. It seems to me, that in the New Testament τα ἔθνη generally means the Romans. In derivatives the article was often soldered to a word, as το μεθν temetum, ὁ χην, Ital. occha and auca. So also ALCORAN; ALMAGEST μεγιστη, and (which has excited infinite discussion, Sturz *De Dialect. Maced.* p. 65.) ΑΛΑΒΑΡΧΕΣ Ἐπαρχος. To an Arabian (and Paul seems to have lived three years in that country, Gal. i. 17, and gives an Arabic elucidation, iv. 25.) Latini would seem *L'atini*. It is more probable, however, that the name was given to the Romans from being a σύνθηρ, of nations. I may remark, that the various reading, Mat. v. 46, 47. of τειλωμε and οἱ Ἐθνικοὶ probably originated in the same Latin word *Latini*.

monly supposed A.D. 57.) with the Apostle's first Epistle to Corinth, and that he had lingered on his mission longer than Paul had expected⁸⁰. The Apostle, accordingly, was exceedingly disappointed when upon coming to Troas (which had probably been the place of meeting agreed on) he did not find Titus; and, though an opportunity seemed to offer of making many converts, he took leave of Troas, and went into Macedonia. Jerome inquires why the presence of Titus was so essential to the ministry of Paul at Troas, and gives the following solution: "I have several times stated (says he) that Paul was a most learned man instructed at the feet of Gamaliel. Yet though his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures was profound, he could not express the majesty of the Divine sentiments in suitable Greek phrase. On this account he had Titus as his interpreter, as St. Peter had Mark, whose Gospel was composed from the narrative of Peter, while he himself wrote. Moreover the two Epistles ascribed to Peter, differ greatly from each other in style, character, and structure of words; a proof that, according to the necessity of circumstances, he made use of different interpreters. On this account the Apostle Paul is sad, because he found not the pipe or organ of his preaching through which he might sound to Christ. He therefore bids farewell to the people of Troas, and proceeded to Macedonia that he might there find Titus, and might have the solace of his interpretation of the Gospel⁸¹." Now how absurd was it in Jerome to suppose that Paul of Tarsus, who had an opportunity, as Jerome himself acknowledges, of imbibing it from his youth in his

⁸⁰ In *Gal.* ii. 3. Titus is called 'Ελλην, and in the Vulgate *Gentilis*, which better suits the passage, as it there means one ALIENUS, *non circumciscus, Judæisque opponitur.*—"Sed neque Titus, qui mecum erat (says the Vulgate) *cum esset Gentilis, compulsus est circumcidi.*" "Sunt qui conjectent (says Schleusner) eum Corinthium fuisse, quia *Act.* xviii. 7. in quibusdam Codicibus pro *Ιστρο* legitur *Τίτς* quomodo et Syrus legit." *Lex. TITΟΣ.*

⁸¹ "Aliquoties diximus Apostolum Paulum virum fuisse doctissimum, et eruditum ad pedes Gamalielis.....Cumque Paulus haberet scientiam

native city, and who had declaimed with such eloquence at Athens, should not have been able to preach the Gospel *in Greek* at Troas without Titus as his interpreter⁸⁹! But if, in the passage of Jerome, we substitute *LATINI* instead of *GRÆCI eloquii*, every thing then becomes clear, probable, and consistent. In fact, *Alexandria Troas* was, like Corinth, a Roman colony, and its inhabitants spoke the Latin language⁹⁰. Every thing, in this view, becomes clear and consistent. Paul had come to a Latin city, where he expected to meet Titus his Latin interpreter. Titus, however, had

sanctarum scripturarum..divinæ sensuum majestatem digno non poterat *GRÆCI eloquii* explicare sermone. Habebat ergo *Titum Interpretem*, sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum. Cujus Evangelium Petro narrante, et illo scribente, compositum est. Denique et duæ epistolæ quæ feruntur Petri, stylo inter se et caractere discrepant, structuraque verborum. *Ex quo intelligimus pro necessitate rerum diversis eum usum Interpretibus.* Ergo et Paulus Apostolus contristatur, quia predicationis suæ in præsentiarum fistulam, organumque per quod Christo caneret, non invenerat.....Ergo propterea valesciens Trojanis sive Troadensibus profectus est in Macedoniam, ut inveniret ibi Titum; et haberet interpretationis, evangelique solatium." Hieron. *Hed. Quæst. xi. Opera*, vol. iii. p. 49. E.

⁸⁹ See *supra*, p. 154. "In Græca lingua...quam nutritus in Tarso Ciliciæ à parva ætate imbiberat." Hieron. *ut supra*. He takes notice, also, that Paul has quoted Epimenides, Menander, and Aratus. *Oper.* vol. ii. p. 108. F. See *supra*, p. 154.

⁹⁰ Lucan represents Julius Cæsar as surveying the site of ancient Troy with tender interest, and breaking forth into the following exclamation, ix. 990:

"Dî cinerum, Phrygiæ colitis quicumque ruinas,
Æneæque mei, quos nunc Lavinia sedes
Servat, et Alba lares.....
..... date felices in cætera cursus!
Restituam populos: grata vice mœnia reddent
Ausonidæ Phrygibus, *Romanaque Pergama surgent.*"

Ye Gods of ashes! Gods who guard the place
Whence sprung Æneas, author of my race;
Ye Powers, who erst from burning Troy did come,
Domestic Gods of Alba, and of Rome.....

not come to Troas; and accordingly, as Jerome remarks, "the Apostle is sad, because he found not the pipe of his preaching through which he might sound to Christ," and, from his imperfect knowledge of the language, took leave of Troas, and went into Macedonia. Paul, as we have seen, appears, some years before, to have given attention to Latin at Corinth; but his speech was, after all, *contemptible*, and would not be improved by his late long absence from Latin cities. At Rome, some years afterwards, he exhorts the Ephesians and Colossians to pray *that utterance* and a *door of utterance* might be given to him [*Ephes.* vi. 19. *Coloss.* iv. 3.]; and writing also to Timothy he says [*2 Tim.* iv. 11.], *Only Luke is with me; take Mark and bring him with*

Prosper my future ways, and, lo! I vow
Your ancient state and honours to bestow;
Ausonian hands shall Phrygian walls restore,
And Rome repay what Troy conferr'd before.

In these verses there is a reference to the establishment of this colony. "Ipsaque Troas, Antigonía dicta, nunc *Alexandria colonia Rom.*" Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. v. cap. 30. "Cui suffragantur quoque superstites ejusdem *Alexandria nummi*...COL. AVG. TRO. ALEXA. seu *Colonia Augusta Troas Alexandria*...Adeo ut non male verba Syri Interpretis de *Alexandria*, ubi Lucas Evangelium annuntiavit, de *Troade* explicet alicubi eruditissimus Sam. Petitus, et firmet *Actorum* loco, unde *Troade* cum Paulo hæsisse colligitur Lucas." Spanheim *De Præst. et Usu Numism.* p. 776. See *supra*, p. 109. "The votive Table to Drusus Cæsar, in the Vestibule of the public Library at Cambridge, contains the words COL. AVG. TROADENS." Hobhouse, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 685. Owing to its propinquity to Constantinople, few ruins remain at Troas, having been used for building materials. Dr. Chandler thus speaks of it: "A city distinguished and flourishing by Roman favour, would not be tardy in paying the tribute of adulation to its benefactors. The peasant showed me a marble pedestal inscribed in Latin, the characters large, plain, and well formed. We found near this two other pedestals, one above half buried in rubbish; but the Turks cleared the front with their sabres to the eighth line. All three were alike, and had the same inscription *except* some slight variations. They had been erected by different cities in honour of Caius Antonius Rufus, Flamen or High Priest of the God Julius, and of the God Augustus." Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 27. Lond. 1776.

thee, for he is profitable to me for the ministry. Paul had formerly been so displeased with Mark, that he would not allow him to accompany himself and Barnabas; on which account *the contention was so sharp between them, that they [Paul and Barnabas] departed asunder one from the other [Acts xv. 39.].* The occasion, therefore, must have been urgent which induced Paul to invite Mark to Rome; and the reason seems to have been, that *Marcus* (whose name is Latin, and whose mother was of Cyprus) seems to have been well acquainted with the Latin language and usages; a circumstance, indeed, which appears from his Gospel. Mark complied with the invitation of Paul, as he is mentioned in two of the Apostle's Epistles from Rome [*Coloss. iv. 10. Philemon 24.*]; and as Peter not long afterward arrived in that city, there is no doubt that Mark would with equal pleasure assist Peter, his mother's friend [*Acts xii. 12.*], as he had assisted Paul. Peter was still less acquainted with the world, and with the Latin language, than Paul; and accordingly the assistance of Mark would be still more essential to him. Hence the title of *Interpreter of Peter* is usually given to the Evangelist Mark by the ancient Fathers⁸⁴.

But here, perhaps, some pious reader, unwilling that Christianity should be treated in so rational a manner, may fervently exclaim, "What! will you deny the *gift of tongues*? Will you dare to suppose that the Apostles could not have preached, with the utmost fluency, in any language or dialect whatever?" To this I reply, that I am far from denying the gift of tongues; but that in supposing that this gift was not constant, voluntary, and general, I agree with all the Fathers of antiquity, who, like Jerome in the passage above quoted, speak of the *Interpreters* of the Apostles as they would do of interpreters of ambassadors to remote and distant countries. Like the gift of healing, the gift of tongues (if it did not terminate as a single miracle on the day of Pentecost) seems only to have been occasional. Paul, in writing to Timothy, ad-

⁸⁴ See *supra*, p. 68.

vices him to drink no longer water, but use a little wine *for his stomach's sake and his often infirmities*; which infirmities we see the Apostle did not attempt to cure in a miraculous manner. And in another Epistle to the same friend [2 Tim. iv. 20.] the Apostle, giving an account of his attendants, says: *Erastus abode at Corinth, but Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick*. It is evident that Paul would not have left Trophimus sick at Miletum, if he could have miraculously cured him; and yet we know that such miraculous cures had been performed by the Apostle. In the same way, if Paul ever had the gift of tongues, there is not the slightest reason to believe that it was voluntary or constant; nor do any of the Fathers (who were sufficiently fond of miracles) seem to have believed this to be the case⁸⁵. It is not in the life of Paul *the Apostle*, but of Paul *the Hermit*, and other monkish legends, that every thing is supernatural; and the true friend of Christianity will consider the Apostles not as supernatural beings, and continually moving amidst miracles, but as wise and virtuous men, occasionally gifted from above with supernatural powers, but, in general, left to conduct themselves by the ordinary dictates of human prudence. As to the *gift of tongues*, I agree with many learned men in thinking that, like the phenomenon of the fiery tongues, it existed among the Apostles only on the day of Pentecost. "The gift of tongues upon the day of Pentecost (says Dr. Middleton) *was not lasting, but instantaneous and transitory*; not bestowed upon them for the constant work of the ministry, but as an *occasional sign only*, that the person endowed with it was a chosen minister of the Gospel: which sign, as soon as it had served that particular purpose, seems to have ceased, and totally to have vanished⁸⁶." The

⁸⁵ Hardouin, in a note on *Rom. ii. 15.* says, "Si scripsit Paulus *Græcam* hanc epistolam, qualem habemus, non habuit *donum lingue saltem Græcæ*, patriæ etiam lingue videri debet *oblitus*, cum Tarsensis esset." *Comment. p. 438.*

⁸⁶ Middleton, *Essay on the Gift of Tongues*, vol. ii. of his *Works*, p. 79. I cite this passage from the *Doctrine of Grace*, by Bishop War-

same opinion is supported by Salmeron, Salmasius, and other learned men⁸⁷. In his account, to the Apostles and brethren in Jerusalem, of the conversion of Cornelius and his household, who *spoke with tongues*, Peter tells them that, *As I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us AT THE BEGINNING* [*Acts* x. 46. xi. 15.]. Whether, however, the gift of tongues was instantaneous, or not, it is certain that it was only occasional; and that the Apostles were obliged to make use of interpreters.

burton, p. 4, who attempts (but it seems to me most unsuccessfully) to refute it.

⁸⁷ "Non enim verisimile est (says Salmasius) ultra illum diem durasse vim illam quam Spiritus Sanctus iis afflavit, tantisper locum habituram, quamdiu linguæ igneæ singulis distributæ supra cujusque caput insedis dicuntur. Sic enim scribitur καὶ ὠφθῆσαν, &c. *Et apparuerunt illis dispersitæ linguæ, quasi igneæ, seditque supra unumquemque eorum.* Quamdiu igitur sederunt super ipsos linguæ, hoc perficiente Spiritu Sancto, linguis omnibus feruntur loquuti. Ablatis linguis cessavit miraculum, et desierunt loqui linguis. Sequitur enim statim καὶ ἐπλησθησαν, &c. *Et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu Sancto, et cæperunt loqui variis linguis, prout Spiritus Sanctus dabat illis eloqui.* Falluntur, ergo, qui putant ab illo miraculo Apostolis infusam fuisse virtutem variis loquendi linguis, quas non didicissent... Si Petrus ab eo tempore quo in festo Pentecostes divino afflatu instinctus variis loquebatur linguis, quid opus habuit Græcarum [Latinarum] litterarum interprete, quem veteres omnes Patres ei assignant, nempe Marco?... Sed et plures ex iis verisimile est per interpretem Græcis et Romanis Evangelium adnunciassæ, exceptis siqui Græcæ noverant utpote inter Græcos nati quod de Paulo certum est.... Postquam enim patuit gentibus ad Ecclesiam Christi accessus, per Spiritum ad gratiam vocatis, Apostoli qui genere Galilæi et Hebræi erant, comites et adjuutores habuerunt in ministerio prædicandi Evangelii, partim Græcos Syriæ vernaculos qui etiam Syriacæ noverant, partim Syros quibus et lingua Græca ex conversatione Græcorum in Syria consistentium erat notissima. Interpretibus iis utebantur ad Græcè convertenda, quæ ipsi Hebraicè vel Syriacè dictaverant." Salmasius, *De Hellenistica*, pp. 253. 255, 256. Jerome, as we have seen, speaking of the two Epistles of Peter, says, "Denique et duæ epistolæ quæ feruntur Petri, stylo inter se et caractere discrepant, structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus, pro necessitate rerum, diversis eum usum interpretibus." *ad Hedib.* Qu. xi. See *supra*, p. 175.

But, to return again to the *Epistles to the Corinthians*, I have entered into the preceding long detail, with regard to the origin of my hypothesis, because the mode of its formation, its gradual development, and the conversion of what seemed objections, to arguments in proof of it, seem to constitute presumptions in its favour. From the remarks which have been offered, in the course of the detail, it should seem that there is not only no absurdity in supposing that Paul *may* have written his Epistles to the Corinthians in *Latin*, but that there is even considerable propriety in its favour. The Corinthians were a Latin colony; the amanuensis of the Apostle was a Corinthian; and consequently, though Paul himself might speak Latin very indifferently, he might be both able to dictate it to one who could improve it in writing, and be a perfect judge of the composition when so written. The Apostle himself, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, spends nearly a whole chapter in reproof of those who preached in their assemblies in a tongue unknown to the community; and can we suppose that, writing to this community, and with one of its members as his amanuensis, he would employ a language not generally understood in it? *For now, brethren,* (writes Paul to the Corinthians themselves,) *if I should come to you speaking in foreign languages, what should I profit you?* And the same way of thinking, one should suppose, would induce him to write to them in the Latin language⁸⁸. The remark of Baronius returns here

⁸⁸ 1 Cor. xiv. 6. *Nunc autem, fratres, si venero ad vos linguis loquens* [γλωσσαῖς λαλῶν] *quid vobis prodero?* Vulg. I may here remark, by the way, that there seems to be a strange notion among commentators, that the persons whom Paul accuses of creating confusion, by preaching in unknown tongues in the Church of Corinth, were persons *miraculously inspired with the gift of tongues*. Although Corinth was a Latin city, it contained Greek and Jewish inhabitants; and some of the Western colonists (as soldiers of Cæsar) might be Gauls, Spaniards, &c. As the city of Corinth also was the emporium both of East and West, it was resorted to by persons of all countries: such of whom as were Christians would resort to the general meeting. Accordingly, as any one who

in full force,—That no one can suppose that when the Apostles preached the Gospel to the Gentiles, they employed other languages than those which were familiar to the people to whom they preached; and the very same thing must hold true of their writings. What, as I formerly remarked, should we think of a *Frenchman* who should write to the people of Birmingham or Liverpool an epistle in *German* for their general edification? The Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians must either have been sent to that community in Latin, or at least they must have been translated at Corinth for the great body of the people before they could make use of them. Now, as the first of those Epistles is a conjunct orle of Paul and Sosthenes (one of their own townsmen), the natural course of things should lead one to suppose that it would be sent in Latin as more satisfactory to the whole body, and as Paul's principal converts appear to have been the Latin inhabitants.

And this presumption seems to assume a considerable degree of probability when we examine the Epistles themselves. The Greek style of the Epistles to the Corinthians (it has been said) is not much more pure or classical than the Latin style of the *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum*. Now is not this ex-

chuse seems to have had a title to preach [*πρεσβυτεριον, prædicare*], the church were sometimes addressed by persons who were unintelligible. Against this abuse the Apostle provides: *Let all things (says he) be done unto edifying. If any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at most three sentences, and let one also interpret portion by portion; but if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church.* 1 Cor. xiv. 27. It is strange it should have been supposed that such persons were miraculously inspired to speak unintelligibly, especially when the Apostle had said, in this very passage, and in allusion to this very practice, that *God is not the author of confusion*.

Since I wrote the above (that some of the Corinthians might be Spaniards, &c.) I have observed the following Epigram of Martial, lib. x. *Epigr.* 65:

“Cum te municipem Corinthiorum
Jactes Carmenion, negante nullo,
Cur frater tibi dicor ex Iberis,
Et Celtis genitus, Tagique Civis,” &c.

traordinary in a man of talent and eloquence like Paul, who was the native of a literary Greek city, where that language was spoken in great purity—who spent much of his life in other Greek cities, as Ephesus and Antioch, where good language was spoken, and who seems to have been familiarly acquainted with the Greek poets and philosophers⁸⁹? Should we find in the Royal Library at Paris, an English Letter, purporting to have been written by a native of Oxford, full of natural eloquence and good sense, but abounding at the same time with French idioms and barbarous words, should we not suspect, either that it had not been written at all by the person to whom it is attributed, or at least that it had not been written by him in that English, but in some other tongue, and translated or re-translated by some person who was but indifferently acquainted with English? In fact, it appears in a philological point of view to be due not only to the memory of Paul, but to the genuineness of some of his Epistles, to suppose that the common Greek copies are not originals, but versions, as they are full of Latinisms and solecisms, and give symptoms of having been originally in Latin, and translated or re-translated into Greek, in the verbal and etymological method of Aquila and Arias Montanus. Should we find in a French book a *candlestick* termed *un bâton de chandelle*, we should conclude that the book was a translation from the English by a person who gave a *finere* etymological version, and was but indifferently skilled in one or both languages. A like conclusion we should form if we found a ship called *un homme de guerre*; and if, by and by, we found this *homme de guerre* swallowed up *dans la main outrageuse*, we should be absolutely certain not only that this production was not either composed or translated by a Frenchman, but that the original was English, and that the words of that original were *the outrageous main*. Now it is submitted that examples, having a considerable analogy with those here mentioned, may be found in our Elzevir Greek copies of Paul's

⁸⁹ See *supra*, p. 152 et seq.

Epistles—examples which seem to lead to the conclusion, not merely that they could not have been composed in Greek by a person with the talents and advantages of Paul, but that, from many internal characteristics, they are either translations or re-translations from the Latin. It is of no consequence (as I have more than once remarked) to the hypothesis which I submit to the reader, in what language the books, or any one of the books, of the New Testament had been originally composed. But, for a reason formerly assigned [p. 102], I am desirous of proving the probability that several of these books may have been primitively written in Latin, and that we are not now reading merely the version of a version.

The reflection now offered induces me to remark, that the presumption that Paul would write to the *Corinthians*, a Roman colony, in Latin, is equally strong in favour of the supposition that he would write to the *Philippians*, another Roman colony, in the same language⁹⁰. In fact, it was, perhaps, most natural in St. Paul to *write* Epistles to converts; to whom he could not in *preaching* express himself with fluency. Two of his Epistles, that to the Laodiceans (which we term to the Ephesians), and that to the Colossians, were written to persons whom he had never seen; and as those whom he had seen, or to whom he could preach with fluency, had *least need* of his epistolary directions, he seems to have limited them, with very few exceptions, to persons whom he had not seen, or to whom, if he had lived among them, he

⁹⁰ Philippi is called a colony, *Acts* xvi. 12; and in the same chapter, verse 21, the Philippians are termed *Romans*. We have many ancient *Numi* inscribed COL. AUG. JUL. PHILIP. In his short Preface to his *Annot. on the Epistle to the Philippians*, Hardouin says: "Philippi Colonia Romanorum fuit in Macedoniæ, Thraciæque confinio, teste Plinio, et nummis antiquis, atque ipsomet Luca in *Actis* cap. xvi. 12. Hæc in honorem Augustorum a Tiberio usque ad tempora M. Aur. Antonini Severi F. nummos Latine tantum cudit: quo etiam argumento scriptam hanc epistolam Latine fuisse ab Apostolo arbitramur." p. 577.

expressed himself with difficulty. The *two Epistles to the Corinthians*, and the *Epistle to the Philippians*, if they were to be understood by those to whom they were addressed, must have been composed in Latin. And, if this was probably the case, even when writing to Latin colonies situated among Greeks, much more may we suppose that Paul adopted the Latin language, when writing from a Latin city, and by a Latin scribe, and from the house of a Latin, to the metropolis of the world. The *Epistle to the Romans* was written from Corinth; and Tertius, a Latin, was the Apostle's amanuensis, while Caius, a Latin, was the Apostle's host (*Rom. xvi. 1. 22, 23.*). In a former Disquisition it has been shown, that the great body of the Romans were ignorant of Greek; and if it was necessary at Jerusalem to put up such a short advertisement as *Let no one pass these bounds*, in Latin as well as Greek, can we suppose that the Romans could have understood a Greek Epistle⁹¹? In fact, as in the case of Mark, (in speaking of whose Gospel much has been said which equally bears upon this point,) we have ancient tradition that the *Epistle to the Romans* was composed in Latin: and that this tradition was considered as of some weight, appears from the efforts to explain it away. Fabricius, for example, owns that the Syrian Scholiast affirms that it was written in the Roman language; but asserts, as

⁹¹ See *supra*, pp. 14. 68, &c. "Quod autem his nonnulli adjiciunt (says Hardouin) Græcum sermonem Romæ notum fuisse ipsis etiam, si credimus feminis, notio-rem vero peregrinis, quam Latinum fuisse, perinde istud est, ac si quis dixerit, eo quod in confesso est, ob bellum cum Germanis assidu-um, multos esse Parisiis, qui Germanice sciant; propterea, qui librum velit Hispanis, si qui sunt qui Parisiis negotientur, ipsisque etiam Parisiensibus erudiendis utilem futurum scribere, Germanice esse scripturum. An vero peregrinis, ac non civibus potius, et saltem iis, qui Romæ rerum suarum sedem ac domicilium collocassent, scripsit Paulus? An cum propter Romanos, qui Hierosolymis degerent, crucis titulum juss-erit Latine Pilatus inscribi, non scribendum sibi ad Romanos cives Latine putaret Apostolus?" Harduini *Comment.* p. 430.

we formerly saw happened also in the case of Mark, that by Roman may be meant the Greek language⁹². In the present case, this is utterly impossible. Had the Syrian Scholiast remarked, in a commentary on the books of the Old Testament, that one of them was written in the Roman language, one might have supposed it probable that Greek was meant; but when he singles out one from a number of *Greek* Epistles, and remarks concerning it, as a peculiarity, that it was written in the *Roman* language, and when that very Epistle, too, is addressed to the Romans, what could be meant by the Scholiast, but that it was written in the Latin language? I am not urging this as a proof that the Epistle to the Romans was actually written in Latin, or contending that the sentiments of the Scholiast upon the subject are of much consequence; all that I affirm is, that it was the opinion of this Syrian, that the Epistle to the Romans was composed in Latin, in the same way as it has been the opinion of numerous learned men, that the Epistle to the Hebrews, in our canon, is a version from the Hebrew. In fact, we have much better evidence than the opinion of the Syrian, or of any other Scholiast, upon the subject. For "the language (as Horne Tooke observes)

⁹² See *supra*, p. 71. "*Epistola ad Romanos....Græce scripta est non Latine, etsi Scholiastes Syrus notat scriptam esse Romane* רומאית, quo vocabulo Græcam linguam significari, Romæ tunc et in omni fere Romano imperio vulgatissimam, Seldenus ad Eutyrium observavit. Igitur non magis fide dignum est quod Cornelius à Lapide *Tertium* Pauli amanuensem suspicatur Epistolam hanc Latine versam misisse ad Romanos, quam quod a Melchior Inchofero Lib. v. *Histor. Sacræ Latinitatis* cap. vi. traditur Paulus Latine interdum et prædicasse et scripsisse." Fabric. *Bib. Græc.* lib. iv. p. 153. I regret much that I have not been able to procure this book of M. Inchofer. Bayle says of it, "Vous y trouverez beaucoup de choses curieuses." *Dict. CLAUDE*. The work *De Sacra Latinitate* was printed 1635, in 4to; and at Prague, 1738, in 8vo. "Auctor (says Harles) qui multa sollerter, ~~quis~~ ^{quisque} autem venuste disputavit, tanto linguæ Latinæ amore abreptus est, ut contendere haud dubitaret, beatos in cælo Latine loquuturos, Christum interdum usum sermone Latino, et Latinam linguam esse principum Apostolorum Sacram." *Brev. Not. Litt. Roman. Prol.* p. 5. Lips. 1788.

cannot lye," and the language, as we shall afterwards find, of the Epistle to the Romans, seems evidently to prove, either that this Epistle was originally composed in Latin, or, at least, that our Vulgate Greek copy is a version from that language.

The opinion that the *Epistle to the Romans* was originally composed in Latin, is not only supported by the Syrian Scholiast, but has been conjectured by several Theologians, chiefly of the Roman Church, which, to the shame of Protestantism, has allowed far greater freedom of discussion to its members, than has ever been enjoyed in those churches which profess to make free inquiry the boon which they offer, and the very badge of their distinction⁹³. In fact, it is difficult to say what has been secretly discovered or not discovered in Biblical criticism and Theology, as authors on these topics have hitherto written in fetters; and many of them probably have suppressed much of their real sentiments, from anxiety for their repose. "It amazes me (says Markland in a letter to Bowyer) when I consider what strange oversights have been made in the New Testament by men of the greatest learning and sagacity, in a book that has been read more than any book in the world. What can be the reason of it? They would not have done so

⁹³ "Latine scriptam igitur fuisse hanc epistolam [*ad Romanos*] merito contendit Alphonsus Salmeron e Societate Jesu, Theologus celebratissimus, *Proleg.* xxxv. et ante illum Syrus Scholiastes; et plerisque veterum de hac re silentibus, Petrus Abaelardus (quem tamen Scriptorem appellamus non sponte) in Epistola sexta *ad Virgines Paracletenses*, de studio literarum, et in Epistolam Pauli *ad Romanos*, pag. 529. Huic enim sententiæ ut subscribamus, multis adducimur argumentis." Harduin. *Comment.* p. 430. The parenthesis of Hardouin, concerning Abaelard, is amusing. This writer, his name, and the above subject, remind me of an anecdote told by Bayle of the learned Pierre du Chatel or Castellan: "Il s'occupa à deux choses bien différentes l'un de l'autre: il fit des leçons publiques sur le texte Grec de l'Épître de St. Paul aux Romains, et des leçons particuliers d'amour à la fille de son hôte." It would have been well, perhaps, if nine-tenths of the commentators on the Greek text of the Epistle to the Romans had employed themselves in the latter, rather than the former, of these avocations.

in any other author. Reverence, perhaps, has got the better of common sense. I could send you instances which would astonish you." A juster hypothesis, with respect to the little progress made in Biblical criticism, is hinted by the same distinguished critic in a subsequent letter to the same person, dated Nov. 5, 1775. "The person [Markland himself] to whom you made the present of Kuster's Greek Testament, folio, not long ago, has often, to my knowledge, thought that there is no book in the world which he would not rather publish than the New Testament, because it is impossible to give an edition which would satisfy others and himself too. 'What can be done,' says he, 'in cases where there is no Greek, no sense, contradiction, the negative wanting or abounding, and yet all the copies agreeing?' Instances of all which not yet given are easily given, and any *one* of them would bring all the world upon his back! But have not all these things (say you) been taken notice of long ago? It is wonderful, and almost incredible, to say *They have not*, and the reason is not difficult to those who will consider the case of the great men who have written upon the New Testament. All this I believe to be true (you perhaps will not), but *I have put no name because of accidents*⁹⁴." Is it not a thing deplorable, that one lay-

⁹⁴ Markland's Letters ap. Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. pp. 306, 7. Valckenaer pays Markland the following high compliment: "Jer. Marklandus, felicissimus N. T. interpres." *Scholæ*, ii. p. 271. And in another work he says that "suis in *Lysiæ Orat. conjecturis*, viginti minimum locis N. F. aut obscuris, aut vitiatis, plus luminis intulit, quam observationum integris alii fecere voluminibus." *Schediasma*, p. 362. Reiske complains, that Markland is continually running from the Greek orators to Paul's Epistles, and thence supposes he was a clergyman.

In another letter to Bowyer, Feb. 7, 1773, published by Mr. Nichols, Markland says: "No wonder Castalio translated as he did. He saw, when he came to translate, that *ὡς ἐφθόρησεν* [Acts xxvi. 16.] was nonsense in any shape. But Beza was a genius, and of the Vulgate's *quibus* he would make *ὡς* signify *IN quibus*: and his authority was sufficient to our great interpreters. So John iii. 13. when he could not tell what to do with *ὁ ὡς ἐν τῷ ὕδατι* (and he must have been very skilful if he could), he contends that *ὁ ὡς* signifies *qui erat*, as he might

man writing to another (both of them sincere Christians, and zealous students of the Sacred Scriptures) should, in a Protestant country, in enlightened and inquiring England, express himself with a timidity and terror, as if under the scowl of the Familiars of the Inquisition? Can we wonder that, in such circumstances, so little has yet been done by Scripture critics and commentators? To them, almost universally, may be applied what Mr. Erskine said in one of his admirable speeches, of political writers composing under the fear of punishment: "From minds thus subdued by the terrors of punishment, there could issue no works of genius, to expand the empire of human reason. Under such terrors, all the great lights of science and civilization must be extinguished; for men cannot communicate their free thoughts to one another with a lash held over their heads"⁹⁵."

But to return to our subject. Although the *Gospel of Mark* has by many, and the *Epistle to the Romans* by some, been supposed to have been originally written in Latin, yet the chief, and, so far as I know, the only advocate for a Latin origin, not merely of one Gospel, or Epistle, but of the *whole New Testament*, was (as I first learned from Michaelis) the Jesuit Hardouin. This man was exceedingly acute, and an admirable scholar. He was, it must be owned, a person who, as Voltaire says of somebody, if not absolutely a fool, had a very particular kind of reason⁹⁶. And this very hypo-

better have said that *ων* signifies *ὁ εἰσόμενος*, qui *futurus est*, which would have been equally true in language, and much more to the purpose in that place." *Ibid.* p. 359. It appears to me that *εν τῷ θρανῷ*, in the above passage of our Elzevir text, is a bad version of *caelestis*. In like manner, *John* vii. 52. *εκ της Γαλιλαίας* is *Galilæus*. *Rom.* viii. 8. *Οι εν σαρκι οντες* are *carnales* [*supra*, p. 186.] *Coloss.* iii. 5. *Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth, τα μελη υμων, τα επι της γης*, seem a bad version of *terrestria membra* (a phrase used by Lucretius) or *terrena*, *iw.* ii. 18. *υπο του νοου της σαρκος αυτου*, by his carnal mind, &c. &c.

⁹⁵ *Speeches*, vol. ii. p. 266.

⁹⁶ "Qui n'était pas absolument fou, mais dont la raison était très-particulière." *Voltaire*. Yet one may apply to Hardouin what Fonte-

thesis, of a Latin original, he has contrived to render almost as absurd as his notion that the *Æneid* was composed by a Benedictine Monk in the thirteenth century. Such a man as Hardouin, however, is worth a whole drove of trammelled theologians, who move cautiously on in the beaten highway; hemmed in by the barkings of authority; and terrified lest they should diverge a step either to the right hand or to the left. It is difficult to say whether Hardouin was led to the conclusion that our Vulgate Greek is a version from the Latin by a certain critical tact (for, with all his paradoxes, Hardouin had great penetration and great erudition), or whether he was actuated with the mere design of giving consequence to the Latin Vulgate, the authentic edition of the Roman Church. It is probable that both learning and bigotry had a share in the concern⁹⁷. This distinguished person contended, not merely that the Greek Testament is a translation, but that the *Latin Vulgate*, so far from being a version, is the *primitive Apostolical Text*. Such a notion, which is in contradiction both to external and internal evidence, com-

nelle said of Pere Castel, another celebrated Jesuit: "Un jour qu'on parloit, devant le celebre Fontenelle, du caractère d'originalité que portent les ouvrages de ce Pere, quelqu'un dit: *Mais il est fou— Je le sçais bien* (repondit Fontenelle), *et j'en suis fûché, car c'est grand dommage. Mais je l'aime encore mieux original et un peu fou, que s'il étoit sage sans être original.*" *Nouv. Dict. Hist.*

⁹⁷ Michaelis, who says in one place that Hardouin's design was to serve the Catholic Church, elsewhere makes the following remark, which is exceedingly unworthy of him: "The object which Hardouin had in view in composing his Commentary is likewise a matter of uncertainty: and, as it appeared not till after his death, suspicions have been entertained by many that he was a secret enemy to the Christian religion." vol. i. p. 106. This vile insinuation (which, with equal injustice, has been made against himself) Michaelis ought not to have mentioned without censure. The character of Hardouin was bigotry, not infidelity; and in his *Athei Detecti* he discovered that Descartes, Pascal, Arnauld, and some others of the best and most pious men who had lived, were Atheists! Such uncharitable suspicions are much more unchristian than the supposition that the Epistle to the Romans was written in a language which the Romans could understand.

pletely hampered Hardouin; turned his attention to dogmatical instead of philological arguments; and rendered his whole hypothesis so dim, doubtful, and incoherent, that Michaelis having in his *Introduction* devoted a chapter to what he calls "*Hardouin's extraordinary hypothesis of a Latin original*," his learned translator, Dr. Marsh, has the following note: "This dream of Hardouin hardly deserves a place in this Introduction; and, were it not accompanied by the learned and judicious remarks of our author, the translator would have been justified in omitting it⁹⁸."

In spite of all this, and of similar sneers at Hardouin and his hypothesis which I occasionally met with in other books, I was exceedingly anxious to procure his commentary. I had for a considerable time conjectured, as already stated, not certainly that our Latin Vulgate is the Apostolical original, but that at least some of the books of our Greek Vulgate are versions from a Latin exemplar. At length, by a lucky accident, I was successful in procuring the commentary of Hardouin. It consists of a paraphrase, and notes on the Latin Vulgate; and is, upon the whole, a very acute and able work⁹⁹. On the subject, indeed, of the Latin original the author, as Michaelis justly observes, expresses himself

⁹⁸ Michaelis, by Marsh, vol. i. p. 390. "Ogni gente sa che non è questo [uomo che delira] un nuovo titolo per quell' autore [Arduino] conosciuto per istravagante quanto alcun altro al mondo sia stato giammai." Rossi, *Della Lingua propria di Cristo*, p. 41. and p. 5. See also Wetstein, *N. T.* vol. i. p. 18; who, though he praises Hardouin's sentiment with respect to the *Alex. MS.*, names his hypothesis *paradoxa et temeraria conjectura*. It has been, indeed, so universally scoffed at, that it would have been sufficient to deter most persons from venturing to offer any thing having a resemblance to it to the public. "What person of common sense, in these days, (says Dr. Campbell,) ever thinks of the ravings of Hardouin the Jesuit; who, in opposition to antiquity and all the world, maintained that the Apostles and Evangelists wrote in Latin?" &c. *Prelim. Dissert. to Gospels*, vol. ii. p. 246. I maintain no hypothesis; I humbly inquire.

⁹⁹ Jo. Harduini *e Societate Jesu Commentarius in Novum Testamentum*, &c. fol. Amstel. 1741. Hardouin died in 1733.

"in a confused and sometimes contradictory manner;" and I was considerably disappointed, both at the little that was said on this subject, and at the comparatively small number of philological notes.

Hardouin's fundamental mistake was the hypothesis that the Latin Vulgate was the *primitive* exemplar. How much he was hampered by this foolish notion, may appear from a few examples. In *Mark* xiv. 3. we are told that the woman who anointed our Lord brought a box *Ναρδου πιστικης*, which in the same passage of the Vulgate is rightly given *Nardi spicati* [*spicatæ*]. This word *πιστικης* is quite unknown; and many critics, who had not the slightest notion that the Gospels were composed in Latin, (or at least that our present Greek text is a version from that language,) have yet been of opinion that *πιστικης* is a mere corruption from the Latin. "Critics (says Dr. Campbell) have been divided about the exact import of this term. Some have thought that it has arisen from the Latin name *Nardus spicatus*, the latter part of which denoting the species of the plant has by some accident been corrupted into *πιστικης*¹⁰⁰." This accident, of a conversion of Latin words into Greek ones, is very common in our Greek Vulgate, and has happened once more to this very word in *John* xii. 3. where the phrase *Ναρδου πιστικης* again occurs. Now here, one should think, would have been a good opportunity for Hardouin to contend that Mark and John had written in good Latin *Nardi spicatæ*, and that this had been corrupted into *Ναρδου πιστικης* by their Greek translator. This advantage, however, is lost to Hardouin by the circumstance that the Vulgate, which in *Mark* xiv. 3. rightly reads *Nardi spicati*, is in *John* xii. 3. *Nardi pistici*. This latter word is still more barbarous and unmeaning than *πιστικης*. is in Greek: yet, according to Hardouin's hypothesis, that

¹⁰⁰ Campbell, *Notes on Mark*, chap. xiv. 3. "Aliis (says Schleusner) non Græcum, sed Latinum vocabulum est, quibus *Ναρδος πιστικη* idem valet, quod *Nardus spicata*, h. e. *ex spiciis expressa*, per metathesin litterarum, sicut *φελωνη*; a Paulo dicitur *Penula*." *Lex.* in ΠΙΣΤΙΚΟΣ.

the Latin Vulgate is John's original Gospel, this unmeaning word *pistici* was made use of by the Evangelist himself. Accordingly, *Mark* xiv. 3. he makes the following absurd remark : "*Nardi spicati*] In Græco est *Ναρδου πιστικής*, ex *Joanne* cap. xii. 3. ubi legitur *Nardi pistici*." Thus, by his absurd hypothesis that the Vulgate Latin is the Apostolical original, and that consequently *pistici* is John's own word, Hardouin not only loses a fair argument that *pistica* is a mere corruption from *spicata*, (and thus argues a version from the Latin,) but moreover writes nonsense unworthy so profound a scholar. Nothing seems to be more probable than that the *Nardi pistici* [*John* xii. 3.] of the Latin Vulgate is merely a transcript of the *Ναρδου πιστικής* of the Greek, and that this latter was derived from the *Nardi spicata* of a more ancient exemplar. Innumerable instances occur similar to the above, where Hardouin, hampered by his hypothesis that the Latin Vulgate was the primigenial edition, loses the fairest opportunities for contending that the Greek text is a version. Occasionally indeed, in his Commentary, he exposes some barbarous word of our Greek Vulgate, when the corresponding one in the Latin Vulgate does not happen to be so bad¹⁰¹. But this does not in the slightest degree aid his argument, unless he can show that this barbarous word or phrase, which he attacks, arose from the corruption of some Latin word or phrase in the primitive text,—a thing which, with the exception of those mentioned by every one, I think in no single instance he attempts to do ; and which, in fact, he could not do, since this primitive text differed from, and is often lost in, the Vulgate Latin, which is itself a re-translation from the Greek. For example : Hardouin attacks, and justly, the word *κεφαλαιωσαν* [*Mark* xii. 4.] as quite improper in that place¹⁰².

¹⁰¹ See *supra*, p. 162. and various other examples will be given subsequently. I believe that I have quoted in this work every philological remark of any consequence in Hardouin's *Commentary*.

¹⁰² *In capite vulnerarunt.*] Græce *κεφαλαιωσαν*, "quo deinde exemplo, vel quo auctore, aut qua Græci sermonis analogia *κεφαλαιων* signifi-

This is true : but how does it prove the text to be a version from the Latin, unless it is shown that the above word is a corruption from the Latin ? A mere barbarism will not prove this ; and since, according to Hardouin, John made use of the barbarous word *pistici*, why, on the same principle, might not Mark make use of *εκεφαλαιωσαν* ? In fact, I have rendered it probable in a former Disquisition, that the word *εκεφαλαιωσαν* corresponds with and was corrupted from *expulerunt* in the ancient Latin Exemplar. This, however, Hardouin could not have conjectured or supported, as, according to him, the *primitive* copy was the *present Latin Vulgate*, which reads, not *expulerunt*, but *in capite vulneraverunt*¹⁰³. I shall give another instance of a similar kind—of a word which, as may be seen in Schleusner, has also been the subject of numerous philological Dissertations, which have all ended in nothing. Our Lord thus addresses his Disciples in the Vul-

ficit caput comminueret aut vulnerare, fateor me nescire. Si Græco homini venit aliquando in mentem, ut κεφαλαιω eo sensu diceret, habear Græce ignarus." Harduin. *Comment.* p. 134. See *supra*, p. 99.

¹⁰³ In the same chapter, *Mark* xii. 38. Hardouin has this note : "*Cavete a scribis* ; Græce, *βλεπετε απο των γραμματειων*, *videte a scribis* ; saltcm dictum inepte et imperite." p. 134. Very possible ; but how does this prove the Greek text to be a version from the Latin ? It is true that the Latins seem occasionally to use *video* in the sense of *caveo* ; and Schleusner says, *BAEII*, No. 16 : "*Ut Latinum video, caveo, inprimis, si cum απο construitur, aut particula negandi sequitur.*" This occasional coincidence of *video* and *caveo* might have been mentioned by Hardouin, as an argument that *βλεπετε απο των γραμματειων* is a Latinism ; but then he must have concluded, at the same time, that the Latin word in the primitive exemplar was *videte*, and not *cavete*, (as in the Vulgate,) since no Greek would have translated *cavete* by *βλεπετε*. Hardouin was accordingly precluded from availing himself of any such argument, by his hypothesis that the Vulgate, was the primitive text. In truth, however, *videte a scribis* in Latin is just as barbarous as *βλεπετε απο των γραμματειων* in Greek. I have a strong suspicion that the Greek translator confounded *video* and *vito* ; and that the *βλεπετε απο* was, in the original, *devitate*. [So perhaps *extimescite* gave rise to *φοβηθητε απο*, *Luke* xii. 4.] We shall subsequently see various instances of the same kind.

gate, Luke xii. 29: *Et vos nolite quærere quid manducetis, aut quid bibatis, ET NOLITE IN SUBLIME TOLLI* [καὶ μὴ ΜΕΤΕΩΡΙΖΕΣΘΕ]. *Hæc enim omnia gentes mundi quærunt, Pater autem vester scit quoniam his indigetis.* I have retained in this version three words of the Greek text, which in the Vulgate are translated *ET NOLITE IN SUBLIME TOLLI*, a version which, though literal, is at war with the context. Valckenaer considers *μη μετεωριζεσθε* as a Latinism equivalent to *ne pendeatis animi*¹⁰⁴. In fact, I have a strong suspicion that the Latin Exemplar, from which our Greek copy seems to have been derived, ran thus: *nolite quærere quid manducetis, aut quid bibatis, et nolite METUERE*, and that the Greek translator converted *METUERE*, or some part of this verb, into *ΜΕΤΕΩΡΙΖΕΣΘΕ*. Fifty other examples occur of the same sort. Hardouin, however, was precluded, by the Vulgate *nolite in sublime tolli*, from all suspicion or argument for a Latinism, even in the sense which is supported by Valckenaer, and has recourse to dogmatical instead of philological arguments¹⁰⁵.

I shall close my remarks, on the imperfections of the hypothesis of Hardouin, by adding a single example, from the First Epistle of *Peter*, which I am the rather induced to subjoin, as I have hitherto given no specimen of a Latinism from the writings of this Apostle. In 1 *Pet.* v. 5. we find the following phrase: *την ταπεινοφροσυνην ΕΓΚΟΜΒΩΣΑΣΘΕ*. This last barbarous word, like most of his brethren already mentioned, has been the subject of a great number of disputes and dissertations among philologists¹⁰⁶. In fact, my own

¹⁰⁴ "Prostant hujus et. vocis hoc in loco variæ interpretationes. Vera videtur illorum opinio, qui respici putant *animum sollicitudine pendentem*. Quæ Elsnerus protulit sunt alieniora." Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 212. "Vox ἀπαξ λεγόμενη, in N. T. nec parum controversa." Schleusner, ΜΕΤΕΩΡΙΖΩ.

¹⁰⁵ "Græci Libri, quasi nefas sit Deum *sublimem* appellari, in hoc *Incipit loco* habent *μη μετεωριζεσθε*: quod deinde Interpretes, tum veteres, tum recentes aliter alii accipiunt, nemo ut sibi, nemo ut cuiquam satisfaciât." Hardouin. *Comment.* p. 201.

¹⁰⁶ See Schleusner, ΕΓΚΟΜΒΩΜΑΙ. He explains *την ταπεινο-*

opinion is, that the barbarous word *εγκομβώσασθε* is no other than the Latin *incumbite*, and that the Latin text from which our Vulgate Greek was taken had been in *humilitatem INCUMBITE*¹⁰⁷. Now here was a case for Hardouin to contend for a Latin original; but in the Latin Vulgate we have *humilitatem INSINUATE*, a word which could neither suggest nor throw any light upon *εγκομβώσασθε*.

It appears, if I mistake not, from the above examples, that Hardouin (from his absurd hypothesis that our Latin Vulgate was the *primitive* exemplar) could not but grope in utter darkness. He often exposes, with great felicity, the barbarity and solecisms of the Greek Vulgate: but this, as formerly remarked, proves nothing, unless he had shown that these solecisms had their source in a Latin text. His arguments, therefore, are not philological but theological; and he accounts for the diversities in MSS., and occasionally for those in the Greek and Latin text, on supposed dogmatical motives often the most whimsical and absurd¹⁰⁸. The accusations of Hardouin, also, respecting the Greek text of the New

Φροσυνην εγκομβώσασθε, by *modestiam induite*, h. e. operam date, ut modestia præditi, et ornati conspiciamini.

¹⁰⁷ I must request the reader to take notice that, in giving what I suspect to be the original text, I concern myself only with the *main word*, without being scrupulous about the others. For example, *ταπεινοφροσυνην* is translated by Schleusner *modestiam*; by the Vulgate, *humilitatem*; and whichever be used is indifferent to my argument, which merely concerns *INCUMBITE*. In such cases, except the word or words affected, I give the text of the Vulgate.

¹⁰⁸ Take, as a specimen, the following, *John* iv. 3. : *Reliquit Judæam.*] “*Cantabrigiensis Codex habet Ἰουδαίαν γην, Judæam terram; ut allegorice significetur transitus fidei a Judæa terra ad regiones gentium. Nam Judæa si solum legatur, cum significet confessionem, nullum hic allegorizæ locum relinquit.*” *Comment.* p. 267. He has the following note: *Act.* xxvii. 8. *Boniportus, cui juxta erat civitas THALASSA.*] “*Thalassa; in Græco Λασσαία*” in Alexandrino Codice *Αλασσα*. Now placuit, opinor, allegoriarum amatoribus scilicet, poni juxta Bonopórtus *mare*: quod æstuosum ac turbulentum quiddam sonat allegorice. *Idcirco mutata hæc vox est in alias prorsus ignotas!!*” *Ibid.* p. 423,

Testament, probably met with less attention on account of his fondness for singular and paradoxical positions; and which it must be owned occasionally resemble the incoherent dreams of a person not quite awake¹⁰⁹. "The doctrine (says the great Porson in his review of Robertson *On the Parian Chronicle*) advanced in the citation from Hardouin is exactly conformable to that writer's usual paradoxes. He wanted to destroy the credit of all the Greek and Latin writers. But Inscriptions hung like a millstone about the neck of his project. He therefore resolved to make sure work, and to deny the *genuineness* of as many as he saw convenient; to effect which purpose he intrenches himself in a general accusation. If the author of the Dissertation (proceeds Porson) had quoted a few more paragraphs from Hardouin in which he endeavours, after his manner, to show the forgery of some Inscriptions, he would at once have administered the poison and the antidote. But to the reveries of that learned madman respecting Greek supposititious compositions of this nature, we shall content ourselves with opposing the sentiments of a modern critic, whose judgement on the subject of spurious Inscriptions will not be disputed¹¹⁰."

The passage which Porson proceeds to quote from Maffei, and which is subjoined in the note, seems mainly to assert that Greek inscriptions have been much less frequently

¹⁰⁹ The following is a remark of Hardouin on *Acts* ix. 5. *durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare*: "Hoc imitatus pseudo-Terentius est in *Phormione*, Act. 1. sc. 2. ver. 27.

Venere in mentem mihi isthæc: Nam quæ inscitia est,

Advorsus stimulum calces."

[*Ibid.* p. 363.]

¹¹⁰ "Maffei (continues Porson) in the Introduction to the third Book, c. 1. p. 51. of his admirable work *De Arte critica Lapidariâ*, uses these words: "Inscriptionum Græce loquentium commentitias, si cum Latinis comparemus deprehendi paucas: neque enim ullum omnino est in tanta debacchantium falsariorum libidine, monumenti genus, in quod ii sibi confidere putaverint. Argumento est paucissimas usque in hanc diem ab eruditis viris, et in hoc literarum genere plurimum versatis rejectas esse, falsique damnatas." Porson, *Tracts*, &c. by Kidd, p. 81.

forged than Latin ones, and are to be regarded as the most genuine of monuments. Now it appears from a review by Porson of Knight's *Essay on the Greek Alphabet*, and which is to be found in the same volume of *Tracts*, that it would have been well if Hardouin's learned countrymen had been imbued with a little of his spirit even on the subject of Greek, or pretended Greek, inscriptions. "When M. Fourmont (says Porson, p. 135.) returned from Greece, he professed to have discovered a copy of the laws of Solon; and to have employed two thousand men in digging the ruins of Amyclæ, where he found monuments of greater antiquity than any hitherto known. Of these he published a few specimens [A.D. 1740.], but did not proceed: and he left his MSS. in the King's Library, whence other specimens have been published in the *Traité Diplomatique*, by the Benedictines, and in the *Mémoires* of the Academy by Abbé Barthelemy." Larcher, Caylus, Winkelman, Mazzochi, Villosion, Barthelemy, &c. were all deceived by these frauds of Fourmont; and the latter endeavoured to illustrate them¹¹¹. I would not be understood to justify the reveries of Hardouin; which, I acknowledge, are often incoherent and ridiculous. Yet, since the time when he first threw out his paradoxes concerning ancient writings, how many have been discovered to be spurious! The progress of criticism will probably greatly add to this number, and nothing seems more likely than that much which we now think genuine will be found spurious, and much that seems original will be found a version¹¹².

¹¹¹ See Knight, *Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet*, p. 111—130. 4to. Lond. 1791. At p. 124 Mr. Knight blames Cragius for quoting Hesychius, Ἀγμωσση... "The words of Hesychius (says he) are Ἀγμωσση," &c. Cragius, however, is correct; and made use of the edit. Hagenowæ, 1521, the best of all the old editions.

¹¹² Dr. Bentley, who thus speaks of a work of Hardouin's, "Monsieur Hardouin's very excellent book of the Coins of Cities and People," *Phalaris*, p. 240, has, by his exposure of literary forgeries in this profound work, rendered the paradoxical assertions of Hardouin less absurd than they at first seemed. After enumerating many literary forge-

To return once more (before concluding) to the Apostle Paul and the Corinthians,—what could be more polite than his address to King Agrippa, or more noble than his speech to the Athenians in the midst of the Areopagus? Jerome, Chrysostom, and the other Fathers, who, as we have seen, represent his style as barbarous, talk with rapture of the sublimity of his genius¹¹². How then did it happen that all his efforts became palsied, as it were, at Corinth; and that he to whom the inhabitants of Lystra wished to offer sacrifice as to Mercury, the God of Eloquence, was considered by the Corinthians, a Roman colony, as a person whose *speech* was

ries, he says, "There are many more instances of such counterfeit writers. In one short passage of Suidas there is an account of half a score." p. 10. And having proved the spuriousness of the Epistles of Phalaris, Socrates, Euripides, &c. he begins his Dissertation on *Æsop's Fables* as follows: "I could easily go on, and discover to you many more impostures of this kind: the Epistles of Anacharsis, Heraclitus, Democritus, Hippocrates, Diogenes, Crates, and others." p. 429. Since the time of Bentley, various spurious writings, attributed to Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and other most distinguished writers, have been detected. Valckenaer thus speaks of a Life of Homer long attributed to Herodotus: "*Vita Homeri*, Herodoto perperam attribui solita, quum debeatur Græculo Ludi-magistro recentiori." *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 217. Yet Bentley himself quotes this as a work of Herodotus. [*Phalaris*, p. 359.] When we consider the success of the forgeries of Macpherson; when we reflect on "those hoary antiquaries, who—having made the early language of England the object of their daily investigation, with written specimens before them of its progress in every stage—were grossly duped by Chatterton, a beardless stripling of seventeen" [*Edin. Rev.* vol. vi. p. 453.]; further, when we recollect that such persons as the Irelands were able to pass their trash for genuine productions of Shakespeare on men of high literary fame, we shall not wonder at the multitude and success of forgeries in ages when diplomatic criticism was unknown.

¹¹² Heinsius, after quoting some of the assertions of Jerome respecting the Apostle's incapacity to speak or write Greek, adds, "Et quis credit huic eundem esse illum de quo idem B. Hieronymus, *Paulum Apostolum proferam; quem quotiescunque lego, videor mihi non verba audire sed tonitrua.*" Heins. *Proh. in Exercit. Sacras*, p. 17. Cantab. 1640. See also Chrysostom, *supra*, p. 145.

contemptible? Was it not that he now ³preached in a language with which he was imperfectly acquainted? It seems utterly impossible, that with his genius and many advantages the speech of Paul could be contemptible in Greek; and this, with other circumstances, proves that the majority of the Corinthians knew only Latin, otherwise it would have been needless for Paul to expose himself to the derision of his enemies by teaching in a language in which it was said *his speech was contemptible*¹¹⁴. But if Paul found it necessary to *preach* to the Corinthians in Latin, much more would he deem it proper to *write* to them in that language, especially when he had the advantage of Latin amanuenses to correct or polish his style. The same remarks apply to his Epistles to the Romans and Philippians.

¹¹⁴ The Apostle often speaks of his language, in writing to the Corinthians; he tells them, 1 Cor. i. 17. that he came to preach the Gospel *not with skill of speech*, *οκ εν σοφια λογω, non peritia sermonis*. "*Sapientiam pro peritia* (says Valckenaer) *Romani quoque veteres dixerunt.*" *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 82. Again he says, ii. 1. that he came *ου καθ' υπεροχην λογω, not with excellency of speech*; and at verse 4. he says that his speech and his preaching were not *εν πειθοις ανθρωπινης σοφιας λογοις*. It is well known that *πειθοις* is not a Greek word. See Schleusner in ΠΕΙΘΟΣ. Eusebius read *εν πειθοι ανθρωπινης σοφιας λογων*. "Eusebii lectionem (says Valckenaer) quam agnoscit variis in locis Origenes, post Beza probarunt J. Cocceius, vir summus in suo genere, et Erasmus Schmidius." *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 117. "*Vera lectio videtur esse εν πειθοι.*" Schleusner. I suspect *εν πειθοι* was corrupted from *impetu*; and that by *οκ εν πειθοι λογων* Paul meant that he could not speak to them with fluency. At 2 Cor. xi. 6. he owns that he is *ιδιωτης τω λογω, imperitus sermone*, *Vulg.* And we have seen above, that the Corinthians, who were Latins, considered his *speech as contemptible*; while, in a Greek city, he was considered as the god of eloquence.

I have already remarked, p. 176, that, when at Rome, Paul thus writes to the Colossians: *Withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance*. Coloss. iv. 3. *ινα ο Θεος ανοιξη ημιν θυραν τυ λογω, ostium sermonis*. *Vulg.* And to the Ephesians: *and (praying) for me that utterance may be given unto me*, vi. 19. *ινα μοι δοθειη λογος, ut detur mihi sermo*. *Vulg.* Whence this anxiety, except about his imperfect knowledge of Latin?

Upon the whole, it is submitted to the verdict of the learned reader, whether it seems not probable, even from the facts and observations already offered, that the writings of Paul in our Greek Vulgate (full as they are of corrupted Latin words and phrases) may be servile translations or re-translations from the Latin. It appears, indeed, hard to be conceived that Paul himself, with his great natural genius, and acquirements, and advantages, should have written in a style which is not merely worse than that of Peter, a fisherman of Galilee, but in a manner, perhaps, which is quite unexampled. A man of fine talent; a native of Tarsus; a man familiar with the classical Greek writers; a man who ventured to address the Athenians in the Areopagus, and to whom the inhabitants of another Greek city wished to sacrifice as to the God of Eloquence;—such a man is supposed to have written so barbarously in Greek, that his greatest admirers are led to conclude that he could not preach in Greek without an interpreter—that he could neither write nor express himself intelligibly—nay, that he could not even understand (such an *ιδιωτης* was he) a plain expression in the Greek language¹¹⁵. From all such strange and injurious suppositions we are delivered by our hypothesis, and from consequences also which are still more important than the merely literary defects which have been charged on the Apostle Paul. Dr. Taylor, in his Notes upon the Epistle to the Romans, writes as follows: “Mr. Locke, in the note upon this verse [x. 13.], saith ‘that it will be an ill rule for interpreting St. Paul, to tie up his use of *any* text he brings out of the Old Testament, to that which is taken to be the meaning of it there.’ That is (says Dr. T.) ‘which is the true meaning of it there,’ otherwise what Mr. Locke saith will not be at all to the purpose. But surely this judicious commentator did not thoroughly consider that, at this rate,

¹¹⁵ See *supra*, p. 145 *et seq.* The Apostle might well exclaim with Job [xix. 21.] *Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends!*

no argument can be built upon any of St. Paul's quotations; and that it must have been an indifferent thing with our Apostle, whether he did or did not understand the Scriptures: for they would serve him as well without as with the true meaning. But who can think a person of so much learning, judgement, and integrity, would read or use the Scriptures in such a loose and careless manner?"

"The Apostle, I make no doubt, (concludes Dr. Taylor,) was a strict and close quoter of Scripture. But then he did not always quote them in *the same manner*, or for the same purpose¹¹⁶." Now what is this but owning, in effect, what Mr. Locke affirms? for if quotations are not made in *the same manner*, there seems to be an end of all accurate argument. In short, if we believe many Fathers and divines, the great Apostle of the Gentiles could neither write, reason, nor read; and Melancthon requests, that theologians would be so condescending as to allow, at least, that Paul might have common sense¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁶ Taylor's *Paraphrase, with Notes on the Epistle to the Romans*, p. 427. Dublin, 8vo. 1746. See also Basil ap. Hody *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 259. "Apostolus (says he in the version of which the original is there given) in ea, quæ ad Romanos est Epistola, hac sententia Prophetæ usus est, paucis admodum dictionibus immutatis. Si quis vero causam exquirat, quare alia quidem prætermiserit, alia vero immutarit Apostolus, illud noverit, primum, quia is Hebræus quum esset, non se serviliter addixit *Éditionibus, quibus nos utimur*, sed sensum Scripturæ, quemadmodum illi in mentem venit interpretatus, ita exposuit." Basil ad *Es.* x. 23. "Scribebat enim Romanis (says Jerome, apologising for another quotation) *qui Scripturas Hebraicas nesciebant*, nec erat ei cura de verbis, cum sensus esset in tuto, et damnum ex eo præsens disputatio non haberet." In *Rom.* i. 17. or ap. Hody, p. 263. And again: "Legite epistolas ejus, et maximè ad Romanos, ad Galatas, ad Ephesios in quibus totus in certamine positus est, et videbitis eum in testimoniis, quæ sumit de Vetere Testamento, quàm artifex, quàm prudens, quàm dissimulatore sit ejus quod agit." Hieron. *Oper. adv. Jovin. Apol.* vol. ii. p. 36. G.

¹¹⁷ "Res loquitur ipsa, non sine certa ratione disputasse Apostolum. Nam, ut fuerit illiteratus, tamen omnes sani atque ingeniosi homines in dicendo rationem aliquam adhibent, ut auditorem ordine de re doceant, et ne quid temere admisceant alienum a causa: *concedant saltem com-*

To conclude: it appears to me (as I formerly remarked) to be not only due, in many respects, to the character of this great Apostle, but also to the genuineness of the Epistles themselves, to suppose that they are translations. Should we find an Epistle, attributed to Mr. Locke, not unworthy of him in point of sentiment, but full of Latinisms and Scotticisms, should we not conclude (and it would be due even to the memory of that great man) either that it was not genuine, but falsely ascribed to him, or, at least, that it had been written in Latin, and translated by a Scotsman, accurately perhaps, but in a style and manner unworthy of the original? The very same conclusion is, *mutatis mutandis*, applicable to the Epistles to the Corinthians, and some other Epistles of Paul; and I submit to the reader, whether a critic would not at once do a thing respectful to the memory of the Apostle, and confirm the genuineness of some of these Epistles, if he could show that, as they exist in our present Greek Vulgate, these Epistles are not originals, but translations¹¹⁸.

munem sensum Paulo, si qui trivialem doctrinam adimunt." Ph. Melanct. *Dispos. Orat. in Epist. ad Rom.* Henry Stephens tells us of a Theologian who used to say *Per diem, si putarem quod non esset nisi me qui haberet epistolas Pauli, ego mitterem in ignes.* This Doctor would have used the Apostle still less injuriously than some of his professed admirers. *Apol. pour Herodote*, p. 423.

¹¹⁸ "We should esteem it less injury (says Dr. Randolph) to an ancient author to suppose his text corrupted, than that he wrote unintelligibly. If God, then, has suffered the Jews in some few instances to alter their Scriptures, if he has not vouchsafed them a spirit of infallibility, to secure their hands from error, or their hearts from guile, he seems to have sent them a spirit of infatuation to confound their language. The places which they have corrupted are generally so unintelligible, and agree so little with the context, that their forgeries betray themselves." *The Prophecies and other Texts*, &c. p. 52. According to this learned Oxford Theological Professor, several important prophecies concerning Christ have been wilfully falsified by the Jews in *all the existing copies* of the Hebrew Scriptures. I make no such dangerous assertion. All that I affirm, or rather conjecture, is that the Greek text of our Elzevir N. T., and of various MSS., is or seems to be a literal, honest, but inelegant translation from the Latin; itself, perhaps, a version from the Greek.

DISQUISITION IV.

In this Disquisition, after some prefatory Remarks, a List is given of Words, Phrases, Constructions, Iotacisms, &c. arranged into different Classes, all seeming to support the Conclusion, that the Peculiarities of Words, Style, and Syntax in our Greek Vulgate, are to be attributed to a servile Version from the Latin. The Disquisition concludes with some Observations on the different Greek Versions of the Old Testament.

HUC GEMINAS NUNC FLECTE ACIES, HANC ADSPICE GENTEM !

ROMANOS—

Æncid. vi. 789.

IN the first of the preceding Disquisitions, we have examined the usually received opinion of the universality of the knowledge of Greek in the time of the Apostles; and we have seen that this is a prejudice founded upon no firm foundations. It is submitted, in the two subsequent Disquisitions, that, considering the persons to whom, at least, one of the Gospels, and several of the Apostolical Epistles were addressed, it might seem more probable, that these portions of the New Testament were composed in Latin than in Greek. In the general view, also, which has been taken above of the Gospels and Epistles, we have, even already, observed that phenomena occur which seem inexplicable, unless we admit that our present Greek Vulgate is a version from the Latin. This, indeed, and not the language in which the New Testament was originally composed, is (as I have more than once remarked) the subject of our inquiry; since a book may have been originally composed in Greek, and yet, like the *Aldine Simplicius*, and some other treatises of the same kind, may

exist only in a Greek version¹. There is one Epistle in the New Testament, one copy of which even Hardouin himself admits to have been originally composed in Greek; but, (from two philological phenomena which occur in it,) he contends that our present Greek Vulgate copy is not the original, but a translation. This is the *Epistle to Philemon*, in his Introduction to which Hardouin leaves his usual way of arguing from presumptions and supposed fitnesses, and applies himself to legitimate argument. Accordingly, Michaelis, after giving eight of Hardouin's reasons in support of his hypothesis, introduces the ninth and last as follows: "The arguments of Hardouin, which have been hitherto mentioned, have not even the shadow of probability; but the following has, at least, the appearance of a foundation: 'St. Paul (says he), in the *Epistle to Philemon*, makes allusions to the names of *Philemon* and *Onesimus*, which can be expressed only in Greek: if the present epistle, therefore, were the original, the words most proper for expressing the allusions would have been retained. For instance, ver. 1. *Φιλημονι τω φιλητω*, and verses 10. 11. *Ονησιμον τον ποτε ανοησιμον, νυνι δε σοι και εμοι Ονησιμον*. But in the present case we find *Φιλημονι τω αγαπητω*, and *Ονησιμον τον ποτε σοι αχρηστον*, where the *paronomasia* is totally lost; we must therefore conclude (says Hardouin) that the Epistle contained in our canon is nothing more than a translation from the Latin, in which these allusions could not be expressed².'

¹ See *supra*, p. 81 *et seq.*

² "Et Epistolæ titulus (says Hardouin) *Philemoni dilecto*, et versus epistolæ undecimus, sunt argumento mihi, fuisse ab Apostolo scriptam quoque Græce hanc epistolam, interiisse autem Græcum illud exemplar; nec genuinum istud esse, quod nunc circumfertur Græco idiomate, eadem loca duo, præter alia argumenta, suadent. Exhibent enim ambo ludum quemdam in similitudine vocum, qui neque Latine potest exprimi, neque in Græco Vulgato apparet. Cum enim Latine legatur, *Philemoni dilecto*, lusisse Apostolum prorsus verisimile est in *Philemonis* significatione; quod *amicum* sive *amantem* id nomen significat: ac scripsisse proinde *Φιλημονι τω Φιλητω* quasi diceret *Diligenti*

"This objection (continues Michaelis) is not devoid of ingenuity; but the text, as described by Hardouin, would convey rather the language of a punster than of a refined writer, who always avoids a similarity of sounds that might be offensive to a delicate ear. And it still remains a matter of very great doubt whether St. Paul, by the word *αγαπητος*, intended to make allusion to the name of Philemon," (vol. i. p. 10.). It is evident, from this remark of Michaelis, that he felt himself puzzled with Hardouin's objection. Nothing seems more certain, than that Paul designed to allude to the name of *Philemon*, since an allusion of the very same kind is made on the name of *Onesimus*, and on a like account *Archippus* (whose name signifies a *Leader of Horse*) seems designated by the Apostle, his *fellow-soldier*. So many allusions to names in so short an Epistle could scarcely have been accidental, and, in fact, have not been considered as accidental by commentators³. Now it is only upon Hardouin's hypothesis that the allusions could have been suggested, or carried into effect

dilecto. At nunc legitur Φιλημονι τῷ ἀγαπητῷ, ubi nulla similis vocum παρωνυμία est. Similiter, versu undecimo, cum legatur in editione Latina, de Onesimo, qui tibi aliquando inutilis fuit, nunc autem et mihi et tibi utilis; apparet haud dubie, ut prius in heri, sic modo in ipso etiam servi nomine Apostolum lusisse, et sic Græce scripsisse Ονησιμον τον ποτε σοι ἀνονησιμον, νυνι δε σοι και εμοι Ονησιμον. Est enim Ονησιμος utilis ὠφελιμος. At hodie Græce legitur Ονησιμον, τον ποτε σοι ἀχρηστον, νυνι δε σοι και εμοι ευχρηστον. Ubi nulla similis, atque in priore oratione est appellatio facta denominative, sive de nomine. Et allusisse quidem hoc loco Paulum ad Græcam vocem Ονησιμος, quæ utilem significat, aliū ante nos adnotarunt. Nam quis hoc non statim videat? Sed ab his animadverti simul oportuit, esse istud ingenium Græci sermonis, ut careat lepore, nisi conjuncta allusio ea sit cum παρωνυμία, qualem diximus hic fuisse." *Comment.* p. 642.

³ Ευχρηστον, verse 11. "Alludit ad nomen *Onesimi*, quod utilem significat." Grotius, Menochius, Piscator ap. Poli *Syn. in loc.* Ονησιμον, τον ποτε σοι ἀχρηστον, &c. "Ad *Onesimi* manifestè alludit nomen. Cujusmodi, omnis causâ, servis fidelibus imponebantur olim." *Œtius, Exercit. Sacr.* p. 501. The play upon words is preserved in our Vulgate Greek Epistle, at v. 20. εγω σε ΟΝΑΙΜΙΝ. See Poli *Synops.* "Cum Theod. Beza scitam Perroti collegæ sui conjecturam adeo commendaverit,

with any beauty or propriety. His argument is analogous to that made use of by Africanus in his celebrated Epistle to Origen, in order to prove that the *History of Susanna* was composed originally in Greek, and not a version from the Hebrew,—an argument which has constantly been considered as decisive. It is founded upon a play of words in the Greek copy,* and which is lost in any other language. Daniel having asked one of the Elders, under what kind of tree he saw Susanna commit adultery, he answers, Under a *πρινον*, upon which Daniel exclaims, that the angel of the Lord was about *πρισαι* him. The same question having been put separately to the other Elder, he replies, that the adultery was committed under a *σχινον*, upon which Daniel tells him, that the angel of the Lord *σχισει* thee. It is evident, that a pun or play of words was intended: which pun or play of words must have been conceived in Greek, and is lost when translated †. Thus

qui Paulum hac voce alludere ad ipsum Onezimi nomen existimavit." Pearson, *Vindic. Ignat.* ap. Cotelerii *Patr. Apost.* vol. ii. p. 420. Erasmus had before conjectured this, and others since have supported it. The re-translator had been more fortunate at verse 20 than at verses 1 and 11.

* *Σωσαναν*, v. 54, 55, 58, 59. *Africani Epistola*, p. 220. Origenis *Responsio*, p. 228. ext. ap. Origenis *Dialog. contra Marcionitas*, ed. Wetstenii, Basil, 1674, in 4to. "Hoc (says Wetstein in his notes on the Epistle of Africanus, p. 164) est celebre illud argumentum, cujus auctor est Africanus: et quo Christiani, Judæi, et Pagani *Susannæ* auctoritatem labefactarunt, si non everterunt. Hieronymus hoc argumentum invictum asseruit, donec aliquis prodeat, qui *παρονομασίαν* talem, sive alliterationem et allusionem harum vocum, in Hebræa, Chaldaëaque linguâ ostendat.....De Judæis refert Hieronymus, tom. iii. *Præf. in Daniel.*, p. 28. [9.] 'Audivi ego quendam de Præceptoribus Judæorum, cum *Susannæ* derideret historiam, et a Græco, nescio quo, eam diceret esse confictam, illud opponere quod Origeni quoque Africanus opposuit: Etymologias has *απο τῶ σχινὸς σχισαί, καὶ ἀπο τῶ πρινοῦ πρισαί* de Græco sermone descendere. Cujus rei nos intelligentiam nostris hanc possumus dare, ut verbi gratia dicamus, de arbore *Ilice* dixisse eum *Ilico* pereas: et a *Lentisco*, in *lentem* te comminuat angelus, vel non *lentè* pereas, aut *lentus*, i. e. flexibilis ducaris ad mortem, sive aliud quid ad *arboris nomen* conveniens." The same objection, as we are told by Jerome, tom. v.

did one say, in English, it was under a *pine*, the reply might be, you shall *pine* in a dungeon: but, perhaps, one would not find very readily another forest tree, the name of which would furnish a like pun; and, if found, the puns or play upon words would disappear in a version. Origen, in his reply to Africanus, adduces a text from the Old Testament, which furnishes a very happy example of the test which is sometimes furnished by a play of words to distinguish an original from a version. Adam (says he) says of the woman formed from his side, *she shall be called γυνή, because she was taken ex tou ανδρός* [Gen. ii. 23.]. Here there is not the slightest perceptible relation between γυνή and ανδρός; and the like, as Jerome remarks, is the case in Latin, *she shall be called mulier, because she was taken ex viro*. On the other hand, in the original Hebrew, we at once see the relation, *she shall be called AISA, because she was taken from AIS*. Jerome, by whom this observation is made, tells us, that some of the Greek translators had endeavoured in their versions to preserve the allusion or correspondence in the original; but their efforts were, it seems to me, very unsuccessful; nor is his own Latin version, in which he attempts the same thing, altogether happy. *She shall be called* (says he) *virago, because she was taken ex viro*. The name *virago* was never a general name for *woman*.⁵ Our own language, *she shall be called woman, be-*

p. 567. *Proem. in Daniel*, was made by Porphyry to the story of Susanna. Erasmus, in his note on the above passage of Jerome, remarks: "En vocum allusio, quoniam non respondet in sermone Chaldaico nimirum constat hoc esse Græci scriptoris commentum.....veluti si quis dicat, non debent esse in eadem *mensa*, qui non sunt ejusdem *mensæ* nimirum eadem allusio non respondet in verbis Græcis τραπέζα et *νῦς*. *Ibid.* vol. p. iii. 9. L.

⁵ See Origen. *Respons. ad Africanum*, p. 240. and Wetstein's notes, p. 218. *Hæc vocabitur Mulier, quoniam ex Viro sumpta est*. "Non videtur (says Jerome) in Græco, et in Latino sonare cur *Mulier* appelleretur, quia ex *Viro sumpta sit*: sed etymologia in Hebræo sermone servatur. Vir quippe vocatur *ישׂא*, et mulier *אִשָּׁא*. Rectè igitur ab *ישׂא* appellatur mulier *אִשָּׁא*. Unde et Symmachus pulchre etymologiam etiam in Græco voluit custodire, dicens *αὐτὴ κληθῆσεται Ἀνδρίς, ὅτι*

cause she *was taken out of* man, preserves the etymological relation more successfully than most other tongues; and, on the other hand, our Lord's seeming play upon words, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock*, &c. is in English devoid of meaning, while in French, *Thou art Pierre, and upon this pierre*, &c. the allusion is perfectly preserved.

But to return to the *Epistle to Philemon*. It may appear, from the above examples, that the remark of Michaelis, that its text, as described by Hardouin, would imply a punster, has not much force. Whatever be the value of a pun, a *good* pun is at least better than a *bad* one; and as all commentators agree that Paul meant to play upon words, when he says of *Onesimus* or *Profitable*, that "in time past he was to thee *unprofitable* but now *profitable*;" it seems evident that he would use the words which gave occasion to the pun, and which alone give it propriety. Hardouin admits that the Apostle wrote to Philemon (whom his name shows to have been a Greek) in the Greek language. But he contends that our Greek Vulgate copy is a translation or retranslation, written in very barbarous language, and in which the beauty of allusion in the original is lost⁶. In order also to keep up the dignity of the Latin Vulgate, Hardouin (whose light, like that of a volcano, is all given in irregular jets, preceded and succeeded by long eruptions of mud), Hardouin, I say, further contends that the *Epistle to Philemon*, which is addressed also to Appia his wife (whom her name shows to have been a Roman), was written to that lady in the Latin lan-

ex τῇ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ αὐτῆς ἐληφθῇ αὐτῇ: quod nos Latinè possumus dicere *Hæc vocabitur VIRAGO quia ex VIRO sumpta est*. Porro Theodotio aliam etymologiam suspicatus est dicens," &c. Hieron. *Quæst. Hebr. in Genesis*, vol. iii. p. 65. 1. The *ανδρεις* of Symmachus (although the best Greek attempt) is, like the *Virago* of Jerome himself, unsuccessful; as it was never a common name for Woman.

⁶ See *supra*, p. 204. He remarks on a Greek phrase, ver. 12 of the *Epistle to Philemon*, "Et valde φιλελληνας oportet esse eos, aut φιλοῤεῖαρες potius, quos similes locutiones plenè absurditatis, ab exosculando nihilominus Græco textu non absterreant." *Comment.* p. 645.

guage. And this Latin Epistle he supposes to be preserved in our Latin Vulgate. "A Greek epistle to Philemon (as is justly observed by Michaelis, p. 104.) accompanied with a Latin translation for his wife, must really excite a smile, as it naturally suggests the question whether the married couple, of which the husband spoke no Latin, and the wife no Greek, were not obliged to conduct their familiar conversation by the means of an interpreter." Hardouin, in fact, was so hampered by his notion of the originality of the Latin Vulgate, that the absurdities to which it led him threw ridicule upon his whole argument, and prevented the most ingenious and solid of his remarks from meeting with attention.

I have entered into the preceding discussion respecting the *Epistle to Philemon*, in order to impress it still more strongly upon my reader, that it is of comparatively little consequence, in the hypothesis which is now submitted to his verdict, what was the original language of the New Testament. Our argument is not, or at least need not be, that the Apostles wrote originally in Greek, Syriac, or Latin; but merely that our *Elzevir Greek Testament* (which was given to the world by an unknown editor⁷), bears strong internal marks of being a translation or re-translation from the Latin. Our argument is, that what has been termed the *Hellenistic style* is not Hebrew but Latin-Greek. Of this, indeed, not a few proofs have been already furnished in the two preceding Disquisitions; and I shall now proceed to give lists of words, phrases, constructions, iotacisms, &c. arranged in different

⁷ "Altera quæstio, a quo et qua autoritate prima Elzeviriorum editio sit curata multo est difficilior, cum Elzevirii ipsi alto silentio id involverint consului de hac re viros doctos in Belgio: at frustra; nihil enim habuerunt, quod responderent, præter Conjecturas." Wetstein, *Proleg.* p. 152 or 389, ed. Semler. See *supra*, p. 83. I have fixed upon the Elzevir edition, partly as given to the public by an unknown editor, partly as the *editio recepta*, and partly as published subsequently to our received version. Of course, however, my arguments apply to all other MSS. and editions which concur with the Elzevir copies. See Griesbach, *Proleg.* p. xlii.

classes, which seem (with all submission) to confirm that our Elzevir Greek Testament is a version from the Latin.

Before, however, presenting these lists, I beg leave to offer the following remarks :—

1. It is not my purpose to give a list of *all* the words, phrases, &c. which seem to confirm the hypothesis submitted to the reader, but *such a number only* as appears sufficient to establish it. In fact, were I to give *all* such words, &c. the present Disquisition would be converted into a lexicon, or at least vocabulary, for the New Testament. In offering, however, merely a selection, I shall of course omit nothing which seems to me to confirm my argument; and, if the forces which are brought forward prove insufficient, I fairly own that I have little confidence in the reserve.

2. I would recall to the reader's attention, that it is not enough to justify the purity of a word, that it is found in the Classics, unless it be employed by them *in the sense* in which it is used in the New Testament. For example, the word κοινον, in the sense of *common*, is familiar to the Classic Greek writers; but is never used by them in the sense of *defiled* or *unclean*. I formerly also remarked, that the adoption of foreign idioms is often as decisive of a version as the adoption of foreign words. Fielding somewhere quotes a climax of St. Evremond, who said "first that he loved *the* war—and after *the* war he loved Madame de ***—and after Madame de *** he loved *the* religion—and after *the* religion he loved *the* philosophy." This use of the article is little less decisive that the author thought in French (or at least a foreign tongue), and gave a version of it, than if he had written the sentence in that language^a.

3. A third caution on this subject is, that in justifying the purity of a word, the *genuine works of really ancient authors* be used. The Greeks (for example) used the word δαμα to signify *Œmus*, or whole edifice; but in the LXX. it means *tectum*, or the roof, and always so in the New Testament.

^a See *supra*, pp. 124, 125.

This was remarked by Beza and Piscator³; and Pfochenius, in order to justify it, appeals to one of the Fables of Æsop. Gataker replies that we know not if Æsop wrote at all, or that any of our present Fables are his. He observes, that various collections of Fables, under the name of Æsop, were made in different ages, some in Greek, some in Latin—some in prose, others in verse. He adds, that it is not improbable that the Fable quoted by Pfochenius was written by Planudes; and that, at least, there is no reason to suppose that its author did not live long subsequent to the days of the Apostles. This idea was more fully developed by Bentley, in his *Dissertation upon the Fables of Æsop*, subjoined to his *Phalaris*; and subsequently with still greater exactness by Tyrwhitt, in his *Dissertation De Babrio*⁹.

4. It is not enough, in order to justify a word which is in common use with the writers of the New Testament, to produce perhaps a single instance from a Classic which may have been discovered with difficulty, and which thus is probably not owing to the author, but some transcriber. Thomas Magister, Phrynicius, and Mœris (for example), caution against the use of the word ἀκμην [*Matt.* xv. 16.], although

⁹ See Gataker, *De Novi Instrumenti Stylo*, cap. xxiii. Dr. Bentley conjectured that one half of the prose fables attributed to Æsop were a prose traduction of the Scazons of Babrius. Dr. Bentley also affirmed of the other half of them, that "there is great reason to believe that they were drawn up by Planudes, one of the later Greeks, that translated into his native tongue Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Cato's *Distichs*, Cæsar's *Commentaries*, and Macrobius." *Phalaris*, p. 436. Tyrwhitt, following the hints of Bentley, contended that the modern prose collections are wholly from Babrius, who had versified the prose Fables, and from whom they were again resolved into prose. *Diss. de Babrio*. Lond. 1776. See *supra*, p. 80. Casitto, a Neapolitan lawyer, has, as appears from the following passage, a different conjecture: "Hinc in eam sententiam concedere non possum (says Furia, the late editor of Æsop) quam in medium affert Antonius Casitto, jurisconsultus Neapolitanus, Æsopi nempe fabulas quæ Græce leguntur, a Planude Venetias delato anno plus minus 1320 [1327] ex Phædri fabulis versas fuisse." *Fab. Æsop. not.* p. 43.

the two former allow that it is *once* used by Xenophon. Upon this Georgii exclaims, "Is it any wonder that they attack the style of the writers of the New Testament, when they blush not to carp at the *Attic Bee*, the *Attic Muse*¹⁰?" Now I would remark on this, that if a suspicious word occur in the New Testament, and if (as has happened in various instances) a single example of it is found in a pure classical writer, this does not, at once, justify the word. In every age and country, a change and modernization of language was usual among transcribers; and this, from various circumstances, was peculiarly prevalent among the Greeks. "As many expressions (says a learned writer in the *Quarterly Review*) occurred in the ancient writers which were difficult to be understood, because they were not in common use, or were peculiar to the dialects, they were changed for others. Eutocius has discarded the Dorisms from Archimedes; the Ionisms of Anacreon have been altered; in some of the Odes of Pindar, words of a more recent date are substituted for those of the poet. This is the reason, according to Vizzanius and Bentley, why Ocellus Lucanus, though by birth a Dorian, and though Stobæus quotes some passages of his writings in the Doric dialect, now appears from his book *De Natura Universi*, which is still extant, to have composed it in Attic. Plato had written *διανεκει λογῶν* in the *Hippias*; the first word has been changed into *διηνεκει*: in the same writer *ανιδρουν* has been substituted for *ιδειν*, *διωκω* for *διωκαθω*, *υπεικω* for *υπεικαθω*, and the old form *εγχεσι* has given place to *εγχεμπτει*. In Thucydides [l. vi. c. 22.] instead of the original word *καγχευσ*, we now read the explanation *κριθαι πεφρυγμεναι*, and the glosses in the margin of Hippocrates have often passed into the text¹¹." A number of such changes have been introduced

¹⁰ "Quid, quæso, mirum, si N. T. scriptores accusantur, cum *Apem* istam *Atticam*, cum *Musam Atticam*, carpere non erubescant!" Georgii, *Hierocriticus N. Test.* p. 108.

¹¹ *Quart. Review*, vol. xxiii. p. 144. Galen [*Com.* ii. tom. iii. *Oper.* p. 149.] remarks, "juniorum eum fuisse, qui hæc addidit, certe osten-

by transcribers even into the text of Xenophon¹². During many ages previous to the invention of printing, the copyists of ancient MSS. were Christians, imbued with the style of the Greek Testament; and nothing was more natural than that, from carelessness, a synonymous impure word might occasionally be substituted for a less familiar classical one. It may now appear that the exclamation of Georgii given above, about the Attic Bee, is not much to the purpose. This writer (I may remark in passing), though one of the most learned, is certainly the most bigoted defender of the style of the New Testament. One of his great arguments is, that the Holy Spirit could write better Greek than either Xenophon or Plato; and that, consequently, it is impious to affirm that his Greek is not at least as good as theirs; nay,

dit appellatio *συντομος*, neque enim unquam Hippocrates, vel ex antiquis alius febrim continuam vocavit *συντομον*, ut nec *σηματα* *urinas*, sed hæc sunt nomina recentiorum medicorum, qui antiquam linguam ignorarunt." ap. Walchius, *De Arte Critica*, p. 133. See *supra*, p. 122.

¹² Xenoph. *Memorab.* iv. 3, 4. "Ὁ μὲν ἥλιος φωτίζει ὡν. In *Xenophonte φωτίζει* invexerunt librarii." Porson's *Tracts*, p. 390. "Nam *λαγώς* in nullo scriptore idoneo reperitur, quanquam illud per librariorum inscitiam in duo Xenophontis locos irrepsisse in *Lerico Xenophonte* docui." Sturz. *De Dialect. Macedon.* p. 177. See also in the same work, pp. 148, 149. 151. 169. 198. 203. 209. I shall subjoin the first passage here referred to: "*Αποκριθῆναι* pro *αποκρίνασθαι* recte docet Phrynicius, p. 40, esse rejiciendum...nam *αποκριθῆναι* non *respondere* significat, sed *separatum esse*...Invenias quidem *αποκριθῆναι* pro *respondere* in Platonis *Alcib.* ii. t. ii. *Opp.* p. 149 B. Sed ne commemorem, jam veteres, num vere a Platone dialogus hic profectus sit, dubitasse, mihi quidem per errorem librariorum, quibus nova ista forma notior esset, videtur irrepsisse. Profecto enim si primi editores Xenophontis *Anab.* 2. 1. 16. tantum codicibus *Paris.* et *Eton.* usi essent nunc in Xenophontis quoque l.l. *απεκριθη* legeremus pro *απεκρινατο*." Sturz places *αποκριθῆναι* in the sense of *respondere*, instead of *separatum esse*, among his *Alexandrian* words. In Scripture we sometimes find *αποκριθεὶς* used when no question had preceded; as *Matth.* xvii. 4. &c. I have sometimes suspected that, as the Jews and Syrians read *separans* as if *sevarans*, [*supra*, p. 100.] *αποκριθῆς* has occasionally been given as a version of *asseverans*.

Georgii seems even to think that such a supposition is, if not altogether, a near approximation to the sin against the Holy Ghost. No one doubts the power of the Holy Ghost. He might have preserved the MSS. of the New Testament from errors of transcription; but does it therefore follow that there are no *various readings*? He might have preserved from loss the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew; but is it not still true that it is yet missing, while we have recovered two volumes of Epicurus from the ashes of Herculaneum? He might even have rendered Georgii a good critic; but does it therefore follow that he has actually done so, although Georgii was defending (as he often asserts) the *glory* of the Holy Ghost against the *blasphemies* of the Greek Fathers, and of Erasmus, Beza, and Salmasius! I may add that Triller, a German critic, in his notes upon the *Εκλογαί* of Thomas Magister, accuses this worthy person of impiety, on account of his pointing out how defective, in point of Atticism, are many phrases in the New Testament—a charge which Valckenaer justly laughs at as utterly ridiculous¹³.

5. The last preliminary remark which I would make before presenting my lists to the reader is, that writing as I do, far from public libraries, and among persons not one of whom suspects that the New Testament was not *originally written in English*, it is possible, and even probable, that I may have committed mistakes in some of the words, &c. while yet the *general conclusion arising from the whole* may not be invalidated. It is, in fact, scarcely possible that in matters of this kind oversights should not occasionally take

¹³ See his note on 1 *Corinth.* xvi. 9. *Θυρά ανεφωγε ostium mihi apertum est...*“ Phrynici tamen decretum est, p. 60, *Ανεφωγεν ἡ θυρά σολοικισμός· ὅρη γὰρ λέγειν Ανεωκται.* Talia (says Valckenaer) Thomas Magister e Phrynico descripsit: hic vero ex antiquioribus Grammaticis, ut ipse erat Gentilis, Gentilibus. Absurde nuper Trillerus, Germanus, in notis ad *Τ. ὁμιαν*, bonum Magistellum, ob talia, impietatis ubique accusat: quasi vero animo malo damnasset phrases Scriptorum SS. ut minus Atticas! cf. Hoeschelius ad *Phrynicum*, et Grævius ad *Luciani Solecist.* p. 108.” Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 339.

place.. Dr. King, of St. Mary's Hall Oxford, published in 1738 a political satire in Latin, in which Maittaire (an excellent scholar) noted eleven expressions as unclassical. Yet the purity of these was proved by Dr. King from the works of authors of which new editions had recently been published by Maittaire himself, and to which he had appended copious indexes¹⁴. I shall give another example, still more in point, and of a much more distinguished scholar, with his defence. Dr. Bentley had affirmed that among the words which had an innovated sense in the *Epistles of Phalaris* were *προδιδωμι* to give before-hand, and *διωχω* to follow as a friend, not as a pursuer. Upon this, which Bentley owns to have been a slip of memory, his adversaries made a mighty outcry—"as if my forgetting (says he) a Greek word in the Septuagint, or the New Testament, was to subvert the authority of them"¹⁵... The most excellent Bishop Pearson (continues he) had designed a new edition of Ignatius's *Epistles* with an ample commentary, a specimen of which posthumous work has been published by the learned Dr. Smith, and the whole is

¹⁴ See *Monthly Review* (New Series), vol. lxxxviii. p. 163; or *Anecdotes of his Own Time*, by Dr. W. King. p. 150—155. London 1819.

¹⁵ The attack of Mr. Boyle was as follows: "But what shall we do for St. Paul? He comes far within this period; so that the writings that carry his name must be four hundred years younger than we Christians suppose them; and the *Epistle to the Romans* could not be the genuine work of that Apostle, but was penn'd (as Phalaris's *Epistles* were) by some more recent *Sophist*, whom Dr. Bentley has detected and unmask'd by the word *προδιδωκεν*, employed to signify he gave before, [*Rom.*.xi. 35.] but never us'd in this sense till many ages after our Saviour. What shall we say to this?—shall we allow Dr. Bentley to be a scurvy critic; or shall we, in tenderness to his honour, give up our Bibles?... he has still a stronger objection against the *Epistles of Paul*, and *Phalaris*, taken from the word *διωχω* put for *following*; 'which (he says) anciently signified, to pursue, when that which fled feared and shunned the pursuer.' What pity 'tis, the knowing Dr. Hody had not learnt this secret piece of criticism sooner! how easily might he have prov'd the *Septuagint* of a much less authority, and later date, than Vossius contended for." Boyle against Bentley, p. 62. London 1745.

earnestly expected of him : for though it has not passed the last hand of the author, yet it is every way worthy of him ; and the very dust of his writings is gold. In that published specimen there is this annotation upon the words of Ignatius—*‘ τον ὑμας ΣΟΦΙΣΑΝΤΑ. vox Paulina ex 2 Tim. iii. 15. τα δυναμένα σε ΣΟΦΙΣΑΙ εις σωτηριαν, quæ te possent SAPIENTEM red-dere. Neque ante eum vox activa eo sensu reperitur cum accusativo personæ. ’* Where the Bishop (proceeds Dr. B.) positively affirms that ΣΟΦΙΖΕΙΝ in the acceptation of *making wise* is a word of St. Paul’s framing ; for before him nobody used it in that sense. But in this his memory deceived him ; for, as Dr. Smith observed to me, there is the very same use of the word in *Psalms* xviii. 8. *‘ Η μαρτυρία Κυρίου πιστή ΣΟΦΙΖΟΤΕΣΑ νηπια. ’* And *Psalms* civ. 22. *και τους πρεσβυτερους αυτου ΣΟΦΙΣΑΙ. ’* What shall we say now to this ? for the Bishop’s case is exactly mine ? His Lordship had forgotten one word in the Bible, and I had forgotten another. Will the examiner insult upon that great man as he has done upon me¹⁶ ?” Such examples as those here cited, while they ought to guard against dogmatism on the one hand, ought equally to operate against insult on the other ; since a very indifferent scholar may at times detect a mistake in the ablest critic. The merest ninny knows more of the geography of some particular district than a Rennel, or a D’Anville. I may add, that the very mistakes of an able scholar are not without utility. The word σοφισαι, for example, is used in the Greek *Psalms* ; and Bishop Pearson was mistaken when he affirmed that it is first used by Paul. But the rarity of

¹⁶ Bentley’s *Dissertation upon Phalaris*, pp. 303. 305. 306. After all, the examples brought from Paul and the Septuagint were not, perhaps, so conclusive against Dr. Bentley’s first criticism, as he here admits. Du-cange, speaking of the gradual corruption of the Greek language, says : “ Verum post Justiniani tempora sensim in deterius delapsa.... Superest porro vulgari istius sermonis specimen apud Olympiodorum, ubi de Joanne Tyranno agit, scribentem jactatas ejusmodi a plebe voces ΗΙΠΤΕΙ, Η ΣΤΗΚΕΙ, neque enim vox ΣΤΗΚΕΙΝ Græca est, tametsi non semel occurrat in S. Pauli Epistolis.” *Gloss. med. et infim. Græcit. Præf.* p. vi.

its occurrence is at least pointed out by the Bishop's remark, and it is thus forced upon the attention as a subject of speculation¹⁷.

Dr. Bentley concludes his Apology as follows: "But to put an end to this article, the only thing that Mr. B.[oyle] has said well upon this head is about the meaning of *two* words, which may prove indeed that I was mistaken: but it does not at all defend his *Phalaris*; for of the *five* words that I instanced in, the greater part do still keep their ground; and if *two* strings be broken, here are *three* yet left, that will hold as strongly as all the five." [*Ibid.* p. 307,] Dr. Bentley seems to have been of opinion that

"—when one's proofs are aptly chosen,
Three are as valid as three dozen."

Now if the Doctor could, without injury to his cause, suffer the slaughter of *two* out of his *five* Satellites; I may expect that though some, or even a good many *individuals* of the *cohorts* which I bring forward should be cut off, the others may suffice without their assistance.

I shall now, after these prefatory remarks, proceed to lay before the reader different classes of words, phrases, constructions, &c. which (with all deference) seem to me to argue that our Greek Elzevir is a translation or re-translation from the Latin. In these lists I shall (in humble imitation of Hesychius) generally give the verbs as they occur in the passages referred to, and sometimes the nouns in the oblique cases; since in this way the relation between the Latin and Greek is occasionally more obvious than it might otherwise appear. The *Lexicon* of Schleusner on the New Testament [*Edin.* 1814] will in general furnish sufficient *data* to the reader to enable him to pronounce a verdict on the words which I shall

¹⁷ In 2 *Tim.* iii. 15: τα δυναμένα σε ΣΟΦΙΣΑΙ εἰς σωτηρίαν the Latin text was probably *sufficere*. In the following text σοφισατο was perhaps suggested by *scivit*. 1 *Sam.* iii. 8. και ΕΣΟΦΙΣΑΤΟ [*scivit*] Ἰηλ, ὅτι Κυριος κληηκε το παιδαριον. Great, as we shall afterwards find, has been the influence of *Escho* in literal versions.

lay before him. I shall subjoin the letter S to such words as may be found sufficiently elucidated in Schleusner's work; while to those which I have myself already mentioned and attempted to explain, I shall affix a *p.* with the number of the page where it may be found in this book.

CLASSES OF WORDS, PHRASES, &c.

N° I.

Latin Words in Greek Characters or slightly changed, and retaining their primitive signification.

Ἀσσαριον	<i>Assarium</i>	Matth. x. 29. Luke xii. 6. S.
Δηναριον	<i>Denarius</i>	Matth. xxii. 19. S.
Ἐξοδος	<i>Exitus [mors]</i>	Luke ix. 31. 2 Pet. i. 15. S.
Ευρακυλων ¹⁸	<i>Euroaquilo</i>	Acts xxvii. 14.
Ιουστος ¹⁹	<i>Justus</i>	Acts i. 23. xviii. 7. S.
Κεντυριων	<i>Centurio</i>	Mark xiv. 39. 44, 45. p. 75.
Κησος	<i>Census</i>	Matth. xvii. 25. S.
Κοδραντης	<i>Quadrantes</i>	Mark xii. 42. p. 76. 87.
Κολωνια	<i>Colonia</i>	Acts xvi. 12. S.
Κουστωδια	<i>Custodia</i>	Matth. xxvii. 65, &c. S.
Κραβδατος ²⁰	<i>Grabatus</i>	Mark ii. 4, &c.

¹⁸ Notwithstanding the Dissertation of Mr. Bryant, I agree with Grotius, Bentley, and others, that the true reading, Acts xxvii. 14, is *Ευρακυλων*, as in the *Alex. MS.* and Latin Vulgate. As this Discussion seems to me to be of use in elucidating the original language of the *Book of Acts*, I shall enter into it at some length in the *Appendix*, Note D.

¹⁹ With *Ιουστος*, I might mention *Ακυλας*, *Ανυματος*, *Κλημης*, *Κουαρτος*, *Διδερτινος*, *Ουρβανος*, *Πρισκα*, *Ρουφος*, *Σκευυδος*, *Σιλουανος*, *Φορτυνατος*, &c. Instead of this latter we have also *Τυχικος*: and *Ανυματος*, Luke ii. 1, is in the *Book of Acts* *Σιδαστος*.

²⁰ *Κραβδατος* vox "factitia ex Latino." Hardouin, *Comment.* p. 272. "*Κραβδατος* pro *σκιμπης* (says Sturz), uno fere ore improbandum judicatur a grammaticis... Neque ego dubito, quin Salmasius *De Hellenist.* p. 65, recte illud pro Macedonico habuerit. Quanquam enim, quod ego quidem sciam, non legitur in versione Alexandrina, tamen &c." *De Dialect. Mac. et Alex.* p. 175. This is this writer's besetting sin, to represent corrupted Latin as Macedonian or Alexandrian words. See

Κρυπτή ²¹	<i>Crypta</i>	Luke xi. 33.	
Λεγεων	<i>Legio</i>	Mark v. 19, &c.	S.
Λεντιον	<i>Lintum</i>	John xiii. 4, 5.	S.
Μακελλον ²²	<i>Macellum</i>	1 Cor. x. 25.	
Μεμβρανα	<i>Membrana</i>	2 Tim. iv. 13.	S.
Μιλιον	<i>Miliare</i>	Matth. v. 41.	S.
Μοδιος	<i>Modius</i>	Matth. v. 15, &c.	S.
Ξεστης	<i>Sextarius</i>	Mark vii. 4. 8.	S.
Ουα ²³	<i>Vah!</i>	Mark xv. 29.	
Ουαι	<i>Væ!</i>	Matth. xi. 21.	S.
Πραιτωριον	<i>Prætorium</i>	Matth. xxvii. 27, &c.	S.
Ρεδα	<i>Rheda</i>	Apoc. xviii. 13.	S.
Σατον ²⁴	<i>Satum</i>	Matth. xiii. 33, &c.	
Σημικινθιον	<i>Semicinctium</i>	Acts xix. 12.	S.
Σικαριος	<i>Sicarius</i>	Acts xxi. 38.	S.

supra, p. 136. I may here remark, by the way, that I have sometimes suspected that the reading *Gen.* xlvii. 31. *Heb.* xi. 21. where Jacob is said to have bowed himself *επι το ακρον της ραβδοϋ*,—in *caput BACULI*, instead of *της κληνης*, *LECTI*,—might arise from a change of *γραββατω* to *ραβδω*.

²¹ Κρυπτή. "Its meaning is undoubtedly the same as that of the Latin word *crypta*, as Stephens has properly observed in his *Thesaurus*...and *κρυπτή* may be referred to the Latinisms of Luke." Michaelis, vol. i. p. 196. So also Valckenaer, *Schola*, vol. i. p. 203.

²² Μακελλον. Plutarch, *Quest. Rom.* c. 54. tom. ii. p. 277, makes it a question why the Romans call *κρηπωλια*, *Μακελλα*. "Est *μακελλον* Latinum *macellum* (says Valckenaer), et e lingua Latina commercii Romanorum cum Græcis in usum *recentiorum* Græcorum fuit receptum... Istiusmodi voces Latinæ a Græcis *recentioribus* usu receptæ dicuntur *Græco-barbaræ*. In his undecumque colligendis versati sunt Jo. Meursius in *Glossario Græco-barbaro*, cujus optima est editio anni 1614 in 4to. et qui Meursii diligentiam obscuravit. Car. Ducangius in *Glossario mediæ et infimæ Græcitatæ*. In Libris N. T., in Evangeliiis præsertim, inveniuntur plures istiusmodi voces Latinæ, Græcis literis scriptæ." He instances *κρηπωλια*, *σπεκλατωρ*, and *κρησος*. Valckenaer, *Schola*, vol. ii. p. 265. See also Ducange, *Lib. cit.* Præf. p. iv.

²³ Ουα. "Latina interjectio *Vah* a Marco hoc loco usurpata est." Gro-tius in loc. p. 585. See *supra*, p. 75.

²⁴ Σατον. "Ficta vox ex Latino." Hardouin, *Comment.* p. 54.

Σουδαριον	<i>Sudarium</i>	Luke xix. 20, &c.	S.
Σπεκουλατωρ	<i>Spiculator</i>	Mark vi. 27.	S.
Ταβερνη	<i>Taberna</i>	Acts xxviii. 15.	S.
Τιτλος	<i>Titulus</i>	John xix. 19, 20.	S.
Φαιλονην	<i>Pænulam</i>	2 Tim. iv. 13.	S.
Φορον	<i>Forum</i>	Acts xxviii. 15.	S.
Φραγγελιον	<i>Flagellum</i>	John ii. 15.	S.
Φραγγελλωσας	<i>Flagellans</i>	Matth. xxvi. 26, &c. p. 104. 106.	
Χαρτης	<i>Charta</i>	2 John 12.	S.

Let us here pause for a little, and review, even in our present stage, the above collection of words. Now although it was to be expected that Roman names and titles should be found in the New Testament; yet the greater number of the above words might have been expressed in Greek; and it seems inconceivable, or at least difficult to conceive, that in the time of the Apostles, the language of the ruling nation could have already had so much influence in corrupting the Greek tongue. Even authors who wrote much later than the Apostles, who resided at Rome, translated Roman documents, and were occupied in writing the Roman History, employ not the tenth part of the Latin words and idioms which may be found in the New Testament. And, what above all seems inexplicable, except on the hypothesis of Latin originals, is that Latin words are sometimes found as a version of Greek ones; as if the Latin language were more familiar than the Greek both to the writer and to the reader²⁵. Did we find a num-

²⁵ See *supra*, p. 86. Valckenaer remarks on *σुδαρια* and *σιμικινθια*: “*utraque vox est Latina, Græcis tantum literis scripta, quales circa hæc tempora in communem usum Græcorum, jam fuere receptæ: postea vero longe plures, quum Constantinus M. Romani Imperii sedem transulisset Constantinopolim.*” *Scholia*, vol. i. p. 561. The question, however, is, whether a text so full of hybridous and semibarbarous Latin words as that of our Vulgate Greek text, could have existed, except in a slavish version, *before* the days of Constantine; and consequently, whether we are not compelled to suppose a translation, or re-translation from the Latin, in order to avoid a more painful alternative. [See *supra*, p. 4.] “The transfer of the seat of empire from Rome (says a

ber of Hebrew or Syriac words intermingled with the Greek of the New Testament, this might be naturally enough accounted for by the imperfect acquaintance of its writers with a foreign tongue; and the natural tendency, in such circumstances, to enlarge the vocabulary by making use of native words. But no one surely would resort in such a case to a different foreign language; especially if, as usually supposed, all of them were still more imperfectly acquainted with it than with the foreign language in which they were writing.

In fact, it appears to me that the few words which have been considered as *Syriac*, in the New Testament, are really corruptions of *Latin* ones; and that Scripture critics have acted in some instances like *Nonnus* in the case of *Σουδαριον*, which he supposes to be Syriac²⁶. One of the most celo-

writer in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xi. p. 461.) may, we apprehend, be considered as the event which *laid the foundation* of the great corruption of the Greek language... That the Latin language was the first and fatal alloy of the Greek, appears, amongst other considerations, from this circumstance—that the Grammarians of the middle ages explain *Βαζαρισμος* by *Græco-Latinum*." See Ducange, *Gloss. med. et infm. Græcit.* Præf. p. v. et seq.

The following verses are part of an Epigram prefixed to the *Glossarium Græco-Barbarum* of Meursius:

"Accipe quem tibi dat, lector studiose, laborem
 Meursius, hac chartâ Græcia tota patet;
 Non quæ Socratico quondam sermone locuta est,
 Quæ Macedûm linguæ fulmine fregit opes:
 Sed qualis, moriens in regni sede superbi,
 Singultus olim, mæstaque verba dedit
 Cùm Byzantinos habuit nova Roma Quirites," &c.

²⁶ "Nonnus makes it a Syriac word."

‘ΣΟΥΔΑΡΙΟΝ τοπρε ειπε ΣΥΡΩΝ επιδημιος αυδη.’

"Whereas the word is not of a Syriack, but Latin origination." Pearson, *Of the Creed*, p. 221. This derivation from the East, of what really had its origin in the West, has been too common among Ecclesiastical writers. Epiphanius, speaking of a Heresiarch named *Valens*, says that his name is Arabic, *και το μεν ονομα Αραβικον*, *Her.* 58. [p. 489. ed. Petavii.] Upon which Petavius remarks: "*imo Latinum VALENS.*" In this

brated of such words is *μαμμωνας*, which the universal voice of philologists has proclaimed to be a Syriac word²⁷. Now it appears to me to be neither more nor less than the Latin word *nummos*, which the interpreter perhaps had not understood, and which he changed by transposition into *μαμμωνας*. This of *metathesis* is one of the most frequent changes in language. "So of *φρενετικός* (says H. Tooke) the Italians make *farnetico*; and of *farnetico* we make *frantick*. In all languages the same transposition takes place; as in the Greek *καρδια* and *κραδιη*, &c.²⁸" When transferred to Latin, *ἀρπαξ* becomes *ραπαχ*, *μορφη* *forma*, and *λαξ* *calx*; and, vice versa, (to refer to our list above,) *Sextarius* becomes *Ξεστης*, and *Ρανυλα* *Φαιλονη*. But to return to *μαμμωνας*,—Schleusner tells us that *μαμμωνας της αδικιας*, *Luke* xvi. 9, ought not to be translated *money of unrighteousness*, i. e. unjustly procured; but money which is *perishing* and *evanescent*²⁹. In this, it appears to me that he is correct; but it is by a mere guess at what *ought* to be the

same page Epiphanius uses the phrase *ἐπισυμφελοις*, on which Petavius remarks, "Aut depravata, aut ignota mihi vox est *συμφελοις*." But, as Gataker justly remarks, "*συμφελλιον* nihil est aliud quam Latinum *subsellium*." *Advers. Miscell.* cap. 36. p. 372. *Oper.* p. 810. See a curious discussion concerning *Συδαριον*, ap. Pierson, *Mæris Atticista*, p. 348.

²⁷ "Vocabulum origine Syriacum." Schleusner in *MAMMONAS*. "Vocem hanc Syriacam esse omnes testantur, et ostendit hoc etiam loco Syriaca interpretatio." Grotius in *Matth.* vi. 24. But, according to this test, we might argue that many Greek and Latin words were Syriac ones [*supra*, p. 105]. Grotius adds: "Quidam et *Hebræam* arbitrantur sed corruptam.... Id si verum est," &c. &c. In short, they know not what to make of it.

²⁸ *Diversions of Purley*, vol. ii. p. 86. "The inversion of letters by the figure metathesis is also common in Romaic, as *πειρα* for *πιερα*, *bitterness*, *grief*; *γερωνιζω* for *γνωριζω* and sometimes accompanied with a change of consonant, as *τζη* for *της*." Leuke, *Researches in Greece*, p. 51.

²⁹ *Μαμμωνας*, *divitiæ*, *opes*. *Luc.* xvi. 9. "Ubi *ὁ μαμμωνας της αδικιας* est i. q. v. *ὁ ἀδικος μαμμωνας*, h. e. *divitiæ fluxæ*, et facile *periturae*, non, ut vulgo vertitur, *opes*, injusto modo *acquisitæ* et *partæ*." Schleusner. *ibid.*

sense; as *ἀδικός* v. 11. and *ἀδικίας* are tortured into a sense which they neither have nor can have. In fact, the original seems to have been *nummos caducos*, and this phrase not being familiar to the translator, he converted it by a kind of chime into *μαμμωνας της ἀδικίας*, an unfortunate *qui pro quo*, as he has thus in the opinion of some made our Saviour apparently commend injustice³⁰.

Another Syriac or Hebrew word (which has given occasion to innumerable dissertations about the valley of Hinnom) is the word *γεεννα*. Jerome remarks, that the name *γεεννα* is not to be found in the Old Testament, but was first used by our Saviour³¹. In fact, it seems to me to be no other than a corruption of the Latin word *igne*. *Matth.* v. 22, *quam totum corpus tuum eat in γεενναν* [*ignem*] *James* iii. 6. *inflammata ὑπο της γεεννης à gehenna* [*ab igne*]. *Mark* ix. 43, *bonum est tibi debilem introire in vitam, quam duas manus habentem ire in gehennam, in ignem incātinguibilem*; where *το πυρ το ασβεστον* is given (perhaps originally from the margin) as a definition of *γεεννα*³². In this case it is not probable that the

³⁰ We shall afterwards find many examples, that when the *same letter* ended one word and began the next, a single letter in MSS. written continuously, often served for both. The letter C was not merely the Greek Σ, but sometimes also the Latin S. See Clerici *Ars Critica*, vol. ii. p. 53. London 1698. And in Lucretius, lib. i. 10, instead of *simul ac*, as in the first edition, we have *simulas*, in the second and third, p. 163. vol. iv. Glasg. 1813. The *NUMMOCADUCOS* might become *μαμμωνας της ἀδικίας*. Of such chimes or echoes as these we shall afterwards have occasion to speak more fully. Such, for example, seems to me *Acts* xvii. 26: *And hath made of one blood—εξ ἑνος ἁίματος, all nations of men.* *ἁίματος* is wanting in the *Alex.* and *Vatic.* MSS., and in the Vulgate, Coptic, &c. I suspect *εξ ἑνος ἁίματος* arose from *ex uno stemmate*. ¶ Since the above was written, I find that on Horace, *Serm.* i. iv. 14, *Crispinus MINIMO me provocat*—Dr. Hunter writes “*Pro minimo* Bentl. conj. *nummo*, ingeniose. Vid. Gesn.”

³¹ “*Nomen gehennæ in veteribus libris non invenitur, sed primum a Salvatore ponitur.*” Hieron. in *Matth.* x. vol. ix. p. 9. F. Sæ Campbell *On the Gospels*, Diss. vi. P. II. vol. i. p. 272 *et seq.*

³² See Griesbach in *loc.* “*εις το πυρ το ασβεστον*—L. Versio Syr. probante Beza in *Annot.* edit. 3, 4, 5.” Wetstein. *N. T.* in *Marc.* ix. 43. It

translator would find any difficulty, as in the case of *nummos* converted into *μαμωνας*: but (if it did not originate in abbreviation) it might, perhaps, seem useful to him to have a *vox signata* for the *FIRE OF HELL*, and thus *γεννα* seems to be formed from *igne*.

I shall here subjoin a small list of other supposed Syriac or Hebrew words, which are to be found in the New Testament; and some of which, at least, appear to me to have a Latin origin. With regard to others of them I have less confidence; and, therefore, I shall not designate them as one of my classes; but merely mark them down, as it were in passing, for the consideration of the reader.

Αἶβα ὁ πατήρ³³ *Ave! Pater?* Mark xiv. 36. Rom. viii. 15.

Ἀμην Ἀμην³⁴ *Tamen, Tamen?* John iii. 3, &c.

Βελίαυ³⁵ *Venere* 2 Cor. vi. 15.

was probably at first a marginal definition of *γεννα*. In MSS. in *ignem* would be written *IGNĒ* (the same *I* serving both for the præposition and *Ignem*), and this might be evolved in *Γενναν*.

³³ Αἶβα ὁ πατήρ occurs also *Galat.* iv. 6. In general ὁ πατήρ is considered as a version of the Syriac Αἶβα: in which case it is probable that ὁ ἔστι or ὁ ἔστι μεθερμηνευομενον would be interposed. See Lud. Cappelli *Spicil.* p. 50. Wassenbergh considers ὁ πατήρ as a Gloss. ap. Valckenaer, *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 70. I suspected *Ave!* and this was afterwards strengthened by finding ΟΥΑ ὁ πατήρ μω in Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* i. 20. The Latin V was expressed both by the Greek Β and by ΟΥ. "We have, in later Greek authors, both Βιργιλίος and Ουιργιλίος, Βισπισιανός and Ουισπασιανός." *Quart. Review*, vol. xi. p. 473.

³⁴ We find in Ovid,

"*Tamen, tamen, excute nullum.*"

And I have sometimes suspected that *tamen tamen* had been read *et Amen et Amen*. The Hebrew word *Amen*, אָמֵן, signifies *Verum*, (see Schleusner in *AMHN*); and I have at other times conjectured that a Jewish-Greek translator (*supra*, p. 100.) might convert *Verumtamen* (read by him *Verum et amen*) into *Amen! Amen!* At *Rom.* xv. 33, *Maneat seg̃ras* converted into *Amen*.

³⁵ In this text the best MSS. read Βελίαυ, which has been introduced by Griesbach into the text; *τις δὲ συμφωνησὶς Χριστῷ πρὸς ΒΕΛΙΑΥ; Quæ autem conventio Christi cum VENERE?* The Apostle seems to me,

Ζιζανιον ³⁶	<i>Anisum?</i>	Matth. xiii. 25, &c.
Ἰσκαριωτης ³⁷	<i>Execratus?</i>	Matth. x. 4, &c.
Μαγαθα ³⁸	<i>Mariæ nati?</i>	1 Cor. xvi. 22.

throughout much of these two Epistles to the Corinthians, to be cautioning his converts against association with the lascivious worshippers of *Venus*, whose temple was so celebrated in that city. "I find (says Mr. Walpole) the changes of B and V very common in the early Christian inscriptions, as BIXIT for VIXIT, VIRGO for VIRGO." *Herculan.* p. 172. So LEO for LEVO. Mabillon, *Iter. Ital.* p. 79. Pausanias, in describing Corinth, says: "And above the Forum, is a temple of Octavia [OKTABIAS *ναος*] the sister of Augustus," &c. *Cor.* c. iii. p. 116. ed. Kuhnii: writing (as common with the Greeks) OKTABIA for OCTAVIA—Now might not *BENERE* be read *BEAIAPE*?

³⁶ *Zizania* "is a word peculiar to the Syriac, and totally unknown to the Greek writers: it is used by both the Syriac translators, but it is not to be found in any other oriental language." Michaelis, vol. i. p. 138. Its being found in the Syriac version is no proof of its being a Syriac word. [*supra*, p. 105.] Hardouin says, "*Vox est Hebræa*," p. 54; and Schleusner tells us (after a hint about Arabic), "*Etymologia hujus vocis est incerta*." ZIZANION. That *Anise* grew in Judæa, appears from what our Lord says of paying tythe of it, *Matth.* xxiii. 23.

³⁷ Valckenaer, *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 263, and Schleusner, ἸΣΚΑΡΙΩΤΗΣ, seem to be of Joseph Scaliger's opinion, (the former, indeed, decidedly,) that Judas had his designation from *Kerioth*, a town mentioned *Joshua* xv. 25. "I think, however, (says Mr. Middleton,) that the frequent absence of the article authorizes a suspicion that the word is a surname, and not an epithet significant of a place of birth or residence." *On the Greek Article*, p. 201. The very existence of *Kerioth* in the days of our Saviour is uncertain. It belonged also to the tribe of Judah; but our Lord's Apostles were Galileans, nor are any of them in the list designated by their place of birth. Saubert, who gives a variety of opinions on this subject, says, "*Mirari subit, quid Anglo-Saxoni venerit in mentem, quando more suo vocem Iscariotes suo idiomate transfert...withersaca, quæ vox contradicentem, inimicum, apostatam significat*." Sauberti *Varie Lectiones*, &c. p. 253. This seems to me the nearest approximation amidst the various conjectures on the subject, of which Schleusner says, "*Omnia hæc incerta sunt*." The *Codex Bezae*, in *John* xii. 4, has ἀπο καριωτε, and so throughout this Gospel, which seems to me to confirm, rather than weaken, my conjecture.

³⁸ In this passage the words of the Apostle are: *The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand. If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let*

Ωσαννα³⁹

Occane?

Matth. xxi. 9, &c.

In fact it appears to me—and this is a great deal more conclusive than a mere intermixture of Latin words—that the chief *voces signatæ* (if I may so term them) of our religion which are to be found in the New Testament, and which are either altogether new, or have a signification different from that given to them in classic Greek, are derived from or modified by the Latin. Even the very name *Christian* was

him be *Anathema Maranatha*. Dr. Macknight tells us that “*Anathema Maranatha* were the words with which the Jews began their greatest excommunication” [*in loc.*]; but Lightfoot, a far better evidence, informs us that, on the most careful search, he could find no trace of such a formula. [*Poli Synops. in loc.*] Jerome remarks that “*Maranatha magis Syrum est quam Hebræum, et interpretatur Dominus venit*” [*Epist. 137. ad Marcellam*]; and this is the usual cry of commentators. It may seem more, or rather Syriac than Hebrew; but, in truth, it appears not to be either one or other, and would hardly here be sense even if it were. It is not likely, also, that the Apostle in writing a sentence with his own hand should employ a Macaronic style; or use Syriac to the Corinthians, a Latin colony. His words, it seems to me, had been *Si quis non amat Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, sit ANATHEMA MARIÆ NATI, i. e. Christi*. So Rom. ix. 3, he uses the expression ἀνάθεμα ἀπο τοῦ Χριστοῦ. In the East (where polygamy was in use) it was common to designate persons by the name of their mother. Thus our Lord [*Matth. xvi. 17.*] calls Peter *BARJONA, i. e. son of Joanna*, as appears from the Gospel of the Nazarenes, *Simon fili Joannæ, &c.* ap. Jer. Jones on the Canon, vol. ii. p. 334. Joab and his brother are usually termed the *sons of Zeruah*, who was David's sister. 1 *Chronic. ii. 16.* And our Lord's usual epithet in the *Koran* is the *son of Mary*.

³⁹ The reader will find much on the subject of Ωσαννα in *Poli Synops.* on *Matth. xxi. 9.* where, as usual, there is much controversy and contradiction. I suspect it to be the Latin *Occane*. Montfaucon tells us: “in libris vetustissimis semper usurpantur E pro E, C pro S.” *Palæograph.* p. 185. And in like manner the sigma and epsilon are constantly rounded in the Herculanean MSS. [*Edin. Rev.* vol. xvi. 379.] The Latin *occane* might thus easily pass into the Greek ΩCANNΑ, or OCCANITE to ΩCANNATΩ. I have already remarked, p. 223, that C was sometimes used for the Latin S. In the *Codex Bezae* we read *dicentec*. Wetstein, *Prolegom.* p. 31. On the other hand the Latin S was sometimes used for the Greek C or Σ.

(though formed from a Greek word) in the opinion of Usher a Latin appellation. "Witsius (says Dr. Lardner, vol. vi. 266.) inclines to the conjectures of Archbishop Usher, that this appellation was given to the believers by the Romans then at Antioch. Dr. Heumann (proceeds he) has a Dissertation concerning the origin of the name of Christians; wherein he largely shows it to be very probable that . . . they were first so called by heathens, particularly the Romans, as Archbishop Usher had argued, the name not having a Greek, but a Latin termination ⁴⁰." I have remarked, also, that the signification of the *voces signatæ* of Christianity seems often to be formed from, or at least modified by, the Latin. The word *Μετανοία*, for example, which we translate *repentance*, seems sometimes to be no other than the Latin *Mutatio* or *change*, and *Μετανοίαν* to signify merely *Mutationem*. Thus the Apostle, *Heb.* vi. 1, speaks of *μετανοία ἀπο νεκρῶν ἐργῶν*, which means not *repentance*, but "*change from dead works*": and we are told;

⁴⁰ "Illud præterea (says Heumann) hinc discimus Latinum potius esse nomen Christianorum, quam Græcum. Ac proinde facile subscribimus sententiæ Usseii in *Annalibus* suis pronuntiantis *Nomen Christianorum Latina non Græca forma a Christo deflexum, a Romanis Antiochiæ tum agentibus impositum illis fuisse videtur*....Ac certe in universa Laertii *Historia Philosophorum Græcorum*, ne una quidem secta occurrit, cujus nomen terminationem *anus* nactum sit: neque e. g. Platoniani dicuntur Platonis asseclæ, uti Ciceroniani dixissent Latini, et Catoniani, sed Platonici." ap. Lardner. *loc. cit.* I may take this opportunity of remarking, that I suspect that the passage in *Acts* xi. 26, which is translated in our version *And the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch* [*χρηματισαί τε πρῶτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς μαθητῆς Χριστιανούς*], has been perhaps universally misunderstood. "*Χρηματα* (says Valckenaer) dicuntur et *opes* et *res quæ geruntur*. Hinc duplex vis v. *χρηματίζειν*, et *opes acquirendi*, et *res tractandi*. Duplex ista vis cognita nihil tamen facit ad hunc Lucæ locum, quo traditur discipulos Christi primum Antiochiæ, *χρηματισαί Χριστιανούς*, dictos fuisse Christianos." V. *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 482. Now it seems to me that *opes acquirendi* is here the sense of *χρηματίζειν*. Luke is about to mention a contribution, "sent by the faithful at Antioch to those at Jerusalem; and, as he had formerly described all things as common among the Believers, he introduces this by the remark, that the Christians first had private property at Antioch.

in the same Epistle, xii. 17, that when Esau was repulsed from inheriting the blessing, he found no *μετανοιας τοπον*, i. e. no topic by which he could induce his father to *change*, though "he sought it carefully with tears." Let the word *Mutatio* be employed for the Greek *Μετανοια*, and several passages of the New Testament will have new propriety and beauty.

No word is more frequently employed in Scripture than *Αμαρτια*, *sin*. According to Schleusner, it properly signifies *aberratio* a scopo præfixo. In ancient MSS., B and M are sometimes interchanged: and as this renders it probable that they were sometimes also changed in discourse, it is not impossible that the frequent use of *Αμαρτια* (for it is a Greek word) may have been suggested by *aberratio*⁴¹. My own opinion, however, rather is, that it was, in its Scriptural use, formed from *a* and *merita*, and that thus it corresponds with the Latin *inmerita*.

Few words in the New Testament have given more trouble to philologists than *Ἰλαστηριον*, as may be seen in Michaelis, with the remarks of Marsh [vol. i. pp. 187. 449.] One of the significations assigned to it by Hesychius is *καθαρισιον*,—and in fact, it appears to me to be a hybridous Greek word formed from the Latin *LUSTRO*, to *purify*.

I have thus mentioned a few of the *voces signatæ* of our religion, which, like the very name *Christian*, seem all to have a Græco-Latin aspect; and, without any further remarks of this kind, I shall proceed to give a list of words in the New Testament, apparently formed from the Latin. Of these words (which I rather set apart than select from a great number of others) some have stronger features of a Latin parentage than others; and in some, perhaps, this may be disputed.

⁴¹ "Salmasius in Solinianis Exercitationibus non semel animadvertit frequentissimum esse Latinis librariis M et B invicem permutare in scribendo." Clerici *Ars Critica*, vol. ii. p. 32. This was the case also with Greek scribes. *Εμμεμάνια*, *Iliad* xxiv. 81, is in the *Iōne* of Plato *μμεμάνια*.

Upon the whole, however, I believe that most of them will Father themselves sufficiently.

No. II.

Words apparently formed from the Latin without Transposition.

Αἰετιζω ⁴²	<i>Arrideo</i>	Matth. xii. 18.
Ακμην ⁴³	<i>Acumen</i>	Matth. xv. 16. p. 211.
Ἀπλοτητι ⁴⁴	<i>Amplitudine</i>	2 Cor. ix. 13.
Δι' ἡμερων ⁴⁵	<i>Demorari?</i>	Mark ii. 1.
Εγκομβωσασθε	<i>Incumbite</i>	1 Pet. v. 5. p. 194.
Εκεφαλαιωσαν	<i>Expulerunt</i>	Mark xii. 4. p. 100.
Εκτρωματι ⁴⁶	<i>Extremitate</i>	1 Cor. xv. 8.

⁴² See Schleusner Α' IPETIZΩ, and Sturz *De Dialect. Maced.* p. 144, who considers it as an Alexandrian word.

⁴³ Ακμην και ὑμεις αουνητοι εσε, ubi ακμην elliptice nempe adhibitum pro κατ' ακμην. Schleusner, AKMH, who gives different conjectures. Our Lord asks his disciples whether they also were deficient in *Acumen*.

⁴⁴ The Apostle is speaking of a contribution from the Corinthians to the Jewish Christians, who, he says, will glorify God on account of the *ampleness* of their liberality [ἀπλοτητι της κοινωνιας] to them. I may remark, also, that our Lord [Matth. vi. 22] says in our version, *If therefore thine eye be SINGLE thy whole body shall be full of light*—a sentiment which seems strange. The Greek is ἀπλως, which (as the letter M was often omitted in MSS.) was probably occasioned in the Greek text by *amplus* in the Latin. Our Lord next proceeds to say, that if the eye be not *ample* [ἀπλως] but *penurious* [πονηρος], the whole body shall be full of darkness.

⁴⁵ “And again (says Mark) he entered into Capernaum” δι' ἡμερων *per dies*, “nullo per se sensu,” says Hardouin, p. 109., who however does not attempt to explain its origin. Was the Latin text *DEMORARI*, *to tarry or abide*?

⁴⁶ The Apostle, speaking of the different appearances of our Lord, says in our version, *After that he was seen of James; then of all the Apostles; and last of all he was seen of me also, as OF ONE BORN OUT OF DUE TIME*, ὥσπερι ΤΩ, ΕΚΤΡΩΜΑΤΙ. The word εκτρωμα signifies an *abortion*; and many very abortive attempts have been made to explain the passage. It is evident that an abortive child is one that is born not *after*, but *before* the time; and that, in this view of the matter, the

Ενωτισασθε ⁴⁷	<i>Annotate</i>	Acts ii. 14.
Εξουθενεω ⁴⁸	<i>Extenuo</i>	1 Thess. v. 20.
Επαινος ⁴⁹	<i>Penis?</i>	Rom. ii. 29.
Επιφωσκω ⁵⁰	<i>Offusco?</i>	Luke xxiii. 54.
Ηφις ⁵¹	<i>Sivit</i>	Mark i. 34. xi. 16.
Θριαμβευω ⁵²	<i>Triumpho.</i>	2 Cor. ii. 14, &c.

Apostle Paul would have seen the Lord *sooner* than any other person. I have little doubt that in the Latin text the passage ran thus: *And last of all he was seen of me also*, quasi in EXTREMITATE, as in the extremity or utmost rear; and that ΕΚΤΡΩΜΑΤΙ is nothing else but EXTREMITATE in Greek letters. In addition to the difficulty arising from *εκτρωματι* itself, Mr. Middleton remarks that "there is no passage in the New Testament which has given rise to more dispute on the subject of the Article" than τῷ *εκτρωματι*. [p. 487. on the Greek Article.] Possibly (in order to lose nothing) the two last letters of the Latin word were by a very slight change converted into the Greek Article;—but of the Article we shall have occasion to speak more fully afterwards.

⁴⁷ See *supra*, p. 136. Sturz *De Dialect. Maced.* p. 166. and Schleusner in ΕΝΩΤΙΖΟΜΑΙ.

⁴⁸ "ν. ἐξυθενεσαι Macedonicum fuisse videtur. Transmovere certe Alex. Interpretes, ad exprimendas Hebraicas radices significantes in usu *asprevit*—*aspernatus est*....Non inveniuntur formæ istæ in scriptis Græcorum veterum." Valckenaer, *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 107.

⁴⁹ The Apostle is speaking of circumcision—*Neither is that circumcision (says he) which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew whose circumcision is internal, and of the heart, whose επαινος is not of man but of God.* Sallust, describing the associates of Catiline, says: "Quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, alea, manu, ventre, PENE, bona patria laceraverat." c. 14. See some remarks by Gibbon, *Misc. Works*, vol. iii. p. 357. Ancient notions of delicacy were not so nice as at present, as may appear indeed from the perusal of the preceding chapter in this Epistle.

⁵⁰ See the great difficulty of this passage, Michaelis, vol. i. 137. and the remarks of Dr. Marsh, p. 408 *et seq.*

⁵¹ Οὐκ ΗΦΙΕ "vox sane *μνησης* (says Grotius) quam nemo observavit extra Marcum, qui infra iterum sic loquitur. Sed neque *αναλογον* flexionem facile reperies." Grotius, *Annot. in Marc.* i. 34.

⁵² Lennep says of *Θριαμβος triumphus*—"Vocabulum hoc a posterioribus scriptoribus Græcis haud dubie usurpatum fuit ad exprimendum Latinorum TRIUMPHUS." *Etym. Ling. Græc.* p. 260. *Θριαμβευω* is frequently used by Plutarch. See Wetstein, *N. T.* vol. ii. p. 181.

Κλησις ⁵³	<i>Classis</i>	1 Cor. vii. 20.
Κοινων ⁵⁴	<i>Cœnum</i>	Heb. x. 29.
Κοιτη ⁵⁵	<i>Coitus</i>	Heb. xiii. 4.
Λοιδοριαν ⁵⁶	<i>Ludibrium</i>	1 Pet. iii. 9, &c.
Μετανριαν	<i>Mutationem</i>	Heb. vi. 1. p. 227.
Μετewριζω	<i>Metuor</i>	Luke xii. 29. p. 194.
Οδηγεω	<i>Adduco</i>	Apoc. vii. 17, &c.
Παρεκτος	<i>Peractus</i>	2 Cor. xi. 20. p. 161.
Περεπερευομαι ⁵⁷	<i>Perperam</i>	1 Cor. xiii. 4.
Πτερυγιον ⁵⁸	<i>Porticum</i>	Matth. iv. 5. Luke iv. 9.

⁵³ *Let each one* (says Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 20) *remain in the CLASS* [ἐν τῇ κλησεί] *in which he was called. Wert thou a slave when called &c.*

⁵⁴ See *supra*, p. 89. Valckenaer says of “κοινων, quod ab adj. κοινος hujus origo hactenus latet.” *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 62. It is from *Inguino*.

⁵⁵ ἡ κοιτη. “Non debuerant (says Valckenaer) reddere *torum*, *lectum*, sed *Coitum*. Nuptias esse dicit rem honestam, coitum autem legitimum labis expertem, et immunem. Usus hic vocabuli rarior obtinet etiam in *Epist. ad Rom.* xiii. 13. ubi περιπατεῖν ἐν κοιταῖς καὶ ἀσελγείαις significat *deditum esse Veneri et impuritati*. Similiter vocem Alexandrini adhibuerunt Interpretes, ut *Lev.* xviii. 32. xx. 13. Apud scriptores profanos, qui dicuntur, κοιτη vix ita positum invenietur. Attulerunt quidem ex Anacreonte, *Od.* xxiii. ista

Εν δ' ἀπαλαῖσι κοιταῖς

Τέλειν τὴν Αφροδίτην—

sed ibi *molles lecti* designantur; quæ usitata vocis est significatio.” Valckenaer, *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 594.

⁵⁶ Λοιδοροι. “Origo vocis latet (says Valckenaer on 1 Cor. vi. 10). . . . Act. et Med. v. λοιδορεῖν et λοιδορεῖσθαι usurpantur promiscue, etiam in Scriptis N. T. Adj. λοιδωρος ut Atticis evitatum notat Pollux, § 118.” *Ibid.* ii. p. 193.

⁵⁷ Περεπερευομαι. See *supra*, p. 157. It has been supposed that Cicero coined and used the word περιπερευομαι in the following passage, *Ad Atticum*, lib. i. *Epist.* 11: “Ego autem ipse, Dii boni, quomodo ενεπερευσσάμην novo auditori Pompeio!”—of which no one, whose writings I have an opportunity of consulting, has been able to make sense. I suspect that Cicero wrote ενεπερευσσάμην, from περιεῖν ἢ piper: as if he had said literally—Good God! how I pepper'd Pompey! Cicero is fond of using *condio* and *condimentum* in a metaphorical sense.

⁵⁸ “There is no word, on the meaning of which the commentators

With this word, which ought rather, perhaps, to have appeared in our next class, I shall conclude the present list. Of the words which have been here presented to the reader's attention, some are hybridous, and semi-barbarous: others, like *κοιτη*, although used by classical writers, are employed, in the New Testament, in a sense suggested by, and which seems a chime or echo of, the Latin. The list which is here given might be much increased; and I shall give an example which occurs to me at the moment that I write, especially as it is another proof of the absurdity of applying, in each peculiarity of style in the New Testament, to the Hebrew and Syriac. Mr. Middleton at the conclusion of his note on *πτερυγιον* says: "the extreme difficulty of the question is admitted by Mr. Herb. Marsh on the first part of Michaelis, vol. i. p. 420." Now in turning to this passage, my eye caught at the following remark in a neighbouring page: "The singular use of *ελεημοσυνη* (says Dr. Marsh) in this, and other passages of the New Testament, consists in its being applied to denote *alms*; for in the classic authors it signifies *misericaordia* in general; nor is it ever used in the *Septuagint* in the sense of *contributions for the poor*. That the Fathers have used it in this sense is of no importance at present, because they have taken it from the Greek Testament. The origin of this sense our author [Michaelis] ascribes to the influence of the Hebrew,—but what Hebrew word shall we adopt for this purpose?... This sense, therefore, of which the first traces are visible in the New Testament, ought rather to be ascribed to the Syriac." [p. 429.] This as we have seen is the constant practice in such cases. Whenever a word is new or used in a singular sense, recourse

are more at variance than *πτερυγιον* in this and the parallel place in St. Luke." Middleton *on the Greek Article*, p. 182. See also Schleusner, ΠΙΤΕΡΥΓΙΟΝ. It seems to be merely a corruption of ΠΟΡΤΙΚΙΟΝ. "Wetstein and Michaelis (says Mr. Middleton) understand it of the *Royal Porch* which overlooked the precipice to the east and south of the Temple. This situation is perhaps even better suited to the history, but the difficulty is," &c. *Ibid.* p. 183.

is had to the Hebrew or Chaldee, or Syriac or Arabic, where in general it has pretty much the same cognation as the article *δ* to king Pepin⁵⁹. In fact, this use of *ελεημοσυνη* in the sense of *alms*, seems to have been bestowed on the Greek word from its chime with the Latin *alimonias*.

The next class of words in the New Testament which I shall offer to the notice of the reader, is of such as seem to be formed from the Latin by *metathesis* or transposition. I have already remarked [p. 222.] that this of *metathesis* is one of the most common changes which Greek words undergo in becoming Latin ones, and *vice versa*. Thus *ἐγπω repo*, *τετην tener*, *μων num*, and *μεριμνα arumna*. I shall now, therefore, proceed to give a short list of such words, among which I shall give some formerly explained, as they can be referred to by *p.* with the page where they have been mentioned; and which in such cases will save the necessity of notes.

No. III.

Words in the New Testament apparently formed from the Latin by Transposition.

Αδικο; ⁶⁰	<i>Caducus</i>	Luke xvi. 11.
Αδγοτης	<i>Reditus?</i>	2 Cor. viii. 20.
Ανατολη ⁶¹	<i>Natale?</i>	Matth. ii. 2.
Αρνεω ⁶²	<i>Renuo</i>	Heb. xi. 24.

⁵⁹ See *Diversions of Purley*.

⁶⁰ See *supra*, p. 223; also Schleusner in ΑΔΙΚΟΣ No. 6.

⁶¹ I suspect that what the Magi say, *ειδομεν αυτη τον αστρα εν τη ανατολη*, may have been *natale astrum* in the Latin text, *the star of his nativity*. In various other passages of the *N. T.*, however, *ανατολη* evidently means the *East*.

⁶² I have given *Αρνεω* instead of *Αρνεομαι*, in order to show the connexion more strongly. Valckenær says of *Αρνεομαι*, "*Vera origo verbi latet, perversas protulerunt Grammatici.*" *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 149. Lennep, *Ætym.* p. 123, has attempted it, but with little success. In the sense in which it frequently appears in the *N. T.* it has evidently the force of *renuo* (Valcken. *ibid.* p. 150. Schleusner, *Αρνεομαι* No. 2), and appears to have been suggested by it.

Γεεννα	<i>Ignē</i>	Matth. v. 22, &c. p. 223.
Διχοτομῶ ⁶³	<i>Dimitto</i>	Matth. xxiv. 51, &c.
Εγείρω ⁶⁴	<i>Erigo</i>	Luke v. 24.
Ευδοκῶ ⁶⁵	<i>Gaudeo?</i>	2 Cor. xii. 10.
Εύρων ⁶⁶	<i>Eruens</i>	Matth. x. 39.
Κενῶ ⁶⁷	<i>Noceo</i>	1 Cor. i. 17.
Κερας ⁶⁸	<i>Arx</i>	Luke i. 69.
Λυσίτελει ⁶⁹	<i>Utilius</i>	Luke xvii. 2.
Μαμμωνας	<i>Nummos</i>	Luke xv. 9. p. 222.
Μορφω	<i>Formo</i>	Gal. iv. 19.
Νηφελιος	<i>Vigilans</i>	1 Tim. iii. 2, &c.

⁶³ The word διχοτομῶ means literally, indeed, to cut asunder. Our version gives, *The lord of that servant shall cut him asunder*, &c. which is very harsh. It means rather to dismiss, or remove from office, in this and the parallel passage Luke xii. 46. Schleusner, ΔΙΧΟΤΟΜΕΩ No. 2. Alii...διχοτομῶ in locis laudatis N. T. pro *removere ab officio*, DIMITTERE, ad imitationem Hebraicā....dictum esse putant." Here again the Hebrew is called in, as usual, *ignotum per ignotius*. The Latin text had been *dimitto*, which, by its chime or echo, produced διχοτομῶ. Valckenaer, speaking of διχοτομῶ in the above passages, says that the "*Orationis nexus, dux in talibus unicus*," &c. *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 214. I trust the reader will be here furnished with a safer guide.

⁶⁴ Our Lord says to the paralytic, Εγείρει, *Erige te!* "Secundum regulas magistrorum Græc. (says Valckenaer) poni debet *αναστήθι*, nam proprie *εγερθῆναι* notat *a somno excitari*." *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 111.

⁶⁵ Ευδοκῶ. See Sturz *De Dialect. Macedon.* &c. p. 168.

⁶⁶ Ὁ εὐρων animam suam perdet illam: et qui perdidit animam suam propter me εὐρησει [*cruet*] eam. *Matth. x. 39.*

⁶⁷ Ἴνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ Σταυρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Ne noceatur instauratio Christi.* 1 Cor. i. 17.

⁶⁸ Ηγείρε ΚΕΡΑΣ σωτηρίας et *erexit cornu [arcem] salutis nobis, in domo David.* Luke i. 69. So also in the Epistles attributed to Ignatius, which seem to me a version from the Latin, we have προσφυγῶν *αναγγελίᾳ ὡς σαρκὶ Χριστοῦ flying to the Gospel as to the flesh of Christ*, which seems to be nonsense. The word σαρκὶ seems to have originated in *arci* with a (σ) from the conclusion of ὡς the preceding word—*flying to the Gospel as to a citadel*.

⁶⁹ The derivation of this word from λυεῖν τέλη, *vectigal solve*, seems to me forced.

Ολεθρος ⁷⁰	<i>Dolor</i>	1 Cor. v. 5.
Περιπατησαντες ⁷¹	<i>Participantes</i>	Heb. xiii. 9.
Πιστικης	<i>Spicata</i>	Mark iv. 3, &c. p. 191.
'Ροιζηδον	<i>Stridore</i>	2 Peter iii. 10.
'Ρομφαια ⁷²	<i>Framea</i>	Luke ii. 35, &c.
Σπαταλωτα	<i>Petulans</i>	1 Tim. v. 6.
Χορταζω ⁷³	<i>Saturo</i>	Matth. xiv. 20.

⁷⁰ 1 Cor. v. 5. *Εἰς ὀλεθρον τῆς σαρκος*, *ad dolorem carnis*. See Schleusner, ΟΛΕΘΡΟΣ No. 3.

⁷¹ Heb. xiii. 9. With meats which have not profited the partakers of them, *περιπατησαντες*, *participantes*. I might give a great list of words thus suggested by a chime of the Latin, and perhaps used improperly. Thus Mark x. 35. *προσπορευοντα* the Latin text had been *proposuerunt*. Matth. xvi. 22. *ἰλεως σοι*, *Sileas!* &c. &c.

⁷² 'Ρομφαια "*Hastam proprie notat breviorē. Pro gladio ponitur apud Interpretes Alex. et in Apocal. Joannis. Referunt lexicographi vocem ad v. 'Ρεπω. Frustra. Vocabulum est peregrinum e Thracia in Græciam illatum.*" Valckenær, *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 82. So also Lennep, *Etymol. Ling. Græc.* p. 636. Schleusner, 'ΡΟΜΦΑΙΑ. It is merely the German *Framea*. Tacitus, *Germ.* 6. 2. *Hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo FRAMEAS gerunt*. Isidorus, 18. 3. *FRAMEA gladius ex utraque parte acutus. Ipsa est RHOMPHÆA*, &c.

⁷³ "*Χορταζειν* ad homines relatum, non puto veteris Græciæ usum ferre." Sturz *De Dialect. Maced.* &c. It is accordingly placed in this sense among his words *probably Alexandrian*, p. 200: but it seems to me to have acquired this enlarged sense from its chime with the Latin SATURO. *Χορταζειν pascere pecus pabulis* (says Valckenær) "*his in libris usurpantur ista de hominum alimentis. Cibis exsaturati χορτασθησαι* dicuntur Luca, Jacobo, Paulo. Græcis vero isto sensu non frequentari significaverat." Gataker *de St. N. Instrum.* p. 150. Obijcere se Bos in *Exc. S. ad Luc.* vi. 21. et Elsnerus *ad Matth.* v. 6. Sed illa ipsa, quæ attulere viri docti perpauca, demonstrant, quam rara sint hujus usus apud veteres exempla. Monstrat id ipsum Pollucis annotatio, l. vi. s. 43, momentis *χορτασμον* de cibo humano adhibitum ab Anaxandride, Activum *χορταζειν* ab Aristophane, Passivum *χορτασθαι* ab Aratore, comico itidem. Si enim ista Græcis vulgo ita fuissent adhibita, auctores in eam rem certos non advocasset Pollux. Hæc observatio in grammaticis tractandis magnos usus habet." *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 422. It is evident that a word used ludicrously by a comic writer, as the feeding of a brute applied to that of a man, is no authority. See

Χρονος⁷⁴

Hornus

Luke viii. 27.

Ωδινας⁷⁵

Nodos

Acts ii. 24.

As it is not my design to compile a lexicon for the New Testament, I shall content myself with the above list, as a sufficient specimen of words, some of which are hybridous, and formed by metathesis from the Latin, while others seem suggested by the chime of a Latin text, and are used in this Latin, and not in their common and proper Greek signification. This species of chime or echo, I may remark in passing, seems to have had a considerable effect in generating a variety of words chiefly adverbial; and which are either strange in their forms, or unprecedented in their sense. I shall append a small specimen.

Sturz *De Dialect. Maced.* pp. 160, 163, 202. Pfochenius, finding the word χορταζω attacked, affirmed that it was used by Plato in the same sense as in Matthew. "Insuper et eodem sensu, quo Matthæus loco dicto [xv. 33] usus est Plato 2. *de Republica*, dicens «δε υἱων πολιν κατασκευάζεις, τι αν αυτης αλλο η ταυτα εχορταζεις, § cxii." ap. Rhenferd *Syntagma*, p. 212. The passage of Plato, however, is «δε ὕδωρ, &c. Si PORCORUM civitatem constitueres, quæso, quo alio eos pasceres cibo? Pfochenius found in Constantine's *Lexicon*, Lugd. 1592, the above passage of Plato, quoted under χορταζω, but with the typographical error of ὕδωρ for ὕδωρ, and appealed to it without consulting the original, which is directly against him! See Mos. Solani *Diss.* ap. Rhenferd, p. 297. "I nunc (adds he) et fide istis perpetuis citatoribus!"

⁷⁴ Χρονος. I place χρονος here less in reference to this passage, than to remark that it probably acquired the sense of *year* among the recent Greeks, from the Latin *Hornus*. "Χρονος non apud veteres, sed recentiores Græcos, præsertim illos qui dialecto scripserunt communi *annum* notat. . . . Luc. viii. 27. Εἶχε δαιμονία ἐκ χρόνων ἰκανῶν non debuerat verti a multis temporibus sed, ab aliquot jam ANNIS malo genio fuerat agitalus." Valckenæer, *Schoke*, vol. i. p. 252. Rev. x. 6. Ὅτι Χρονος ἔσται ἐτι, that before the end of a year the consummation would take place.

⁷⁵ Ωδινας τας ΩΔΙΝΑΣ [NODOS] τῷ θανάτῳ, solvens nodos Mortis. I suspect also, Acts xi. 5, τεσσαρεσιν ΑΡΧΑΙΣ, which Wakefield translates "by four strings," and for which he is so highly praised by Middleton (*Greek Article*, p. 400), originated in chordis being read exordiis, (a

Ἄραγε	<i>Ergo</i>	Mat. vii. 20. xvii. 26, &c.
Ἀνα εἰς ἕκαστος ⁷⁶	<i>Unusquisque</i>	Apoc. xxi. 21.
Ἀντιμισθίαν	<i>Vicissim</i>	2 Cor. vi. 13.
Ἀπαρτι	<i>Aperte</i>	John i. 52, &c.
Εἰς τὸ ΔΙΗΝΕΚΕΣ	<i>Denique</i>	Heb. x. 12. 14.
Ἐπιουσιον	<i>Effuse</i>	Matth. vi. 11, &c. p. 137.
Μενοῦνγε ⁷⁷	<i>Minime</i>	Luke xi. 28. Rom. x. 18.
Οὐχ ὅτιον δὲ ⁷⁸	<i>Non Omnino ut</i>	Rom. ix. 6.
Τῆς ὁδοῦ	<i>Injuscemodi</i>	Acts ix. 2.
Πεντε ⁷⁹	<i>Repente</i>	Acts vii. 14.

I may here add that the *Prepositions* in the New Testament (of the Hellenistic use of which I shall afterwards have occasion to speak) seem occasionally to require a Latin sense, merely from their resemblance to Latin prepositions. Let us take for example 1 Cor. i. 4. *Gratias ago Deo meo semper ΠΕΡΙ ὑμῶν ΕΠΙ* &c. *PRO vobis OB* &c. Here, as Valckenaer remarks, the Greek *περι* has the sense of the Latin *pro* — a sense exceedingly rare among the Greeks⁸⁰. In the same

Greek would confound *ch* and *EX*.) and translated *αρχαίς*. To a Greek ear, indeed, *chordis et finibus* would sound not very unlike *exordiis et finibus*. Perhaps it is in this way we are to explain *περας* (*Heb. vi. 16*) not *finis* but *finis*.

⁷⁶ "Græcis prorsus inusitatum fuisse videtur, quod legitur in *Apoc.* xxi. 21. *ἀνα εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν πυλῶν* *singula porta*. Sed hujus libri tenebricosi scriptor prorsus insolens sermonis genus studio videtur secutatus. Neque ille *Generum* sæpe rationem habuit nec *Casuum*." Valckenacr, *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 322. *Unaqueque portarum*; but as *πυλῶν* is masculine, the *ἀνα εἰς ἕκαστος* was formed from *unusquisque*.

⁷⁷ *Μεν ὢν γε*. See Sturz *De Dialect. Maced.* p. 203.

⁷⁸ *Οὐχ ὅτιον δὲ, ὅτι ἐκπετῶκεν*, &c. *Non omnino quod exiderit verbum Dei*, &c. See Michaelis, vol. i. p. 168; also Markland in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 362. who says that to him it is "quite unintelligible."

⁷⁹ Thus at least we should reconcile *Acts vii. 14.* with *Gen. xli. 27.* which has greatly vexed commentators.

⁸⁰ "Περι ὑμῶν *pro vobis* recte vertit *Vulg.* Bezae versio *de vobis*, Pauli mentem non satis exprimit. Ponitur nempe *περι* hoc loco *pro ὑπερ*, qui usus rarior quidem apud Græcos, in his libris frequenter obtinet.... Etiam hic usus fluxit a Judæis Hellenistis. v. Interpretes Alexx. *Erod.*

passage *ἐπὶ* has the sense of the Latin *ob*, which probably gave occasion to it⁸¹. We have frequently in like manner, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, *παρὰ* used comparatively in the sense of the Latin preposition *præ*⁸². Now it seems to me that in the above and similar instances, the chime of the original (as constantly happens in very literal versions) had suggested the words used in the translation, and communicated to them the signification of the prototypes of which they are the echo.

In fact, it appears to me, that even when the writers of the New Testament (in the generality of copies) make use of Greek words, or words of Greek origin, they select such as had been adopted by the Romans into their language, and which might almost be termed rather Latin than Greek words, from their more frequent use in the Latin than in the Greek tongue. Such, for example, are *Αυστηρός Austerus*, *Κραιπάλη Crapula*, *Πλατεία Platea*, *Σκαφή Scapha*, *Σκολιός Scelestus*, *Σπηλαιον Spelunca*⁸³, *Τριβόλος Tribulus*, and fifty others⁸⁴. And, universally, it may be given as a rule, that whenever any difficulty arises with respect to the sense of a

viii. 8. xiv. 14. ubi *Deus pugnabit περὶ ὑμῶν pro vobis.*" *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 45. At p. 565 he remarks, that "rarissime scriptores Græci præpositionem in hunc usum adhibent."

⁸¹ *Ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι.* "Ob vel propter gratiam. *Ἐπὶ* junctum Dativo sæpe causam significat." Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 45. *Luke* xix. 3. *Οὐκ ἠδύνατο ΑΠΟ τῆς οἸκίας, non poterat OB turbam.*

⁸² "A vulgari usu recedens Divinus Scriptor *Epist. ad Hebræos* adjectivis comparativis adjecit præp. *παρὰ* junctam quarto casui. *Hebr.* i. 4. *hereditate accepit διαφορωτερον ονομα ΠΑΡ' αὐτῆς, nomen illustrius PRÆ illis*, cap. iii. 3. *ΠΑΡΑ Μωσην, PRÆ Mosem*, xii. 24. *sanguis Jesu loquitur, κρείττονα ΠΑΡΑ το Αἵμα meliora PRÆ sanguine Abelis* (sic enim isto loco scribendum, non *των το nempe αίμα*). Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 148.

⁸³ "Alexandrini (says Schleusner in ΣΠΗΛΑΙΟΝ) sæpius usi sunt hac voce pro *σπηλαιον spelunca.*" In fact, the Latin *spelunca* had perhaps suggested *σπηλαιον*. In like manner the Latin *scelus* had probably given occasion to the frequent use of *σκολιός* in the sense of *pravus*.

⁸⁴ See Olearius ap. Rhenferd *Syntagma*, p. 99.

word or phrase in the New Testament, recourse is in the first place to be had to the Latin, and not to the Hebrew, or Chaldee or Syriac. We have formerly seen that several words deemed Syriac seem to be hybridous Latin ones; and so also (I may remark in passing) seems to be the famous Persian word *Αγγαριω* as used in the New Testament⁸⁵.

I have now presented to the reader three classes of words in the sacred writings, which seem to argue a translation or re-translation from the Latin; and I shall now proceed to indicate a fourth. In formerly quoting a passage from a Greek Father, with regard to the style of Paul, it was remarked that the Apostle's translator, or one of his translators, proceeds etymologically, and not unfrequently appears to make mistakes. Gregory of Nyssa, we saw, [p. 156.] remarks with surprise that Paul employs a word for *contention* which properly signifies *working among wool*. The original had been *laniatio*, which the translator supposing to be derived from *lana* (*wool*), and wishing to represent the etymology in Greek, he translated *επιθεια*. In like manner, the translator of the Book of Hebrews, finding the word *colluceo* in his Latin text, and supposing it to be formed from *collum* the *neck*, has tortured numerous philologists by his *τραχηλιζω*. So also the translator of the First Epistle to the Corinthians seems to have supposed that the verb *domo* to *subdue*, is derived from *domus* a *house*, and has translated accordingly. Our Saviour, in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke of our Greek Vulgate, calls salt *fool-*

⁸⁵ *Matth.* xxvii. 32. *Mark* xv. 21. Τουτον ηγγαριωσαν ινα αζη τον ταυρον αυτου. "Mirum (says Erasmus) cur hic delectarit peregrina vox, cum dicere potuerit *ADEGERUNT*, sive *compulerunt*. Siquidem Suidas indicat vocem esse Persicam, quod apud illos regii nuntii *αγγαροι* dicerentur." *Erasm.* in *N. T. Annot.* p. 115. In fact, *adegerunt* or *egerunt* *ad*, &c. seems to have generated *ηγγαριωσαν*. In *Matth.* v. 41. *αγγαριω* seems rather (by Metathesis) to have been formed from *ηργεο*. Schleusner calls *αγγαριω* "vox origine Persica;" and the reader, by consulting his *Lexicon*, will see how forced its application is in the Gospels from such an etymology.

ish, which has become *insipid*, or has lost its flavour⁸⁶. We are led by the expression to a Latin etymology, which could not have existed in Syro-Chaldaic, but must have arisen in the version. In fact, not a few of what in profane writers we should term etymological mistakes, seem to occur in the Greek versions of some books of the Old, and in our common editions of the New Testament; and are much stronger evidences of a Latin origin than a mere intermixture of Latin words. For example, the Greek verb *λικμαω* [*Matth.* xxi. 44.] formed from *λικμος*, *vannus*, signifies to *fun* or *winnow grain*. It seems to be used, however, here, and in the versions of some of the books of the Old Testament, for causing to *vanish*⁸⁷. In such cases it is exceedingly probable that the Latin word *VANESCO* or *evanesco* stood in the Latin copy, and that this mistakenly derived from *vannus* gave occasion to *λικμαω*. In some other cases, though the etymology may perhaps be correct, yet the word which is formed from it, being compounded in Greek after the model and with the signification of some Latin compound, has altogether a new and Hellenistic sense. In *Luke* xix. 44, we have the phrase *και ΕΔΑΦΙΟΤΣΙ σε*, &c. which in the Vulgate is translated *et ad terram prosternent te* &c. It is a word formed from *εδαφος solum*, and seems properly to signify to *pave* or *læel*. It is occasionally used in the Septuagint in the sense of *desolation*, and was probably formed on the model of the Latin *desolo*, and having a like signification in Hellenistic Greek⁸⁸.

⁸⁶ *Matth.* v. 13. *Luke* xiv. 34. *εαν το αλας ΜΩΠΑΝΘΗ*. In *Mark* ix. 50. we have, instead of *μωρανθη*, the words *αναλον γενηται*. *Sine sale* in Latin means to be *insipidus*, or *fatuus*; and Martial, *Epig.* xiii. 13, writes thus:

“ Ut sapiant FATUÆ fabrorum prandia Betæ,
O quam sæpe petet vina piperque coquus !”

⁸⁷ *Dan.* ii. 44. *λικμησει πασας τας βασιλειας*. *Job* xxvii. 21. *λικμησει αυτον εκ τς τοπς αυτης*.

⁸⁸ Valckenacr says of *εδαφιζειν* “ in dialecto autem Macedonica potissimum frequentatur.” *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 251. It is used by Polybius in the sense of *pavire* or *complanare*. See Schleusner, *ΕΔΑΦΙΖΩ*.

I shall now set down a small list of words, some of which in our Elzevir, and perhaps in the editions of Erasmus, seem to be formed on erroneous etymologies; and I shall intermingle a few others, which seem to be compounded in Greek, after the model of Latin compounds, and have thus a new or Hellenistic signification.

No. IV.

Words apparently formed from erroneous Etymologies, &c.

Ἀκεραῖος ⁸⁹	<i>Sincerus?</i>	Matth. x. 16.
Ἀλισγημα ⁹⁰	<i>Salacitas</i>	Acts v. 20.
Ἀναβαλλω ⁹¹	<i>Reviresco</i>	Philipp. iv. 10.

⁸⁹ "Varias hujus adjectivi etymologias afferunt grammatici," &c. Schleusner ΑΚΕΡΑΙΟΣ. I suspect it has been modelled on the Latin *Sincerus*. Donatus in Ter. *Eun.* i. ii. 97: "*SINCERUM, purum, sine fuce et simplex, ut mel SINE CERA.*" Dioscor. v. 129. vii. 77: *πας ἀμύγνης οἶνος καὶ ΑΚΕΡΑΙΟΣ*, like a priv. and *cereus*.

⁹⁰ "Vox hæc mere hellenistica, quæ apud reliquos scriptores Græcos non occurrit." Schleusner ΑΛΙΣΓΗΜΑ. "Vox rarissima." Valcken. *Scholæ*, i. p. 523. I suspect that the Latin word *salacitas* produced the Greek word ΑΛΙΣΓΗΜΑ, also beginning with *SALT*. At Acts i. 4, we find the word *συναλιζόμενος*, of which Valckenaer says: "Dici vix potest, quantopere dissideant a se invicem in hoc participio interpretando viri docti." Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 300. I suspect the Latin text had been *consalutans*, and that this had occasioned *συνΑΛΙΖόμενος*. Cicero, *De Orat.* ii. 3: "Cum inter se amicissime consalutassent." By the way, I have sometimes suspected that *ἐν ὅμιν ΠΥΡῶσει*, 1 Pet. iv. 12, had been occasioned by *IGNORANTIA* in a Latin text, and that the sentiment is *Beloved, do not ignorantly wonder* &c.

⁹¹ "Ἀναβαλλω ut Latinorum *reviresco*," Schleusner. In the Latin Vulg. we find *Gavisus sum in Domino vehementer, quoniam tandem aliquando refluoristis* [ἀνεβαλετε reviruitis] *pro me sentire, sicut et sentiebatis, occupati autem eratis.* [ἡκαρῆσθε δε.] "*Reviruitis* (says Erasmus) comparat eos arboribus, quæ hyeme *exaruisse* videntur." But what has the Vulg. *occupati autem eratis*, or the *but ye lacked opportunity*, to do with the metaphor? Hardouin says that the Vulgate *occupati v'atis* has been improperly changed into "*ἡκαρῆσθε*, quod est aut prorsus novum, aut certe non probum." *Comment.* p. 589. In fact, it seems to me that *ἡκαρῆσθε* has been corrupted from *exaruitis*; and that the Latin

Αντοφθαλμεω ⁹²	<i>Luctor</i>	Acts xxvii. 15.
Απαγω ⁹³	<i>Abduco</i>	Acts xii. 19.
Βαττολογεω ⁹⁴	<i>Blatero</i>	Matth. vi. 7.
Διαβλεπω ⁹⁵	<i>Dispicio</i>	Matth. vii. 5, &c.
Εγκαθητος ⁹⁶	<i>Insidiator</i>	Luke xx. 20.
Εριθεια	<i>Laniatio</i>	2 Cor. xii. 20, &c. p. 157.
Οικοδομεω	<i>Domo</i>	1 Cor. viii. 10. p. 159.
Πτωμα ⁹⁷	<i>Cadaver</i>	Matth. xxiv. 28.

text had run thus: *Gavisus sum...quoniam tandem reviruisitis...exaruisitis enim. I rejoice that ye are blooming again, for ye were withered or had begun to wither.* ηκαρεισθε is *exaruisitis* in Greek characters.

⁹² Acts xxvii. 15: "ubi navis, qua Paulus vehabatur, dicitur μη δυναμενος αντοφθαλμειν τω ανεμω, h. e. non potuisse vento vehementi *re-luctari*." Schleusner ΑΝΤΟΦΘΑΛΜΕΩ. The Latin text was perhaps *LUCTARI*, which the translator deriving from *LUX* οφθαλμος gave occasion to the word αντοφθαλμειω.

⁹³ "Απαχθηναι *ad supplicium vel ad mortem abduci*." See Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 492. Schleusner ΑΠΑΓΩ No. 2.

⁹⁴ I suspect the word Βαττολογεω was formed on the Latin *Blatero*. Nothing can be more forced than the Greek conjectures of its etymology. See Schleusner ΒΑΤΤΟΛΟΓΕΩ. "Nec minus insigniter veteres quoque nostri, hoc genus homines in verba provectos...BLATERONES et Linguaces dixerunt." A. Gellius, i. 15. As ερειω means *dico*, hence the Latin termination *ero* (ερω) might be easily transformed into λογειω.

⁹⁵ See Schleusner in Διαβλεπω, who says that Stephens in his *The-saurus* "hanc vocem nulla plane auctoritate stabilitam posuit." I may remark in passing, that I suspect that there has been a *qui pro quo* of a beam for *squintness* [of STRABO and TRABS] in this passage.

⁹⁶ "Apud Alexandrinos teritur hac virtute [*insidiari*] εγκαθησθαι." Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 255. See Salmassii *Hellenist.* Præf. p. 45. I might place in the list a great number of similar words compounded after the model of the Latin; as εξαγοραζω, *eximo*. Galat. iii. 13. &c. &c.

⁹⁷ Πτωμα.] "Πτωματα, i. e. *res cadentes, cadivæ, cadavera*, (says Valckenaer) De *cadaveribus* illa vox posita Apoc. xi. 8, 9. in loco item vexato Matth. xxviii. 28." *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 470. Phrynicus and Thomas Magister affirm that the ancients never used the word πτωμα absolutely for *dead body*, but said πτωματα νεκρων. [ap. Schleusner ΠΙΤΩ-ΜΑ.] The contrary practice was probably introduced in imitation of the Latin *Cadaver*. We are told, Mark vi. 29, that the disciples of John the Baptist ηραν το πτωμα αυτου, *sustulerunt CADAVER ejus*; and

Σφραγιζω⁹⁸

Resigno

Rom. xv. 28.

Τραχηλιζω

Colluceo

Ileb. iv. 13. p. 159.

From the examples already furnished in this Disquisition, it may appear that the translator of the copy which has become our Greek Vulgate, was not much a master of the Greek or Latin language, and consequently was liable to commit verbal oversights or mistakes. Of such verbal mistakes or oversights we have frequent specimens in all ancient versions, and they had their source partly in the MSS. of which the translators made use, partly in their own haste or hallucination. We have seen in a former part of this work, that it is, or seems, contrary to fact, to suppose that any peculiar superintendence of Providence was exerted over the copyists of the New Testament⁹⁹. "Mistakes of writing (as

we find in Suidas, doubtless in reference to this ΠΙΤΩΜΑ, *σωμα ἀνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς*, a body WITHOUT THE HEAD. This, among other examples, shows how little we can sometimes depend on the Greek *Sacred Glosses*, and that, in many cases, they are mere guesses from the context. Valckenaer indeed affirms that the *orationis nexus* is often our *dur unicus* in the interpretation of the New Testament. *Schoke*, vol. i. p. 214.

⁹⁸ The Apostle Paul, speaking of the contributions which he was to carry to the saints at Jerusalem, says in the Latin Vulgate: *Hoc igitur cum consummavero, et assignavero eis fructum hunc: per vos proficiscar in Hispaniam*. This is intelligible; but the Greek καὶ ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ αυτοῖς τὸ κάρπον τούτων and have SEALED to them this fruit, is not so. The Greek verb seems to have been etymologically formed from σφραγίς, to correspond with the verb in the Latin text derived from the Latin *signum*; but with this difference—that the Latin word is easy and intelligible, which the Greek is not.

⁹⁹ See *supra*, pp. 51. 93. In speaking of the mistakes of transcribers, I may remark in passing that Strabo, complaining of the corruptions in Aristotle's writings, says: Καὶ βιβλιοπωλᾶι τινες γραφεύσι φαυλοὶς χράμενοι, καὶ ἢ ἀντιβάλλοντες, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμβαίνει τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν γραφομένων βιβλίων, καὶ εὐθαδε, καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρεια—*Et librorum venditores nonnulli ineptis usi librariis; neque cum exemplari descripta comparantes, quod et aliis accidit libris qui exscribuntur vendendi causæ, et Romæ, et Alexandriæ*. Strabo, *Geogr.* lib. xiii. p. 907. edit. Almelo. Coluccio Salutato thus writes in the fourteenth century: "Dici quidem non potest, quam molesta mihi sit ista corruptio quæ

Michaelis observes, vol. i. p. 248) are frequently found in the copy which proceeds from an author himself. In the publication of various works, I have discovered from revising the printed sheet, errors in the supposed correct manuscript that was sent to the printer; and the same inaccuracies might have happened to the copyist employed by St. Paul." But however correct Tertius and the other Apostolical amanuenses might have been, we learn from the complaint of Origen, formerly cited, and from other sources, that there were many very negligent transcribers of the Scriptures. Even had their care, however, been more considerable than it seems to have been, and with the best intentions, "they had not (as Michaelis remarks *supra* p. 92) ability to effect what lies not within the power of the best-regulated press." Of the truth of this latter remark, we have a striking example in the Vulgate of Sixtus V. That illustrious pontiff founded a typographical establishment in the Vatican, for the very purpose (as he affirms in the preface to his Vulgate Latin Bible) that it might be printed correctly; and so solicitous was he on this subject, that he himself, among others, revised and corrected the proofs¹⁰⁰. Yet, notwithstanding all this, there were (as his successor Clement VIII. complains) many ty-

libros omnes invasit. Vix enim invenitur jam ex Petrarchæ Boccacique libellis, codex fideliter scriptus, quique non multum ab exemplaribus degeneraverit. Sunt quidem non exempla sed exemplorum similitudines." ap. Mehus, *Vita Ambros. Camald.* p. clxxviii.

¹⁰⁰ "Novam interea typographiam in Apostolico Vaticano Palatio ad id potissimum magnifice extruximus....ut in ea emendatum jam Bibliorum volumen excuderetur: eaque res quo magis incorrupte perficeretur, nostra nos ipsi manu correximus, si qua prælo vitia obrepserant." Sixti V. *Præf. Bibl.* apud Hody, *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 496. 506. By the way, it is rather a singular circumstance which Hardouin notices, that no edition of the *Greek* Testament has ever been printed at Rome: "Græcum autem Codicem appellamus eum, qui visus est hactenus magis receptus, quem officinæ typographicæ multis in regionibus emiserrunt; sed nulla tamen adhuc Romæ, quod quidem sciam." *Comment.* p. 431.

pographical blunders in that work; and though, as is well known, many of the mistakes were not to be attributed to this cause, yet it, too, had its share in the errors of the work ¹⁰¹. What then may we suppose, and how numerous must have been the blunders of common and hired transcribers! If we examine two of our most precious MSS., the Alexandrian and the Cambridge, we find that they are deformed by a vast number of errors and omissions; and if this has happened in MSS. prepared with such expense and industry, what must have been the condition of those on which little caution or care had been bestowed ¹⁰²?

Nor was the skill, in general, of ancient interpreters such, as to surmount or grapple with the corruptions or difficulties of the text. We have seen in a former part of this work (p. 95), that some of the versions from the Latin given by Eusebius are exceedingly absurd: and if so learned a man committed or admitted such mistakes, what was to be expected from others who were less distinguished ¹⁰³? Many mistakes have

¹⁰¹ "Sixtus V. Divina Providentia ad summum sacerdotium evocatus, ardentissimo studio revocavit, et opus tandem confectum typis mandari jussit. Quod cum jam esset excusum, et ut in lucem emitteretur, idem pontifex operam daret, animadvertens non pauca in sacra Biblia preli vitio irrepsisse, quæ iterata diligentia indigere viderentur, totum opus sub incudem revocandum censuit atque decrevit." Clementis VIII. *Præf. Bibl.* apud Hody, p. 503.

¹⁰² As to the errors in the *Alex.* MS. see Spohn's edition of Woide's *Notitia Cod. Alexand.* p. 183—258. "Quo jure (says Spohn, after giving many examples) potest Codex, qui tot vitiis scribarum, tot omissionibus, tot additionibus, ex margine in textum intrusis tot lectionibus absonis scatet, sic extolli?" pp. 230 and 255. Mill, speaking of the Cambridge MS. or *Codex Bezae*, says, "ubi enim deficiunt Græca, quod ob ὁμοιοτέλευτον, scribæque incuriam innumeris in locis accidit, deficiunt et Latina." *Proleg.* No. 1281.

¹⁰³ As a specimen similar to that cited above from Eusebius [p. 95], I may mention the following. Jerome says of Origen, that such was his zeal in the study of the Scriptures, that he learned the Hebrew, contrary to the nature or spirit of his age and people—*ut etiam Hebræam linguam contra ætatis gentisque suæ naturam edisceret*. Suidas having

been made by the LXX: nor can we wonder at errors committed by Greeks, when the Latins themselves, who were much more practised in translation, and when even Jerome himself, the great Doctor of the Latin church, committed many blunders from haste or hallucination¹⁰⁴. In fact, we have specimens, in all versions made from MSS., of mistakes and oversights arising from different causes; and I shall here set down one or two examples from the *Aldine Simplicius*. At fol. 381 of the *Codex*, the Commentary begins thus: 'Ιστορησας την δοξαν των πυραμιδα το πυρ ειναι λεγοντων . . . εφεξης ιστορει τους σχημα μεν &c. W. de Möerbeka (as Peyron remarks) had translated from a *Codex* in which the first letter had been left blank to be illuminated, or had been placed on the margin separate from the text, and accordingly he read *στορησας*, and translates [p. 217] *Eversa opinione dicentium ignem esse pyramidem . . . consequenter narrat eos &c.* And he is re-translated in the *Aldine Simplicius* thus [fol. 152]: *Ανατραπεισης της δοξης των λεγοντων το πυρ ειναι πυραμιδα . . . εφεξης εκτιθησι τους σωμα &c.* In like manner, having intended to

cited this in the version of Sophronius, *ὥστε και την 'Εβραϊκην διαλεκτον εναντιμενην τητε ηλικια, και τη οικεια Φυσει εκμαθειν*,—this is re-translated by the interpreter of Suidas, *Hebraicam linguam ipsius et ætati et ingenio adversantem*, which totally alters the original idea. See Hody *De Bibl. Text.* p. 299.

¹⁰⁴ See *supra*, p. 94 et seq. "*Quot et quanta peccavit maximus vir* (says Bishop Pearson, speaking of Jerome) *nunc per properantiam, nunc per hallucinationem observavit Josephus Scaliger. Et quidni ille discrimen inter οἶδα et εἶδον non animadverteret, qui στρατηγίαν cum στρατιά, στρατεύειν cum μαχεσθαι, ἰως τῷτῃ cum περὶ τῷτῃ confudit: qui γνώμην id est sententiam pro subsidio habuit;...qui dixit Epimenides Athenas subvertit, pro καθαιρεῖ lustrat &c. &c.*" Pearson, *l'indic. Ignat. ap. Cotelieri Patr. Apost.* vol. ii. p. 389. Jerome indeed confesses that he has sometimes committed blunders from haste: "Nos...dum celeriter quæ scripta sunt vertimus ambiguitate decepti" &c. See ap. Hody, *De Bibl. Text.* p. 362. Various blunders of Jerome may be seen in the Preface to Schärfenberg's *Animadversiones*, &c. who says: "*Quod si accidit Hieronymo, Hebraice et Græce docto, quid dicamus de iis qui*" &c. p. xiv.

translate *ἐτέροι τινες λεγουσιν alteri quidam dicunt*, but having by a slip of the pen written *alterari* for *alteri*, this is translated *αλλοιουσθαι φασιν* in the *Aldine Simplicius*. By a similar oversight Möerbeka having written *argumentorum* for *argumentor*, (*τεκμαιρομαι*,) this is re-translated *των δ' επιχειρηματων*. In fine, W. de Möerbeka having by mistake read *εκ των αυτων* for *εκ των απλων*, translates *ex eisdem*, and, accordingly, the *Aldine Simplicius* exhibits *εκ των αυτων*¹⁰⁵. The same kind of mistakes as those now mentioned occur in some of our most ancient MSS. of the New Testament. Thus, in the ancient *Cod. Claromont.* 2 *Cor.* viii. 19, we have the reading *και προθυμιαν ημων τελουσιν*, quia in Latina invenit (says Wetstein, *N. T.* vol. ii. p. 5.) *et destinatam nostram volunt pro voluntatem* . . . Ita in Latino (proceeds he, after mentioning other corruptions of the Greek Text) *deliberatio pro delibatio, moribus pro mortibus, honori pro oneri*, &c.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Peyron Am, *Empedocles et Parmenidis* &c. p. 21—23. I may here remark, in passing, that in an epistle of Leo Aretin, in which, speaking of the versions of Aristotle, he says "Translatio novior a Britanno quodam traducta, cujus etiam proemium legimus, in quo et fratrem se ordinis prædicatorum scribit" &c. (and which has occasioned much difficulty to M. Jourdain)—*Britanno* is a mistake for *Brabantino*, and that W. de Möerbeka is meant. See *supra*, p. 81. Jourdain, *Recherches*, p. 58, 59. In the editions of his version of Simplicius *Möerbeka* is erroneously named *Morbeto*.

¹⁰⁶ Montfaucon, in speaking of abbreviations, having mentioned a blunder of Nannius, says, "Verum quod Nannius, non usque adeo emunctæ naris homo, in tale erratum lapsus sit, non ita stupeas, quando simile, forteque gravius Laurentius Valla, et post eum Henricus Stephanus in editis Hierodoti admiserunt: unde arguitur, quam proclive sit vel nasutioribus, in diuturno exscribendi et vertendi atque emendandi munere labi, et vel in rebus obviis et facillimis interdum correre." After giving a ludicrous example, Montfaucon adds: "Si autem in abbreviationibus, et notis hujusmodi tritis et obviis tot tantosque doctorum hominum lapsus deprehendimus, quot putes in aliis difficilioribus accidisse?" Montfaucon, *Palæogr. Græca*, p. 343. He himself has committed some blunders of this kind, as *Diar. Ital.* p. 111, for *ANIAL*, i. e. *Animal*, he says "*Lege Annia liberta*." Even with the advantage of a printed text, very absurd errors are sometimes committed in translation,

In addition to the specimens now quoted from Peyron and Wetstein, I may mention a mistake which has given much occasion of discussion to Biblical critics; and on which there have been many useless conjectures. Michaelis, treating of the persons to whom the First Epistle of John was addressed, says: "This question is still more difficult to decide than the preceding. In the Latin version it was formerly called the Epistle of St. John to the Parthians; and this title was adopted by some of the ancient Fathers, and in modern times has been defended by Grotius." Michaelis contends that if "St. John had intended this Epistle for the use of the Parthians, he would hardly have written it in Greek"—a passage which has been quoted in a former part of this work [p. 9]. Many have been the conjectures of those who dispute John's writing to the Parthians, whence the superscription *ad PARTHOS* took its rise. Whiston conjectured that an ancient Greek superscription to this Epistle was $\pi\epsilon\sigma\varsigma\ \Pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, and that this, erroneously copied $\pi\epsilon\sigma\varsigma\ \Pi\alpha\rho\theta\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, gave occasion to the Latin *ad PARTHOS*. "But this conjecture (says Michaelis) is without foundation: for since the faithful are not called in a single instance throughout the whole Epistle by the name of $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$, it is very improbable that the title $\pi\epsilon\sigma\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ was ever affixed to it. Serrarius would

and by good scholars. Thus Mr. Barrow, having said in his *Travels* that "the condition of most of the petty dealers and mechanics of Madeira prompts them to add *skirts* to their coats, by which they are entitled to the honour of wearing a sword;" this is translated by M. Malte-Brun "Les petits marchands et les artisans joignent au luxe d'un habit, celui d'une chemise, ce qui les autorise à porter une épée." *Quart. Review*, vol. iii. p. 198. Col. Leuke, an excellent Romaic scholar, gives some extracts from a Geography in modern Greek, printed at Vienna in 1791, of which he adds a literal version. One passage is: "The situation of Greece, between the other parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the centre, as it were, of the Old World—its facility of communication with different nations OVERLAND, and by the great navigable rivers which pour into it!" p. 180. What is here translated *overland*, is in the original $\delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \text{Μεσογ\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma}$, BY THE MEDITERRANEAN.

read *ad Pathmios*, Semler *adpertius*. Eichhorn supposes that in an ancient MS. the Epistle was addressed *προς τους διασπαρμενους*, which being translated *ad SPARSOS*, this has been erroneously transcribed *ad PARTHOS*¹⁰⁷.—I shall now offer my own conjecture. In this Epistle the usual address of John is to *Little children*—*PARVOS*; which he repeats I think no less than eight times. Accordingly Augustin [*Quæst. Evang.* lib. ii. c. 19] having written “sententiam hanc etiam illud dictum est a Joanne in epistola ad *PARVOS*”—this latter word has been mistakenly written *PARTHOS*; and hence the numerous conjectures and discussions on the subject¹⁰⁸.

It appears to me that in our Vulgate Greek version several mistakes have occurred of the kind to which I have now alluded. And, upon the hypothesis that this Greek text is a version from the Latin, can we be more surprised at this than that similar oversights should have occurred in the version used by the Latin church? We have already seen that Dr. Mill, an ardent admirer of the Latin Vulgate, acknowledges that mistakes have been committed in that version; and Jerome not merely ridicules the notion of an inspired interpreter, but supposes that mistakes may have been fallen into by the interpreter of Matthew's Gospel in our canon¹⁰⁹. In fact, from some circumstances formerly ad-

¹⁰⁷ See on this subject Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* vol. iv. p. 143. Michaelis, vol. vi. p. 399. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Neue Test.* vol. ii. p. 105. In the MSS. in the margin of Griesbach's *N. T. Acts* xiii. 6, 8, *Paratus* seems to have occupied the place of *Parthus* = *Elymaeus*, or *Elamite*. Perhaps the magician's name was *Perses* or *Perscus*, converted into *Βαρνάβας*.

¹⁰⁸ “Epistola hæc (says Mill) apud Græcos in omnibus Codd. est *ανεπιγραφος*. Latina vetus translatio habebat *ad Parthos*, et sic Augustinus, Idacius Clarus, alii. Deducta videtur inscriptio ex traditione aliqua veteri de Joannis prædicatione apud Parthos. Sed Eusebius, ex fama scilicet, refert Thomam fuisse Parthorum Apostolum. Nihil hic certi” &c. *Prolegom.* No. 150. See *Appendix E*.

¹⁰⁹ See *supra*, pp. 93, 94. “Mihique videtur Evangelistam Matthæum, qui Evangelium Hebraico sermone conscripsit, non tamen *respere*

duced [p. 94], there is reason to suppose that a Greek version would be still less exempted from danger of mistake than a Latin one. To me it appears (but I shall rejoice to be undeceived) that some verbal oversights akin to those above alluded to appear in our Greek Vulgate. For example, the author of the *Book of Acts*, mentioning the meeting of the disciples of our Lord after his ascension, says in the Latin Vulgate [*Acts* i. 15] *erat autem turba HOMINUM simul, fere centum viginti*. In the Greek Vulgate we have *ην τε οχλος ΟΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ επι το αυτο ως εκατον εικοσιν*. Now it is difficult not to doubt that the translator had by some oversight read NOMINUM for HOMINUM, and that he thus speaks of a crowd of *names* having assembled instead of *persons*¹¹⁰. It appears to me, (but with all due deference to abler critics, whom I pretend not to instruct, but to interrogate for information,) that some other oversights of this kind have happened to the Greek translator of our Greek Vulgate. For example, he seems often to have confounded VIRTUS and VERITAS.

dixisse quam *serò*, et eum qui interpretatus est, *verbi ambiguitate deceptum*, non *serò* interpretatum esse, sed *vespere*." Hieron. *Hedibæ Quæst.* iv. vol. iii. p. 46. K.

¹¹⁰ Οχλος ονοματων "ponitur pro οχλος ανθρωπων, more loquendi Hellenistico: neque enim existimandum est Græcos sic umquam fuisse loquutos ut turbam *hominum* dixerint turbam *nominum*." Vulckenaer, *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 320. This, as usual, is merely giving an epithet, without elucidating the origin of the phrase. I may here, also, remark by the way, that there is a frequent confusion of *homines* and *omnes* in Latin MSS. Breitinger remarks in *Prol.* vol. iii. that some MSS. of the LXX, in *Micah* vii. 6, have *εχθροι ανδρος παντες οι ανδρες* &c. *quæ genuina videtur lectio et Hebræo plane consona nisi quod vox παντες sit adjecta*. ap. Middleton, *Greek Article*, p. 206. I doubt not that *omnes* and *homines* gave rise to the double recension, and almost suspect, *Matth.* xiii. 19. *παντος omnis* is used for *hominis*. At 1 *Cor.* xi. 3, *παντος ανδρος η κεφαλη*, Mr. M. says: "We have not here a real, though an apparent breach of the rule of regimen, for *παντος ανδρος* is equivalent to *ετς ανδρος*." *Greek Article*, p. 476. At 1 *Tim.* iv. 10, *παντων ανθρωπων*, the latter word is wanting in Chrysost., &c. Compare also 1 *John* v. 4, 5.

Thus the Apostle in his eulogy on Charity says, [1 Cor. xiii. 6.] *rejoiceth not in INIQUITY, but rejoiceth in the TRUTH* [τῇ Ἀληθείᾳ]. Here Ἀληθεια TRUTH is opposed to Ἀδικία INIQUITY. In fact, however, the original seems not to have been VERITATE but VIRTUTE—*rejoiceth not in INIQUITY, but rejoiceth in VIRTUE*. In like manner we are told [John iii. 20.] *Every one that doeth EVIL hateth the light...but he that DOETH TRUTH* [ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὴν ἀληθειαν] *cometh to the light* &c. *Qui MALE agit* (says the Latin Vulgate) *odit lucem...qui autem facit VERITATEM venit ad lucem*. Who can help suspecting, both from the contrast, and the strange phrase ὁ ποιῶν ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ *qui facit VERITATEM*—that the original had been VIRTUTEM? In fact, Schleusner allows this to be the sense of the passages, though, as usual with philologists in such cases, he considers them as Hebraisms¹¹¹.

A variety of oversights of the kind which I have now mentioned seem to occur in our Greek as well as in our Latin Vulgate. Of such oversights the first and most natural source, perhaps, was the mistaking the notes of abbreviation which were usual in ancient manuscripts. "Griesbach (says Michaelis in making some remarks on this subject) is of opinion that many abbreviations at present unknown, and more diffi-

¹¹¹ Schleusner ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑ No. 7. "Joh. iii. 21, ὁ ποιῶν ἀληθειαν *qui recte agit*, opponitur enim τῇ φανταίᾳ πρᾶσσοντι, ver. 20. Joh. viii. 44, ἐν τῇ ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑ, οὐχ ἰστήκεν *deflexit a VIRTUTE*. coll. 1 Joh. iii. 8. Rom. ii. 8, τῇ Ἀληθείᾳ opponitur ἡ Ἀδικία." &c.

"Ἀληθειαν ποιεῖν dicunt Hellenistæ (says Heinsius) quod nec Aristoteles, nec Plato intelligeret. Nam de suo Græci veteres, de alieno Hellenistæ ut plurimum loquuntur. Id qui non intelligit, ubique impingit." *Aristarch. Sacr.* p. 219. ap. Rhenferd, p. 623. Yes! but what knowledge is imparted, by announcing that this or that phrase is a Hebraism or Hellenism?

It appears to me, that conversely *virtutem* has been used improperly for *veritatem* in 2 Tim. iii. 5, which in the Vulgate runs thus: *Habentes SPECIEM quidem pietatis, VIRTUTEM autem ejus* [τὴν δὲ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ αὐτῆς] *abnegantes*. It seems to me that *VERITATEM autem ejus* is much more suitable. At 1 Peter iii. 4, *virtus* seems to have been in part erased, and has been translated ἀνθρωπος.

cult than those which are now extant, were common in the first five centuries, and the sources of many of our false readings. But this opinion is not grounded on historical evidence, and the arguments alleged in its support are not sufficiently convincing." On the other hand Dr. Marsh, the commentator of Michaelis, is of a different opinion; for he says in his note upon this place,—“Nor is Griesbach’s hypothesis unsupported by fact, for he has produced an instance from Tertullian.” And after remarking that Mill and Semler were of the same opinion, he adds: “This, at least, is certain, that if we reject the hypothesis, we have no method of accounting for the origin of such different readings as *ερχομενος* and *εργαζομενος*, *ανομιαν* and *αμαρτιαν*, *αλλων* and *αμαρτωλων*, *ωμοσεν* and *ωμολογησεν*, &c. But if we admit that in the ancient MSS. of the four first centuries, these words were abbreviated, a difference in the mode of decyphering them affords a simple and an easy solution ¹¹².”

Nor were the copyists of Latin MSS. in general, more accurate or less given to abbreviation than the transcribers of Greek ones ¹¹³. Jerome gives a very striking account of

¹¹² Michaelis, vol. i. p. 285 and 507. In mentioning the abbreviations of the *Codex Alex.* Dr. Marsh also remarks, that “Dr. Semler in his *Hermen. Vorbereitung*, vol. iii. p. 62, supposes that the more ancient MS. from which the *Cod. Alex.* was copied, had a much greater number; from a false method of decyphering which marks, he explains many errors committed by the copyist of the latter. See his note 33 to Wetstein’s *Prolegomena*.” Marsh ap. Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 655. See Griesbach’s N. T. *Luke* xxi. 25, *ηχουσης* and *ηχους*. *Acts* vii. 17, *ωμοσεν* and *ωμολογησεν*. *1 Pet.* i. 21, *πιστευοντας* and *πιστως*. *Tit.* ii. 7, *αφθοριαν* and *αδιαφθοριαν*, &c. &c.

¹¹³ Cicero thus complains to his brother Quintus: “De Latinis vero, quo me vertam, nescio, ita mendose et scribuntur et veneunt.” *Epist.* lib. iii. *Epist.* 5; and Martial cautions his reader as follows, *Epig.* lib. ii. 8:

“Si qua videbuntur chartis tibi, Lector, in istis
Sive obscura nimis, sive Latina parum,
Non meus est error, nocuit librarius illis,
Dum properat versus annunciaré tibi”.....

the speedy corruption of Latin MSS. and of the carelessness of transcribers¹¹⁴; nor can we wonder that versions made from such were obnoxious to mistakes. I have already in a former part of this work [p. 91] presented to the reader an example of a probable mistake in the translator of our Greek Vulgate, by wrongly interpreting an abbreviation, or rather, in that instance, by supposing a word to be an abbreviation which was not so:—this is the word *fundum*, which, supposing to be an abbreviation for *fundamentum*, he has translated $\Theta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$, and has thus produced an incongruity of metaphor. Various examples of the same kind may be found in our Greek Vulgate. Another, and still more common cause of misconception, is that arising from faded letters; or the mistake of one word for another. We often, in the New Testament, find an apparent confusion of compound and simple words, as *sequor* for *assequor* in 1 Tim. iv. 6. where, instead of the Latin Vulgate *doctrinæ quam ASSECUTUS es*—we have $\eta\ \pi\alpha\rho\eta\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \text{quam SECUTUS es}$. In other cases there seems to have been an oversight committed by taking one word for another. Thus Acts v. 3, we are told that *Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan FILLED thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost?* The word *filled* is a literal version of the Greek text, which is $\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu$, and which word, I suspect, had been occasioned by a confusion in the Greek translator of *IMPLEO* and *IMPELLO*. The meaning of the text seems evidently to be *why hath Satan IMPELLED thy heart*¹¹⁵?

¹¹⁴ "Psalterium, Romæ dudum positus, emendaram, et juxta LXX Interpretes, licet cursim, magna tamen ex parte correxeram. Quod quia rursum videtis, O Paula et Eustochium, scriptorum vitio depravatum, plusque antiquum errorem, quam novam emendationem valere, cogitis ut veluti quodam novali scissum jam arvum exerceam, et obliquis sulcis renascentes spinas eradicem, æquum esse dicentes, ut quod crebro male pullulat, crebrius succidatur." Hieronym. ap. Hody, *de Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 351. See specimens from the *Cod. Claromont. supra*, p. 247.

¹¹⁵ "Restat formula (says Schleusner) $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \pi\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha\nu\ \tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ quæ significat *aliquem sollicitare, impellere*. Act. v. 3....Expressit Petrus for-

I shall here set down a small list of words in which there seems some reason to suspect that an oversight has been committed, either from abbreviation, from faded letters, or a confusion of words.

No. V.

Probable Mistakes from Abbreviations, faded Letters, &c.

Ἀγιαζω ¹¹⁶	Sanctifico	Qu. for Sancio?	1 Cor. vii. 14.
Ἀληθεια	Veritas	Virtus?	John iii. 20, &c. p. 250.
Ἀναστροφη ¹¹⁷	Conversio	Conversatio?	1 Pet. iii. 1.
Βλεπω	Video	* Vito?	Mark xii. 38. p. 193.
Γινωσκω ¹¹⁸	Nosco	Agnosco?	Rom. vii. 15.
Εργον	Factum	Facinus?	1 Cor. v. 2. p. 164.
Ετοιμαζω ¹¹⁹	Paro	Pareo?	Luke xii. 47.
Θαλασσα ¹²⁰	Mare	Thessalia?	Acts xvii. 14.
Θεμελιον	Fundamentum	Fundum?	1 Tim. iv. 16. p. 91.
Καθιζω ¹²¹	Sedeo	Resideo?	Acts xviii. 11.

mulam Hebraicam....Reliqui Græci fere utuntur formula *ἐπαίρειν τινα*." *Lexic. ΠΑΗΡΟΝ* No. 11.

¹¹⁶ Ἅγιασται γὰρ ὁ ἀνηρ ὁ ἀπίστος &c. *Sanctificatus est enim vir infidelis* &c. The meaning of this difficult text seems to be, "For the unbelieving husband is legally plighted [*sancitur*] to the wife, and the unbelieving wife is plighted to the husband, else were your children bastards, but now they are legitimate."

¹¹⁷ In this and in several other texts our English translators have followed the Latin instead of the Greek Vulgate. So 1 *Tim.* iv. 12. *Be thou an example of the believers in word, in CONVERSATION &c. in conversatione*, Latin *Vulg.* *ἐν ἀναστροφῇ*, in *conversione*, Greek *Vulg.*

¹¹⁸ "Secundum Joannem humanum genus αὐτον οὐκ ἔγνω *ipsum non cognovit*, s. potius *non agnovit*," &c. Valcken. *Scholæ*, ii. 92.

¹¹⁹ We find in the Latin Vulgate, *Ille autem servus, qui cognovit voluntatem domini sui et non præparavit*; but *Colb. Cypr. Ambrosiast.* we find *paruit*, which seems to me more suitable.

¹²⁰ Ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν θαλασσαν—"Markland *ad Lysiam*, p. 59, (says Valckenaer) docte suspicabatur nomen *regionis vel urbis* hic requiri, atque adeo Luc. scripsisse non *θαλασσαν*, sed *Θεσσαλιαν* firmamentum invenit suæ conjecturæ in additamento quodam *Codicis Cant.* in quo ὁ seq. post νοῖεν Ἀθηνων ista leguntur, *παρηλθε δε την Θεσσαλιαν, ἐκωλυθη γὰρ εἰς αὐτους κηρυξαι τον λογον* illinc certe licet conficere, auctorem istius emblematis (valde antiqui) legisse hic *Θεσσαλιαν*." *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 546.

¹²¹ It is said of Paul at Corinth *Ἐκαθισε δε* &c. *Sedit autem ibi annum*

Κεδρων ¹²²	<i>Cedrorum</i>	<i>Cedron</i> ?	John xviii. 1.
Κειμαι ¹²³	<i>Situs sum</i>	<i>Positus sum</i> ?	Philipp. i. 17.
Μενει ¹²⁴	<i>Manet</i>	<i>Eminent</i> ?	1 Cor. xiii. 13.
Νομος ¹²⁵	<i>Lex</i>	<i>Electio</i> ?	Rom. vii. 23.
Ονοματων	<i>Nominum</i>	<i>Hominum</i>	Acts i. 15. p. 250.
Παρακολουθειω	<i>Sequor</i>	<i>Assequor</i>	1 Tim. iv. 6. p. 253.

et sex menses, docens apud eos verbum Dei. See Schleusner ΚΑΘΙΖΩ No. 3. He considers the above use of καθίζω as a Hebraism, but adds, "Ita et *sedere* apud Cic. *ad Fam.* xvi. 2."

¹²² We have in the Vulgate Greek, and all MSS. but three, *the brook of Cedars των κεδρων*, instead of *τῆς κεδρων* of *Cedron*. "Certe hic error (says Hardouin) quoquo modo, et quocumque casu vel consilio huc irrepserit, ostendit aperte, ni fallimur, non esse lectionem Græcam primigeniam, aut a scriptore locorum perito." *Comment.* p. 314. See also Middleton, *Greek Article*, p. 373.

¹²³ *Scientes quoniam in defensionem Evangelii POSITUS SUM.* Vulg. "Græce (says Hardouin) *κειμαι* jaceo, *situs sum*, ut amanuensium errore fortassis scriptum esse in Latino *positus* existimetur pro *situs*. Quod tamen verbum tam Latine hoc loco absonum, quam Græce est et obscurum.....1 Tim. ii. 7, in quo *positus sum* ego *prædicator*; in Græco est *εἰς ὃ ἐπέθην ἐγὼ κηρυξ*: quod et iterum repetitur 2 Tim. i. 11. Quod proinde hoc etiam loco profecto Paulus scriberet, si Græci ipse codicis, ut nunc est, auctor esset." *Comment.* p. 579. In conformity with many MSS. in capitals, the Vulgate, &c. Griesbach has here transposed verses 16 and 17.

¹²⁴ *Nunc autem MANENT* [qu. eminent ?] *fides, spes, charitas, tria hæc: major autem horum est charitas.* Vulg.

¹²⁵ "It must, indeed, be admitted, says Mr. Middleton (*on the Greek Article*, p. 439), that there is scarcely in the whole *N. T.* any greater difficulty than the ascertaining of the various meanings of *νομος* in the Epistles of St. Paul." p. 439. It seems to me here at least, and in one or two other places, to be a bad version of *electio*. This whole passage (*Rom.* vii. 22, &c.) has a striking resemblance to the combat which Ovid describes between Reason and Passion:

"Sed trahit invitam nova vis, aliudque Cupido,
Mens aliud suadet. Video meliora, proboque;
Deteriora sequor."

For I delight (says Paul) *in the law of God....but I see another νομος, wish, choice, or election*, [the *Cupido* of Ovid,] *warring against the νομος wish of my MIND* [MENS aliud suadet], &c. As Paul quotes Aratus, Epimenides, and Menander, so he seems here to refer to a beautiful passage familiar to the Romans. In like manner, in his *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, (a Roman colony.) he has a long illustration founded on

Παρθενον ¹²⁶	<i>Virginem</i>	<i>Virginitatem</i>	1 Cor. vii. 36.
Πληρωω	<i>Impleo</i>	<i>Impello</i>	Acts v. 3. p. 253.
Προκοπτω ¹²⁷	<i>Pro-cædo</i>	<i>Procedo?</i>	2 Tim. ii. 16.
Σεδομενων ¹²⁸	<i>Colentium</i>	<i>Colonorum?</i>	Acts xvii. 4.
Σπενδομαι ¹²⁹	<i>Libor</i>	<i>Liberor</i>	2 Tim. iv. 6.

the well-known parable of Menenius Agrippa. Livy, ii. c. 32. 1 Cor. xii. 12—27. This illustration is familiar to the Latin writers—"Membra sumus magni corporis." Seneca, *Epist.* 31. "Quid si nocere velint manus pedibus? manibus oculi? ut omnia inter se membra consentiant, quia singula servari totius interest." *Ibid. de Ira*, ii. 31.

¹²⁶ It seems evident that *virginitatem* is here necessary; but being probably abbreviated *virginem*, it has been translated παρθενον, and thus rendered unintelligible. But if any one (says Paul) thinks that he may incur disgrace when past his prime by his virginity, and if it must be so, let him follow his inclination, he sins not in marrying. But he.....who hath resolved in his heart to preserve his virginity, doeth well &c.

¹²⁷ This word is doubted. Lucian, *Solæcist.* But it is to be found in good writers [see Schleusner ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΩ] in the sense also of, *procedo*. I strongly suspect, however, that in this signification it was modelled on the Latin *procedo*, and that κοπτω cædo came erroneously in place of cædo. Rom. xiii. 12, 'Η νυξ προεκοψεν, Nox processit, Boern. præcessit, Vulg. &c.

At John viii. 22, *secedet* has been translated αποκτενει εαυτον, as if it had been *se cadet*. Compare John vii. 35.

¹²⁸ We find, Acts xiii. 50, that the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia stirred up τας σεδομενας γυναικας against Paul. This is translated in the Vulgate *mulieres religiosas*. "Conjuges (says Hardouin) virorum *colentium advenarum*, de quibus versu 43." *Comment.* p. 378. I suspect these ladies were the wives of the Latin part of the community. We are told by Strabo, lib. xii. p. 577, that Antioch in Pisidia had a Roman colony. See Rasche, *Lexicon Univ. Rei Num.* vol. i. p. 751. See Paley, *Hor. Paulin.* (1 *Epist. to the Thess.* ad fin. p. 310,) as to the reading Acts xvii. 4.

¹²⁹ The Latin Vulgate reads in this text, *Ego enim jam DELIBOR, et tempus RESOLUTIONIS meæ instat*. The Greek text has σπενδομαι LIBOR, a reading which Hardouin, at great length, endeavours to prove to be ridiculous. It does not seem to me that DELIBOR is better. This text seems to be the chief one which has induced some critics to believe that the *Second Epistle to Timothy* was written not long before the Apostle's martyrdom, instead of soon after his first arrival in Rome, which is much more probable. [See Lardner's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 338—366.] In fact, that Paul had no apprehension of immediate death, appears from the circumstance, not merely of his desiring Timothy to come to Rome before winter, but his giving directions for bringing his cloak and books

Τιμη	Honor	Honorarium	1 Tim. v. 17.
Ὑσσωπος ¹³⁰	Hyssopus	Scipio	John xix. 29.
Φθάνω ¹³¹	Prævenio	Pervenio	Luc. xi. 20.
Φωνήν ¹³²	Vocem	Vocantem	Rev. i. 12.
Χριστός ¹³³	Christus	Christianus	2 Cor. i. 5.
Χωραζίν ¹³⁴	Chorazin	Gerasa	Matt. xi. 21.

from Asia. [iv. 13 and 21.] The persecution of Nero afforded no such respite; and, had it begun, is it possible that Paul, who loved Timothy so well, would have invited him to Rome, to the *very mouth of the lion*? I doubt not that the Latin text was *Ego enim jam LIBEROR*, or *LIBERIOR*, &c. *For I am now more free; and the time of my release is at hand... do thy diligence to come shortly unto me, &c.* The *Second Epistle to Timothy* was written before what is now named the *First*; an arrangement which frees us from many difficulties. *LIBEROR*, or *LIBERIOR*, had been contracted *LĪBOR*, and translated *σπενδομαι*.

¹³⁰ *Illi autem spongiam plenam aceto HYSSOPO* [scipioni?] *circumpo- nentes, obtulerunt ori ejus.* Joh. xix. 29. Vulg.

In Casaubon's *Exercitationes* against Baronius, (a work which I have procured only while this book is in the press,) there are no less than two chapters occupied in a fruitless attempt to explain Ὑσσωπος, John xix. 29. "De Hyssopo vero (says that profound scholar) jam inde ab antiquissimis temporibus quæstio est, adeo difficilis ad explicandum, ut videatur Elias expectandus, qui certi aliquid nos doceat. Ex comparatione verborum Matthæi et Johannis, videtur liquido constare hyssopi nomine hic intelligi aliquid quod baculi usum præbuerit ad porrigendam spongiam." p. 462. This remark seems to confirm my conjecture that Ὑσσωπος is a corruption of scipio.

¹³¹ *Pervenit in vos regnum Dei.* "Græce εφθασεν εφ' ὑμας, prævenit ad vos: obscure saltem et barbare." Harduin. *Comment.* p. 196. So also *Rom.* ix. 31. *Philipp.* iii. 16.

¹³² *And I turned to see the VOICE* [βλεπὲν τὴν ΦΩΝΗΝ] *that spake with me.* Here I suspect that *vocantem* abbreviated, has been supposed *vocem*.

¹³³ The use of Χριστός instead of Χριστιανός (arising probably from an abbreviation of this latter word) often occurs in the Epistles. So *1 Cor.* xii. 12, &c. "Per παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (says Valckenæer) male intelliguntur *passiones Christi*, *2 Cor.* i. 5: nam significantur *arumnae propter nomen Christi Christianis exantlandæ*: ut *Coloss.* i. 24, *ἀντὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* non sunt utique *afflictiones Christi*, sed *ἕνεκα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, propter Christum subeundæ arumnae.*" Valck. *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 160.

¹³⁴ There has been much controversy concerning *Chorazin*, a town of which we read no where else, save *Matth.* xi. 21, *Luke* x. 13, either

Akin to the class which we have now been considering are words translated into wrong semi-synonymes, if I may use such an expression. In every language there are various words which coincide in part, but not wholly. For example, *care* and *sorrow* are often synonymous, or nearly so, and one may be used for the other; yet, if one saw a person in the way of sudden danger, and called out *Take sorrow*, instead of *Take care*, he would speak unintelligibly. Foreigners, however, are not aware of such shades of difference; and when they find two words synonymous in part, they are apt

in the Scriptures or in Josephus. I suspect that it is a corruption; and that the exclamation of our Lord was, *Woe unto thee, Gerasa!*—*woc unto thee, Bethsaida!* &c. The country of the *Gerasenes* (corruptly read *Gergesenes*, *Matth.* viii. 28) bordered on the Lake of Genesareth. I may remark, by the way, that in this text, *Matth.* viii. 28, the Greek word *περαν* seems to me to stand for *Peraam*. The Vulgate reads thus: *Et cum venisset trans fretum [sic το περαν. Qu. ad Peraam?] in regionem Gerasenorum*. I may also add, that *ιδιαν πολιν*, *Matth.* ix. 1, seems a corruption of a *Jewish city*. Our Lord is described as re-crossing the Lake from *Peræa* and the country of the *Gadarenes*, and coming to a city, which, from the parallel passage *Mark* ii. 1, seems to have been *Capernaum*. Valckenacr has the following remark on the words *εν Ιερουσαλημ*, *Luke* ii. 38: "In paucis codicibus legitur *εν τη Ιερουσαλημ*. Nominum, quæ sono tantum a se invicem distant, facillima fuit confusio. Scribuntur enim talia in Codd. semper compendifaceta *Ιηλ* est *Ιερουσαλημ*. 'Ιλημ' *Ιερουσαλημ*; disci autem utiliter possunt e tabella, quam *Glossario Sacro in Libros N. T.* præfixit I. Alberti. Quem usum habeat ista cognovisse exemplo disci poterit. *Matth.* xxvii. 9, nomen legitur 'Ιερουσαι pro *Ζαχαριου*. Is locus multis crucem fixit. Scriptum olim fuerat *ζειου* id facile potuit a descriptore mutari in *Ιριου*, i. e. 'Ιερουσαι. Conf. *Miscell. Obs.* vol. ii. p. 287." Valcken. *Schola*, vol. i. p. 82. Jerome (*In Libr. Paralip. Præf.* vol. iii. p. 7. B) writes thus: "Libere enim vobis loquor. Ita in Græcis et Latinis Codicibus hic nomen liber vitiosus est, ut non tam Hebræa quam Barbara quædam et Sarmatica nomina conjecta arbitrandum sit. Nec hoc Septuaginta Interpretibus, qui Spiritu Sancto pleni, ea quæ vera fuerunt transtulerant, sed scriptorum culpæ adscribendum, dum de emendatis inemendata scriptitant: et sæpe tria nomina, subtractis e medio syllabis, in unum vocabulum cogunt; vel, è regione, unum nomen propter latitudinem suam, in duo vel tria vocabula dividunt."

to consider them as wholly so. I need only refer to what was before said [p. 123.] of the expression of the French captain, "I will *make* my duty." Now of this confusion of semi-synonymous words we seem to have various specimens in our Vulgate Greek Testament. For example, the Apostle Paul [2 Cor. xi. 28.] mentions his having the *CARE* of all the churches; that is to say, their direction and management. The Latin word *CURA*, however, had been taken by the translator of our Greek Vulgate in the sense of *ærumna*; and accordingly we read ἡ μερίμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν—*ÆRUMNA* omnium ecclesiarum¹³⁵.

Of all the tests of a translated text, none is perhaps more decisive than this confusion of semi-synonymous words. It occurs often in the version of the *Novellæ*, where, for example, we find *serpare* for *cavere*, and *gloria* instead of *sententia*; because φυλαττεσθαι signifies both the former, and δοξα both the latter. A great number of similar examples occur in that work¹³⁶: nor can we wonder at this, when we see the occasional mistakes even of such a translator as Jerome. Many such phe-

¹³⁵ "Additur autem ἡ μερίμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. Quo, si eruditus credimus, sollicitudinem ac curam quam gerebat de Ecclesiis, aut pro Ecclesiis significavit...Nam ut curam, quod jam dixi, quam pro Ecclesiis gerebat μερίμναν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν dicat non puto quenquam qui Græcè didicit admissurum esse." Heinsius, *Exercit. Sacr.* p. 412.

¹³⁶ See Cochus ap. Rhenferd. *Syntagma*, p. 632. *Authent.* 146. *Præf.* and cap. iii. Huet. *De Clar. Interp.* p. 203. One of the most amusing *qui pro quo's* of this kind which I have met with, is the following, mentioned by Rhunken, in his critique of Ignarra's *Comment. de Palæstr. Neap.* p. 4. edit. Kidd. "Docta est digressio [Nic. Ignarræ] de Inscriptione Panormitana, ubi joculari prodiit inscriptionem ex tabula ærea descriptam ΠΩΜΗ ΚΕΦΑΛΗ ΚΑΘΑΡΟΥ, qua Græculus Latinæ linguæ imperitus exprimere voluit Latinum, ROMA CAPUT MUNDI. At 1 Cor. vii. 34, κόσμου means of dress, not of the world. Compare 1 Pet. iii. 3. I suspect (by the way) that in a few passages of the N. T. κόσμος mundus has been substituted in the version instead of immundus. See, for example, James iv. 4, and compare ver. 1. Perhaps 1 Cor. viii. 4 had been idolum immundum, translated εν κοσμῳ. See various readings on *Lucret.* lib. iv. 1153.

nomena appear to me to occur in our Vulgate Greek Testament; and δοξα, one of the words quoted above, may serve as an example. The word τιμη, one of those quoted in No. V. (the last class presented to the reader), is occasionally employed in the New Testament instead of *honorarium*; as 1 Tim. v. 17: *Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy [διπλης τιμης] of a double honorary*. Now as δοξα is in some respects synonymous with τιμη, it seems in the following instance to be improperly used for it, and has given great trouble to commentators. *For neither at any time (says Paul, 1 Thess. ii. 5, 6.) used we flattering words, as ye know, nor a cloak of covetousness, God is witness. Nor of men sought we δοξαν, neither of you, nor yet of others, when we might have been burdensome, as the Apostles of Christ*. Now it appears to me from the whole context (compare also 1 Cor. ix. 14, 15.) that δοξαν is here used for τιμην, an *honorary*, or reward for labours. This seems to be confirmed by Apoc. xxi. 24, 26: *And they shall bring the tribute of the nations into it—την δοξαν και την τιμην*—a double version of the same phrase, and of which the one seems originally to have been a marginal explanation of the other¹³⁷.

Mistakes of the kind to which I am now alluding, are very apt to be committed in such words as are derived from material, and applied to moral qualities. In one language, a word is applied metaphorically, while in another its semi-

¹³⁷ From not understanding δοξαν in ver. 6, the phrase εν βαρει, in the same verse, has occasioned great difficulty to commentators. See Wassenbergh ap. Valckenaer, *Scholæ*, ii. p. 56, who proposes, as necessary, a transposition in verses 5 and 6; which is exceedingly violent, and which the above explanation renders quite unnecessary. I once suspected that βαρεος in this passage was a mistake of the Greek interpreter of *onus* for *honor*. "Sunt enim (says Wassenbergh) qui βαρεος hic non *onus* explicit sed *honorem, dignitatem*. Ita præter cæteros Erasmus, Vitriæga P., Wetstenius, Michaelis, Moldenhauerus." This would still imply a version from the Latin, and a mistake of *in onere* for *in honore*, or *oneri* for *honori*.

synonyme is constantly limited to a material sense¹³⁹. This, indeed, often happens in the same language; as, for example, our different use of *grave*, *heavy*, and *weighty*. But without any further preface, I shall proceed to give a small list of words, which, though genuine Greek, are from confusion or co-extension with semi-synonymous Latin ones, employed in a sense not suitable to the passage, and unwonted among Greek writers. For example, λαμβανω, *cipio*, is one of the most common Greek words; but it never, like the Latin *cipio*, is employed by the Greek writers in the sense of *electing a priest*, a sense which, as we shall find below, it seems to have in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*.

No. VI.

Words apparently translated into wrong Semi-Synonymes.

Αναγκάζω ¹³⁹	Cogo	Luke xiv. 23.
Βασταζω ¹⁴⁰	Tollo	Matth. viii. 17.
Δυναμῖς ¹⁴¹	Virtus	1 Cor. iv. 19, 20.

¹³⁹ See, for example, Hardouin's note on ελαφρος, *supra*, p. 162. The following is his remark, *Luke* xix. 48: "Omnis enim populus suspensus erat. Græce ἐξικριματο: quod verbum, nos quidem arbitramur, nonnisi de rei alicujus suspendio, dici ab homine Græco posse." *Comment.* p. 224.

¹⁴⁰ In this text I suspect that the Latin *coge* has been wrongly taken in the sense of *compel*, instead of *collige* or *congrega*—a sense which has furnished a pretext for persecution. The passage seems to have been, *Go out into the high-ways and hedges and collect them, &c.* instead of *compel them*.

¹⁴⁰ *Matth.* viii. 17, καὶ τὰς νοσοὺς [ἡμῶν] ἔλασται, *et morbos nostros sustulit, and took away [not bare] our sicknesses*:—so *tollere* *cadaver*, *John* xx. 15, εἰ ἔλαστας αὐτον. We find in the same Evangelist, x. 31, βασταζω used in a different sense—ἐβαστασαν οὖν λίθοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, *sustulerunt ergo lapides Judei*. "Non est opinor (says Hardouin) illa vox Græca βασταζειν apta huic loco, pro αἰρειν. Est enim βασταζω, *portare, collo ferre, gestare sarcinas, succollare*. Neque Joannes, ut arbitramur, aut amanuensis ejus, eo verbo hic uteretur." *Comment.* p. 294. It is the Latin *tollere de terra lapides*. *Cicer. pro Cæcin.* c. 21.

¹⁴¹ Hardouin has the following note, *1 Cor.* iv. 19. "*Sed virtutem, Græce δυναμιν, contra Apostoli mentem, qui αρετην hic voluit intelligi,*

Ερωτάω ¹⁴²	Rogo	Luke iv. 38.
Εχω ¹⁴³	Habeo	Acts xii. 15, &c.
Θελημα ¹⁴⁴	Voluntas	1 Cor. i. 1, &c.
Ισχυω ¹⁴⁵	Valeo	Matth. v. 13.
Λαμβανω ¹⁴⁶	Capio	Heb. v. 1.
Μαστιξ ¹⁴⁷	Plaga	Mark iii. 10, &c.
Μεριμνα	Cura	2 Cor. xi. 28. p. 259.
Ὁλοκληρος ¹⁴⁸	Integer	James i. 4.

et versu sequenti: ut *Rom.* xiv. 17." *Comment.* p. 495. In fact, the *Non enim in sermone est regnum Dei, sed in virtute* of the Latin Vulgate, is much more intelligible than the *Ου γαρ εν λογω η βασιλεια τε Θις αλλ' εν δυναμει* of the Greek.

¹⁴² Grotius says on *ηρωτησαν* in this passage: "Videtur esse Latinismus: quia Latini *rogare* dicunt pro *orare*," &c. And again, 2 *Thess.* ii. 1, "Ερωταμεν δε υμας, αδελφοι, *Rogamus autem vos fratres...* ερωτω pro *precor*, quia Latini *rogo* dicunt. Vide *Matth.* xv. 23; *John.* xiii. 16; *Act.* xxiii. 20."

¹⁴³ See Schleusner in *EXΩ* No. 12. *John* xix. 15. "ουκ εχομεν βασιλειαν, ει μη Καισαρα—εχομεν id est *agnoscimus*," Grot. in loc.

¹⁴⁴ "Ut Latinum *voluntas*, &c." Schleusner *ΘΕΛΗΜΑ*. "Hic (says Valckenaer) notat *benevolentiam, benignitatem* quam *voluntatis...* appellatione designarunt Cicero, quique post Ciceronem Latine sunt loquuti." *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 22.

¹⁴⁵ *Matth.* v. 13, *εις ουδεν ισχυει επι, ad nihil VALET amplius, &c.*

¹⁴⁶ Valckenaer has the following note on *Heb.* v. 1. *Αρχιερευς... λαμβανωμενος*. "Videri queat *Latinismus*, quales rationes loquendi Latinas, Græcis verbis expressas, in Lucæ scriptis Grotius plures annotavit. De sacerdote *electo* vix apud Græcos usurpatur v. *λαμβανεισθαι capi*. Sed in Romano jure veteri sacerdotali ita, uti hic Scriptori Sacro adhibebatur. *Gell. N. Att.* i. 12. Eximie (inquit) Virgines Vestales; sed Flamines quoque Diales, item Pontifices et Augures *CAPI* dicebantur." Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 484.

¹⁴⁷ "Quando morbi (says Valckenaer) tamquam pœna mortalibus divinitus immissa, his in libris vocantur *μαστιγες* tum de Hebraïsimo cogitandum, ut *Marci* iii. 10; v. 29. 34." *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 126. Hardouin has the following note on the former of these passages—"Plagas: Sic morbi appellantur, quibus Deus hominum peccata castigat et punit. In Græco *μαστιγας flagella*, inepte." *Comment.* p. 113.

¹⁴⁸ *Jacob.* i. 4, *ινα ητε τελειοι και ολοκληροι, ut sitis perfecti et INTEGRI*. Here *ολοκληρος* is taken in a moral sense; whereas it means entire or un mutilated physically.

Πιστευω ¹⁴⁹	<i>Credo</i>	John xiv. 1.
Ποιεω ¹⁵⁰	<i>Facio</i>	Heb. xi, 28.
Ῥυπαρια ¹⁵¹	<i>Spurcilia?</i>	James i. 21.
Στενοχωρια ¹⁵²	<i>Angustia.</i>	Rom. viii. 35, &c.
Χαλκος	<i>Æs</i>	Mark vi. 8, &c.

The above will form a sufficient list of Greek words which seem to be taken not in a Greek, but Latin sense, or which are extended beyond the limits in which they naturally coincide, and are synonymous. For example, the Greek word χαλκος (the last of the list now given) corresponds with the Latin *æs* (*brass*), and is synonymous with it. But the Romans employed the word *æs* to signify *money* in general; as in modern times the French, taking another metal, use the word *argent* both for *silver* and for *money* in general. *He has much brass* would to a Roman have implied a wealthy man; but

¹⁴⁹ John xiv. 1. I believe the import of this passage to be, *Trust or confide in God, trust also in me.*

¹⁵⁰ In this passage Heb. xi. 28, *πεποιηκε το πασχα*, and in one or two other passages of Scripture, *ποιεω* seems to have the signification of the Latin *facio* in the sense of *sacrificing*, as when Virgil says, *Eclog. iii. 27, Cum FACIAM vitula.* Thus, Luke ii. 27, we have in the Latin Vulgate *ut FACERENT secundum consuetudinem Legis pro eo*,—which is by no means so clear in the Greek. In Acts xviii. 21, Paul says, *I must by all means sacrifice [ποιησαι] at the coming feast in Jerusalem.* We seem to have another Greek version of the Latin *facientes*, in the sense of *sacrificing*, at 1 Cor. ix. 13: *οι τα ιερα εργαζομενοι, qui victimas faciunt.* I may add, that *εργα το νομου*, Rom. iii. 20, &c. seem to mean the *sacrifices of the Law*, whether from this sense of *facio*, or whether from some blending of *opera* and *offero*, which the Jews and Syrians pronounced in the same manner. [*supra*, p. 100.]

¹⁵¹ Ῥυπαρια. Hardouin's note on this passage is, "*Immunditiam, Græce ρυπαριαν, quæ vox corporis solummodo sordes significat.*" *Comment.* p. 682. It is certainly used by some of the more modern Greek writers in a moral sense [Wetstein, *N. T.* t. ii. p. 663]; but probably received this extension in correspondence with the Latin *spurcilia*, or from *impuritas*.

¹⁵² Στενοχωρια "*proprie angustia loci* (says Schleusner)...metaphorice, ut Latini *angustia.*"

to a Greek was in this sense equally unintelligible as the same phrase would be to an Englishman. The translator of our Vulgate Greek copy, however, finding, *Mark* vi. 8, the word *as* meaning *money*, in his Latin Gospel has literally translated *χαλκος*, although *αργυριον* would have been a more just version, and in French a translator would use *argent*. And here, by the way, I may remark, that the hypothesis of our Vulgate Greek being a version from the Latin, removes a difficulty, on the subject of the genuineness of the Gospels, which once gave me considerable uneasiness—I allude to the circumstance that the *manners* are not, generally speaking, Jewish, but Roman. This, however, I have no doubt is to be attributed in a great degree to the Latin language. Bishop Pearson, speaking of the word *κυριος*, says that the Greeks did not “anciently use it in their œconomicks; where their constant terms were not *κυριος*, but *δεσποτης* and *δουλος*, and they had then another kind of notion of it. . . . In the Apostolical rules pertaining to Christian œconomicks, the master and servant are *δουλος* and *κυριος*. . . . Insomuch as *κυριε* is sometimes used by way of address or salutation of one man to another (as it is now generally among the later Greeks, and as *dominus* was anciently among the Latins. *Quomodo obvios, si nomen non occurrat, DOMINOS salutamus*. Seneca.), not only of servants to masters, as *Matt.* xiii. 27; or sons to parents, as *Matt.* xxi. 30; or inferiors to men in authority, as *Matt.* xxvii. 63;—but of strangers; as when the Greeks spake to Philip, and desired him, saying *κυριε*, &c. *John* xii. 21; and Mary Magdalen speaking unto Christ, but taking him for a gardener, *κυριε ει συ εβαστασας αυτον*, *John* xx. 15.”¹⁵³ It is to

¹⁵³ Pearson of the Creed, p. 145. See Middleton, *Greek Article*, p. 432. Dresigius having classed τῷ Κυρίῳ, *Act.* xxv. 26, among Latinisms, Georgii says “Quare provoco ad LXX. Interpretes. . . . apud quos *Dan.* iv. 16 hæc leguntur *Απεκριθη Βαλτασας, και ειπε ΚΥΡΙΕ*” &c. *Hierocrit.* P: II. p. 205. Now this version to which Georgii appeals, is not that of the LXX, but Theodotion’s, who lived in the second century. Georgii adds, “Utinam, eorum te pœniteret tandem quæ in dictionem Spiritus S. admisisti!” See *supra*, pp. 118. 213, 214.

this Latin phraseology in the Vulgate Greek Testament, that I am led to attribute the circumstance that the manners seem often rather Roman than Jewish. For example, the Romans were accustomed to recline, or lie at table: and it should seem from the Gospels that, notwithstanding the antipathy of the Jews to that people, they had laid aside their ancient practice, and adopted the fashion of their conquerors¹⁵⁴. Whether this were so or not, however (and Hardouin denies that the Jews lay at table, *Comm.* p. 304.), it was natural for a Latin writer to use the word *recumbere* or *accumbere*, or *discumbere ad mensam*, whether the persons sat or reclined. In our English version our translators constantly say *sat down*, instead of the *lie* or *recline* of the original;—just as a Ciceronian, writing of an Englishman *sitting down to dinner*, would say, he *lay down* to dinner. This custom of applying the costume and imagery of their own country to nations quite dissimilar, is exceedingly common among painters, and not unfrequent among writers. Mr. Gibbon, in some remarks upon Pagi, shows how he had been mistaken in reasoning upon the words *consulatus*, *fascēs*, &c. applied by some Latin historians in speaking of the Saracen kings of Corduba. These remarks he concludes by observing that “Sallust was a more correct writer than Eulogius, or the Abbot Samson of Cordova; yet Sallust (*Bell. Jugurth.* c. 12) speaks of the *lictor proximus* of a Numidian prince who had guards and officers, but who certainly had no lictors. This translation of ideas is common in all languages¹⁵⁵.” In an old English version from the

¹⁵⁴ In the Old Testament times, the practice of sitting at table seems to have been universal. *Gen.* xxxvii. 25: *ἐκαθίσαν δὲ φαγεῖν ἄρτον*, they sat down to eat bread. *Exod.* xxxii. 16: *Ἐκαθίσεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πίνειν*, The people sat down to eat and drink &c. See Campbell's *Gospels*, Diss. viii. p. iii. vol. ii. p. 32 *et seq.* In the Homeric age the Greeks also sat at table:

Ἐξείης ἔζοντο κατὰ κλισίῃς, τὲ θρόνῳ τε. "

¹⁵⁵ Gibbon's *Miscell. Works*, vol. iii. p. 571, 4to. In Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 172 (note), we find the following spe-

Vulgate, it is said, *Acts* xii. 6, *In that night Petir was slepyng bitwixe tweyne knytis*. And in an ancient French version Paul commences the Epistle to the Romans by calling himself a *serf* of Jesus Christ¹⁵⁶. We now see how the same idea may be differently modified; and that Jewish manners described in Latin might assume a Latin aspect. We are told in our version, *Luke* xi. 37, *And as he spake, a certain Pharisee besought him to dine with him, and he went in and SAT DOWN to meat*. This latter phrase is in the Vulgate *et ingressus RECUBUIT*, and in the Greek *εισελθων δε ΑΝΕΠΕΞΕΝ*. The propriety of this last word has been doubted; and it would have sounded to an ancient Greek, *he went in and DESPONDED*¹⁵⁷.

It may appear, upon the whole, from the observations now made, that the idioms and peculiarities of a language

cimen of sacred heraldry: "Of the offspring of the *Gentilman* Jafeth come Habraham, Moyses, Aron, and the Profetys, and also the Kyng of the right Lyne of Mary, of whom that *Gentilman* Jhesus was born, very God and man. After his Manhode, Kyng of the land of Jude and of Jues, *Gentilman* by his Moder Mary, *Prynce of Cole Armure*" &c. Mr. Gibbon, mentioning the *Dukes* of Athens, remarks: "From these Latin princes of the fourteenth century, Boccace, Chaucer, and Shakespeare, have borrowed their Theseus *Duke* of Athens. An ignorant age transfers its own language and manners to the most distant times." *Decline* &c. chap. LXII. vol. xi. p. 353. A Saxon poet describing the feast given by Holofernes, in the apocryphal story of *Judith*, says:

To this commanded

The Baldor of men

All the eldest thegns.—ap. Turner, vol. iii. p. 350.

¹⁵⁶ "*Pol, serf de Jesu Crist*" &c. Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Versions*, p. 322. The English text here cited is in *Divers. of Purley*, vol. ii. p. 510.

¹⁵⁷ See Thomas Magister ap. Schleusner *ΑΝΑΠΗΝΤΩ* No. 2. Hardouin says, on *Luke* xiii. 10: "*Recumbe* Græce *Ανακτισον* *decide*: quæ vox est ad accubitus significandum inepta: sed ad mysticam significationem visa fortassis necessaria." *Comment.* p. 206. Every thing with Hardouin has some mystic design or crafty purpose [see *supra*, p. 195], which is one of the circumstances which has thrown ridicule on his hypothesis.

may contribute, in a considerable degree, to give a different costume and colouring to objects. To return, for example, to the word χαλκος *brass*: I shall dwell for a little upon this topic, in order to show how much many things in the Gospel take a Roman colouring; a circumstance which I cannot explain, except on the hypothesis that our Vulgate Greek Testament is a translation, or re-translation, from the Latin. Our Lord [Mark vi. 8] in our version tells his disciples to take *no money in their purse*; which in the Latin Vulgate is *neque in ZONA ÆS*, and in Greek μη εις την ζωνην χαλκον. We have already seen that the *æs* or χαλκος for *money* is Roman, and so also is the *zone* for *purse*. This the reader will see illustrated in a note from Grotius¹⁵⁸. And since we are on the topic of money, I shall here set down, from the same distinguished author, some notes from a single parable upon this subject. In the parable of the Talents, our Lord says in our version, *Matt. xxv. 16, Then he that had received the five talents went and TRADED WITH THE SAME*¹⁵⁹, and *MADE*¹⁶⁰ *them other five talents . . . but he that had received one, went and DIGGED IN*

¹⁵⁸ Grot. in *Matth. x. 9.* Εις τας ζωνας] “ζωνην recte βαλαντιον dixit Lucas x. 4; xxii. 35. C. Gracchus apud Gellium, *Zonas quas plenas argenti extuli, eas ex provincia inanes retuli.* Eundem vocis usum apud Horatium, Juris auctores, Suetonium, Spartianum, Lampridium, alii annotarunt.”

¹⁵⁹ Ειργασατο εν αυτοις. “Græci dicerent εργαζεσθαι αυτοις..... εργαζεσθαι ergo hic satis Græcum est. Sed illud εν Hellenisticum, frequens admodum in ea significatione quam Latini casu sexto expriment.”

¹⁶⁰ “Εποίησεν *Latinismus* est, nam pecuniam conficere plerique dicunt: Sallustius etiam *facere*. Rem *facere* usitatissimum est. Apud Græcos veteres, nescio an id loquendi genus sit reperire. Ideo a quibusdam substitutum est interpretamentum *εκερδησεν*.” Spohn in his excellent edition of *Woide Not. Cod. Alex.* p. 200, denies that *εποίησεν* is a Latinism. I am, however, of the opinion of Grotius on this subject; and, indeed, as Valckenaer remarks on one occasion: “Tanta est Grotii auctoritas, ut ejus ratio omnino habenda sit in re quæ spectat ad genium sermonis,” *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 366. See also p. 432 and p. 473. “Quique unus est instar omnium. Grotius.”

THE EARTH¹⁶¹, and hid his lord's money. In this manner [see the Notes] this distinguished commentator proceeds with a frequent reference to Latin phraseology.

I have now presented to the reader a large list of words, divided into different classes, which seem to prove that our Vulgate Greek Testament is a translation, or re-translation, from the Latin. The notes which I have here transcribed from Grotius, remind me that many phrases also, which are manifestly not Greek but Latin, point to the same conclusion. Of these, several have already been given in the course of our Disquisitions¹⁶²; and I formerly, also, had occasion to remark, that foreign idioms and phrases are a characteristic of translation still more decisive perhaps than foreign words, and more difficult to be avoided in a close and literal version. They may not always prove indeed that the version was made from an external copy; but they at least show that the composition in which they appear was the production of a person who thought in, and internally translated from, the language in which the phrase or idiom is native and familiar. I have already mentioned [p. 197] the spurious Greek inscriptions of M. Fourmont; and even in the few specimens which he ventured to publish, and which must have been concocted with considerable care, the features of a French origin are discernible. "The next inscription (says Porson) is a catalogue of the priestesses of Amyclæ, beginning about the same time with the dedication of the Temple. The priestesses are called *MATEPEΣ KAI KOTPAI TOT AΠOΛΛOYNOΣ*,—for which neither M. Barthelemy, nor the author of the *Récherches* [M. D'Hancarville] has been able to produce any authority, except a correspondent title in the modern French convents of nuns, *Les Meres et les Filles du bon Dieu*; whence Mr. Knight suspects that the French title gave birth to the

¹⁶¹ Ωρυξεν εν τη γη] "Ita Latinis defosso auro incubare dicitur qui inutilem pecuniam detinet."

¹⁶² See *supra*, p. 107.

Greek¹⁶³." Of this, indeed, there can be little doubt. But without further preface, I shall proceed to set down a few specimens, in addition to those already given, of Latin phrases or idioms expressed in Greek words in our Vulgate Greek Testament, and confirming in some degree the conclusion that this copy is a version.

No. VII.

Latin Phrases and Idioms in the Vulgate Greek Testament.

Καλως ποιειτε τους μισουντας υμας. *Matth. v. 44.*¹⁶⁴

Benefacite his qui oderunt vos. Vulg.

Εν ταυταις ταις δυσιν εντολαις ολος ο Νομος και οι Προφηται κερμανται. *Matth. xxii. 40.*¹⁶⁵

In his duobus mandatis universa Lex pendet et Prophetæ. Vulg.

Ικανον ποιησαι τη οχλω. *Mark xv. 15.*¹⁶⁶

Populo satisfacere. Vulg.

Δος εργασιαν. *Luke xii. 58.*¹⁶⁷

Da operam! Vulg.

Κομψοτερον εσχε. *John iv. 52.*¹⁶⁸

Melius habuerit. Vulg.

¹⁶³ See *supra*, p. 197.

¹⁶⁴ "καλως ποιειν, quæ apud Græcos quidem significat recte et honeste agere, sed in N. T. fere semper bene facere." Schleusner ΚΑΛΩΣ.

¹⁶⁵ Casaubon asserted this expression "merum esse Latinismum." And Grotius also *in loc.* says: "Assentio existimantibus Latinam esse locutionem, quales in his libris satis multæ sunt." p. 376.

¹⁶⁶ "Satisfacere, Græce: το ικανον ποιειν, quod verbum ex Romano sermone hic esse traductum in Græcum, eruditi norunt." Harduin. *Comment.* p. 142. Michaelis, vol. i. p. 165.

¹⁶⁷ See Schleusner ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ No. 4. Grotius *in loc.* p. 738. "Da operam (says Harduin) Græce δος εργασιαν. Qui purus putusque Latinismus est, ut alii jam adnotarunt. At non hæc dumtaxat locutio, verum etiam totus liber non hominis Græce periti se fetum esse clamat; sed ex primigenia ac perbona oratione Latina pessime interpretantis in Græcum." *Comment.* p. 201.

¹⁶⁸ "In quibusdam (says Glass) Latinus sermo, Græco ex asserenspondet. *Marc. vi. 55, κακως εχειν male habere, seu ægrotare. Joh. iv. 51, κομψοτερον εχειν melius habere, seu convalescere.*" *Phil. Sacr.* p. 442. I

Φωνησον τον ανδρα σου. *John* iv. 16.¹⁶⁹

Voca virum tuum. Vulg.

Πηγη υδατος αλλομενου. *John* iv. 14.¹⁷⁰

Fons aquæ salientis.

Οδον ποιειν. *Mark* ii. 23.¹⁷¹

Progredi. Vulg. *iter facere.*

Εν τω ονοματι τουτω. 1 *Peter* iv. 17.¹⁷²

In isto nomine. Vulg.

Λαβοντες το ικανον. *Acts* xvii. 9.¹⁷³

Accepta satisfactione. Vulg.

Ποισαντες δε χρονον. *Acts* xv. 33.¹⁷⁴

Facto tempore. Vulg.

have given this phrase for the sake of Hardouin's note. "*In qua melius habuerit.* Græce: κομψοτερον, quod est magis venuste, magis scite, magis argute." *Comment.* p. 269. We find, *Mark* xvi. 18, καλως εξυσιν *bene habebunt*; and as καλως means also *elegantly*, the translator of John has used the semi-synonyme κομψοτερον.

¹⁶⁹ "*Voca virum tuum*, Græce Φωνησον τον ανδρα σου, imperite et barbære, non Græce dictum. Est enim φωνει clamo, inclamo; ut cum quis a latronibus appetitus, amicos, hoc est amicorum opem inclamat. At hic vocare, accersere est προσκαλεισθαι." *Hard. Comment.* p. 267. See also Salmas. *Hellenist.* p. 141. *supra*, p. 108.

¹⁷⁰ Schleusner ἈΛΛΟΜΑΙ No. 3. Even Georgii himself seems forced to give up this phrase, "Professi sumus nos ipsam vocem ἀλλεσθαι τῷ ὕδατι adjectam nondum observasse, absit tamen, ut ideo *Latinissimum* hic admittamus, et Spiritum S. vitii atque criminis cujusdam accusamus." *Hierocrit.* P. II. p. 139.

¹⁷¹ See Schleusner ὈΔΟΣ No. 2.

¹⁷² This is the reading in the best MSS. and versions, and is merely the Latin *eo nomine*—Let him glorify God on this very account. As, however, ονοματι was unintelligible to a Greek, it has been changed to μισει.

¹⁷³ Λαβοντες το ικανον—"Grotius hic illic vere observavit, Lucam phrasibus sæpe usum *Latinis*. Talis, etiam, hæc est λαβειν το ικανον *satisfactionem accipere*." Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 545.

¹⁷⁴ "Ποιειν χρονον, pro διατελειν insolens esse Græcis disertioribus Casaub. monuit. Observata Raphaelii e Polybio phrasin firmantis, non illa sane Casauboni sententiam evertunt, ne illud quidem quod Elsner. ostendit Demosthenem semel dixisse ποιειν χρονον, manet enim semper verum, phrasin esse Græcis elegantioribus insolentem quæ frequentatur

It were easy for me to collect together a great number of other phrases, which have been pointed out as *Latinisms* by philologists and commentators. Those, however, now and formerly given, may suffice; and, when joined to the many classes of words which have been presented to the reader, seem to warrant, if I do not err, the inference that our Vulgate Greek Testament is a version from the Latin. There are various other phenomena which point, perhaps, no less forcibly to the same conclusion. Of these I shall here specify a few; reserving the others till we come, as we shall afterwards do, to examine the different recensions of the Greek New Testament.

In translating literally from one language to another, there is a risk of sometimes retaining the original gender, when it ought to be varied in the version. This, in the ancient languages, was particularly frequent in the case of the relative

in Libris Sacris." Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 530. Casaubon says: "Ποιεῖν pro διατρέχειν...ut insolens et inauditum Græcis disertioribus loquendi genus, ita apud recentiores scriptores, quorum oratio λατνίζει sæpe magis, quam ἑλληνίζει passim occurrit....non dubium sit, Græcos hac in phrasi Latinos esse imitatos." *Com. Act.* xv. 33. Sturz, as usual, tells us that "ποιεῖν ubi ad tempus refertur, et pro διατρέχειν dicitur, novam hanc potestatem accepisse per linguam Macedonicam videtur." *De Dialect. Mac. et Ale.* p. 189. He makes some remarks on the passage of Demosthenes; and upon such single passages in classical writers, I would refer the reader to what was formerly said, p. 122. 212, 213. Many more Greek than Latin Classics have descended to us; and if a word or phrase frequentatur in Latin authors, and our Greek Scriptures, which is so rare in Greek that such scholars as Grotius and Casaubon denied its existence, the discovery of a single instance of it, by some index-maker, in a Greek classic, will not affect the question; and will merely render it probable that the MS. of that classic has been inaccurately transcribed.

Ποισα facio, in the sense of *dego, commoror*, occurs often in the New Testament. See Schleusner ΠΟΙΕΩ No. 44. Cic. *ad Atticum*, v. 20. "Apameæ quinque dies morati.....Iconii decem fecimus." It is often used in sepulchral inscriptions, as CONJUGI CARISSIMÆ CUM QUA FECIT ANNOS VIII.

and antecedent, which being sometimes placed at a little distance from each other, a literal translator (losing the connexion while he translates the intervening word or words) retains the *gender* of the relative as it exists in the copy from which he translates, instead of making it agree with its antecedent in his own translation. For example, in the Latin Vercelli MS. published by Bianchini, we find, *Matt.* xxv. 41, *in IGNEM æternum QUOD paravit Pater meus Diabolo*: which is plainly a version of the reading in the *Codex Beza*, εἰς ΤΟ ΠΥΡ το αἰωνιον, 'O &c. but in which the translator from carelessness has committed a solecism by making the Latin *ignis* neuter like the Greek *πυρ*, or rather perhaps has merely translated 'O, *quod*, without adverting to its antecedent. In like manner in *Codd. Briz. Verc. Veron.* we find, *Matt.* xxiv. 15, *ABOMINATIONEM desolationis QUOD dictum*, &c. in conformity with the original ΤΟ ΒΛΕΑΤΤΜΑ...ΤΟ 'ΡΗΘΕΝ &c. Mill, speaking of the translator of Matthew in the old *Italic*, says that, not contented with rendering word for word, he often, in contradiction to the rules of grammar, transfers to his Latin version the cases, genders, tenses, numbers, and syntax of the Greek. Among his examples he gives *Matt.* xiii. 20: *VERBUM [τον λογον] audit et continuo cum gaudio accipit EUM [αυτον]*. xx. 22: *CALICEM bibere QUOD ego [ὁ εγω]* &c.¹⁷⁵ Wetstein, treating of the Greek and Latin texts of the famous Cambridge MS. or *Codex Beza*, says: "*Sed quid quod nec Latina saniora sunt? 'CALICEM QUOD'—'SANGUIS QUOD effunditur'—'AGRUM QUOD dedit,'*" &c. [*N. T.* vol. i. p. 30.] We have, conversely, similar examples in the Greek text of the *Codex Beza*; and which seem equally decisive that the Greek text of that MS. is a version from the Latin. In this venerable MS. we read, *Matt.* iii. 16, εἰς ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ του Θεου ΚΑΤΑΒΑΙΝΟΝΤΑ, which is merely a translation of the Latin *Spiritus Dei descendentem*, in which the Greek Πνευμα is unhappily made masculine like the Latin *Spiritus*. This is the only plausible account which has been given of

¹⁷⁵ Mill, *Proleg.* No. 514.

the matter ¹⁷⁶. ¹Even in our present corrected Greek Vulgate we have, *John* xv. 26, (το πνευμα) *SPIRITUS Veritatis, qui a Patre procedit, (ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ) ILLE testimonium perhibebit de me.* The same solecism occurs at *John* xvi. 13, 14: 'Όταν δε ελθῇ *ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ*, το Πνευμα της Αληθειας &c. Nor do such solecisms (I may remark by the way) remain a dead letter in the hands of theologians. The Rev. Reginald Heber, a man of learning and genius, proving in one of his *Bampton Lectures* the personality of the Holy Spirit, remarks that our Saviour "speaks it will be found of HIM, not of IT—of a Person, not of a Thing or inanimate substance. *I will send*, are his words . . . HIM unto you . . . πεμψω ΑΤΤΟΝ προς υμας, και ελθων *ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ* (does our Lord proceed, with an accuracy of expression of which the slightest knowledge of Greek is sufficient to make us sensible) ελθων *ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ* ελεγξει τον κοσμον' *when HE cometh HE will reprove the world.* But more than all (continues Mr. Heber) in a sentence almost immediately following . . . we find again the *masculine* pronoun employed, though coupled with a *neuter* substantive. The words which are rendered in our translation *when the Spirit of Truth shall come*, are in the original, όταν δε ελθῇ *ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ*, το πνευμα της αληθειας—*ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ* ¹⁷⁷!" Now without disputing the personality of the Holy Spirit, which I believe as firmly as Mr. Heber, I would remark that the solecism *ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ το πνευμα* could never have been employed by our Saviour. In speaking to his Apostles of the Holy Spirit, our Lord must have constantly made use of the *Feminine Pronoun SHE and HER*, as the Hebrew word *רוח*, which signifies *Spirit*, is *Feminine*. We are told both by Origen and Jerome, that our Lord in

¹⁷⁶ The reader may find some conjectures on this subject in Michaelis, vol. i. p. 291; ii. 229; iii. 683. "Nostra vero sententia (says Wetstein) quia apud Latinos, ad quorum Codices illa lectio refecta est, *Spiritus* est Generis Masculini." *N. T.* vol. i. p. 268. We find in fact, in the same MS. *Mark* i. 26, το πνευμα το ακαθαρτον σπαρταξας αυτον και κραξας &c. instead of σπαρταξαν and κραξαν.

¹⁷⁷ Heber, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 49. Lond. 1818.

the Gospel of the Nazarenes named the Holy Spirit *his Mother*; and, universally, this being was considered as a Female among the Jews, and all the sects who spoke the Aramean dialects¹⁷⁹. In translating, therefore, the words of our Saviour (for it seems constantly to be forgotten that in every view of the case we have merely a version of his words¹⁷⁹), was it likely that the Apostles, if they chose to commit a solecism in order to signify the personality of the Holy Spirit, would have adopted *καεινος* a Masculine, instead of *εκεινη* a Feminine word? If they made use of a solecism for this purpose, it is likely that it would have been such an one as that of the honest priest mentioned by Henry Stephens, who baptised in the name of the SPIRITUA SANCTA¹⁸⁰. To the Apostles the use of the word *HE*, in speaking of the Holy Spirit, must have sounded equally strange as *SHE* would do to us: and this may be adduced as another proof of the cir-

¹⁷⁸ " Spiritum Sanctum, qui apud Hebræos genere dicitur fœminino." Hieron. *Com. in Mic.* vii. 6. " Sed et in Evangelio, quod juxta Hebræos Scriptum Nazaræi lectitant, Dominus loquitur *Modo me tulit mater mea Spiritus Sanctus.*" *Com. in Jes.* xi. 11. *Ενθα αὐτος ὁ Σαττηρ Φησιν, Ἀεὶ ἐλάττω με ἡ μητὴρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.* Origen. tom. 2. *Com. in Joan.* See J. Jones *on the Canon*, vol. i. pp. 333. 346. Epiphanius informs us that the Elxaites and Sampseans, a kind of Jewish-Arabic sect, called the Holy Ghost the *sister* of Christ, making it *a woman*: *Καὶ εἶναι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ θηλυκῇ σχηματὶ ὑπαρχούσαν.* *Hæres.* t. i. p. 462. And the same Father tells us that Simon the Samaritan gave out that his mistress was the Holy Spirit: *τὴν δὲ συζυγον πορνεῖαν πνεῦμα ἅγιον εἶναι τετολμῆκε λέγειν.* *Ibid.* p. 56. C. Eutychius tells us that at the Council of Nice there were Eastern bishops, who affirmed " Christum et Matrem ejus duos esse Deos præter summum Deum." These were persons who confounded Mary with the Holy Ghost. See Beausobre, *Hist. Crit. de Manichéè*, vol. i. p. 532. Heber, *Bampton Lect.* p. 176, 177.

¹⁷⁹ See *supra*, p. 11.

¹⁸⁰ See *Apologie pour Herodote*, cap. 29. p. 405. (d t. 1580.)

Since writing the above, I have met in the *Iter Italicum* of Mabillon, with an inscription, half-Pagan half-Christian, of great antiquity, in which we have the phrase *CUM SPIRITA SANCTA*. which seems an attempt to bend, at the expense of a solecism, the Latin language to the Oriental notion concerning the Holy Spirit. *Mus. Ital.* vol. i. p. 73. 4to. Paris 1687.

cumstance formerly mentioned [p. 224], that the chief *roces signatæ* of our religion seem to have been modified by the Latin. As a confirmation of the above I may remark, that the word *πνευμα* being neuter, the early Greek Fathers selected a female term—that of *Σοφία* or *Wisdom*—which in the circumstances of the case, and in conformity with the Jewish personification of the Holy Spirit, seemed most appropriate to that *female* Divinity. “Hath Dr. Priestley (says Bishop Horsely) written a History of the Corruptions of Christianity, and hath he yet to learn that in the language of Theophilus, and of the best writers of his age, the *Word* and the *Wisdom* (*ΛΟΓΟΣ* and *ΣΟΦΙΑ*) are used as proper names of the second and third persons of the Trinity? If his own reading in those early Fathers hath been so confined, that not one of the clear unequivocal instances that occur in Theophilus himself, in Origen, in Tatian, and Irenæus, hath ever fallen under his own proper observation, he might have been informed of this peculiarity of their style, from the notes which accompany the text of Theophilus in Bishop Fell’s edition printed at Oxford in 1684. . . Theophilus’s assertion, that God spake to no other person than his *Word* and his *Wisdom*, is an assertion that he spake to persons of no less dignity than the Son and the *Holy Ghost*¹⁸¹.”

It appears, if I mistake not, from the above remarks, that it is not probable that our Lord would use the words *HE* and *HIM* in speaking of the Holy Spirit; neither, if the Apo-

¹⁸¹ Horsely’s *Tracts*, &c. p. 54. Dundee 1812. It seems to have excited some surprise, and even mirth, when the Holy Spirit or *Sophia* was first spoken of as Masculine. Irenæus, speaking of the Valentinians, says: “Hanc autem matrem...vocant et *Sophiam*....et *Spiritum Sanctum* et dominum masculiniter.” *Adv. Hær.* lib. i. c. 1. And Tertullian thus jests in speaking of the same persons: “Interim tenendum, *Sophiam* cognominari et...*Matrem*...et quod magis rideas, etiam *Spiritum Sanctum*. Ita omnem illi honorem contulerunt *feminæ*, puto et...*barbam*, ne dixerim cetera.” Tertull. *adv. Valentinianos*, cap. 21. p. 258. D. edit. Paris. 1675.

stles wrote immediately in Greek, would they have used *masculine* but *feminine* words in treating of that Being. The *αχεινος*, therefore, of our Vulgate Greek text of John (from which Mr. Heber would deduce such consequences), is merely a solecism caused by the Latin *Spiritus*, like the *καταβαινονΤΑ* and *καταξασ* of the *Codex Beza*. Is it in fact more remarkable that a solecism of this kind should occur in our Vulgate Greek text (derived as is well known from few and modern MSS.), than in a Codex which is generally considered as the most venerable in point of antiquity of any now extant? And here I may remark in passing, what will be afterwards more fully stated, that it seems to form no slight presumption of the Latin origin of our Greek Vulgate, that the more ancient a MS. is, in that proportion does it betray its affinity with the Latin. The word *Λιμος*, for example¹⁸³, has been in some places rendered Masculine instead of Feminine (as it originally stood) by the editors of the New Testament. It is true that in the Doric dialect *λιμος* was Feminine; but the reason why it was thus employed in the New Testament, seems to have been from sympathy or conformity with the Latin original *fames*. A variety of similar corrections seem to have been made in our Vulgate Greek text; yet, in spite of all this, many solecisms still exist which seem to me inexplicable, except on the hypothesis that it is a version from the Latin. Of these solecisms in point of *Gender*, which seem to be occasioned by conformity or sympathy with the Latin text, I shall here specify a few, and shall then proceed to mention others in case, number, tense, and syntax.

¹⁸³ *Luc.* iv. 25; xv. 14: *εγενετο λιμος ισχυρος*.—"Ita quidem habent libri impressi (says Schleusner), sed rectius ut jam bene judicavit Valckenaer in *Specim. Annotatt. Critt. in locos quosdam N. T.* p. 383. *scq.* in *Codd.* nonnullis legitur *λιμος ισχυρα*... Idem valet de loco *Act.* xi. 28, ubi loco impressi *λιμον μεγαν* reponendum erit *λιμον μεγαλην*." *Lexic. ΔΙΜΟΣ*.

No. VIII.

Solecisms in point of Gender.

το πνευμα . . . εκείνος. *John* xvi. 13.¹⁸³

Spiritus . . . Ille.

την κεφαλὴν, ἐξ οὗ. *Coloss.* ii. 19.

Caput ex quo. *Vulg.*

τεκνία μου, οὓς παλιν &c. *Galat.* iv. 19. 2 *John* i.

Filioli mei, quos. *Vulg.*

περὶ τοῦ τέκνου, ὃν &c. *Philemon* 10.

Pro filio, quem genui &c. *Vulg.*

τας ἀρχας . . . αὐτοὺς, &c. *Coloss.* ii. 15.

Principatus . . . illos. *Vulg.*

πάντα τὰ ἔθνη . . . αὐτοὺς. *Matth.* xxviii. 19.

Omnes populos . . . eos.

πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ' οὓς. *Acts* xv. 17.

Omnes populos, super quos.

παρὰ τὸν Ἀβελ. *Heb.* xii. 24.¹⁸⁴

Præ Abelis sanguine.

¹⁸³ *Supra*, p. 273. We find in like manner, at 1 *John* v. 8, ΤΡΕΙΣ εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυρῶντες, το πνευμα &c. instead of τρεῖς εἰσιν &c. a verse which re-translated into Latin becomes grammatically correct. Hardouin makes the following remarks on this text: "*Et tres sunt non tria dixit. Unde etiam verisimile fit, scripsisse Joannem ista Latine: quo in idiomate cum sint Spiritus et Sanguis generis masculini, licuit ei masculino genere numerum exprimere quem efficiunt, etiam cum aqua, quæ feminei est... Nam si Græce tantum Apostolus scriberet; cum sint et πνευμα spiritus, et ὕδωρ aqua, et αἷμα sanguis neutrius generis, non tres sive τρεῖς, sed tria sive τρία diceret... ex hac autem observatione intelligimus, id quod ex aliis locis pariter deprehendimus, editionem Latinam hujus epistolæ esse primigeniam, ab ipsomet Joanne Apostolo mira diligentia et accurate conscriptam, non item Græcam, qualis nunc est... Latina, prout ea legimus, verba scripserit ipse [Joannes] manu sua, vel ore dictaverit, vel ab amanuensi certe translata ipse probaverit."* *Hard. Comment.* p. 804. This passage forms part of a Dissertation in which Hardouin attempts to prove the genuineness of the verse concerning the three heavenly witnesses.

¹⁸⁴ παρὰ ΤΟΝ Ἀβελ.—"Una litera demenda est (says Valckenaer scribendumque παρὰ ΤΟ Ἀβελ, ut referatur ad αἷμα... præ Abelis san-

Ἰκανον ἡ ἐπιτιμία. 2 Cor. ii. 6.

Sufficiens objurgatio hæc.

With this last text, which will form a convenient transition to our next class of solecisms, I shall conclude the present list. Wetstein has the following remark on the Velesian readings, which are now universally acknowledged to be Greek translations, and sometimes unhappy ones, of the Latin text. "Another proof (says he) that the Velesian readings flowed from Latin Codices, is that many of them obviously betray an origin from words of the Latin version which are ambiguous and were misunderstood. *Matt.* xxv. 1 : εἰς ἀπαντήσιν τοῦ νυμφίου καὶ τῇ νυμφῇ—because *sponsæ* may be either of the genitive or dative case. *Rom.* viii. 23 : οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐκεῖνα,—because *illa* may be either the fem. nom. singular, or neuter plural. *Heb.* xi. 25 : προσκαιρος, because *temporalis* is both of the nom. and genit. case¹⁸⁵."

Of such phenomena, arising apparently from ambiguity in the Latin text, we have many examples in our Vulgate Greek Testament. Thus, for example, instead of the *fidelis* of the Latin text, 1 *Tim.* v. 16, we find εἰ τις πιστος ἡ πιστὴ ἐχέει χηρὰς, because *fidelis* is both masculine and feminine. A. C. F. G. &c. leave out πιστος ἡ, whereas it is πιστος and not πιστὴ that ought to be retained¹⁸⁶. In *Acts* x. 37, instead of ἀγξάμενον we have ἀγξάμενος in A. C. D. E. arising, as Wetstein remarks [vol. i. 14.] *ex ambiguitate vocis Latinæ INCIPIENS*. In like manner in the very difficult text about purging all meats, *Mark* vii. 19, a great number of the MSS. in capitals read καθαρίζων (and it seems to me rightly), instead of καθαρίζον in the neuter; which diversity of readings seems to

guine." *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 592. The Latin *sanguis*, which is Masc., had attracted or affected the article. "I much prefer τὸν to το, the var. reading," says Middleton (*Greek Article*, p. 608); and Griesbach has retained τὸν.

¹⁸⁵ Wetstein, *N. Test. Proleg.* vol. i. p. 60.

¹⁸⁶ See Griesbach, *N. T. in loc.* I make use of Griesbach's alphabetical designation, &c. of the different *Codices* of the *N. T.*

have arisen from the ambiguity of the Latin *PURGANS*¹⁸⁷. It were easy for me to accumulate other examples of the same kind; and it forms no slight presumption of the Latin origin of our Greek MSS. of the New Testament, that whenever there is an ambiguity in the Latin text, there is to be found a diversity of reading, and often a solecism in consequence of it. Of such solecisms in point of *gender* I have given instances above; and I shall now proceed to mention some which relate to *case* and *number*. These in fact, at least such as have arisen from ambiguity of case, are so numerous, that it is wonderful that they have not long ere now excited general suspicion¹⁸⁸. I shall first set down the Latin word, and then the diversity of version, or, as often happens, the solecism which seems to have been occasioned by its ambiguity.

No. IX.

Solecisms and Diversities of Version from Sameness of two different Cases in Latin.

1.

PUELLA! surge! [*Nomin. and Voc. Sing.*]

ἡ παῖς, ἐγείρου¹⁸⁹. *Luke* viii. 54.

Ave REX! Judæorum! *Mark* xv. 18.

χαῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς. A. C. E. F. G. H. K.

¹⁸⁷ It appears to me that there ought to be a period at *ἐκπορεύεται*, and that the next sentence ought to begin *Καθαρίζων* &c. *Purging also* [or announcing pure] *all meats, he said* &c.

¹⁸⁸ For example, we find the following passage in *Bauer's Philologia Thucydideo-Paullina*, p. 49: "Dativus ponitur pro Genitivo, *Rom.* v. 2; δὲ ἡ καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχηκαμεν *ΤΗ, ΠΙΣΤΕΙ* pro *τῆς πίστεως*... *1 Cor.* x. 30, εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ *ΧΑΡΙΤΙ* μετέχω, pro *χαρίτος*." Now surely the most natural way of accounting for such phenomena is to suppose that *FIDEI* and *GRATIAE* have been by the Greek translator supposed to be in the Dative instead of the Genitive case.

¹⁸⁹ "In *Evang. Luc.* viii. 54, *Surge, puella!* Græce dicitur ἡ παῖς, ἐγείρου pro ὡ παῖ." Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 397. We have *Apoc.* xv. 3, *Κυρία ὁ θεός. Ἀἰεὶ ὁ πατήρ, Mark* xiv. 36; where Mr. Middleton says, (*Gr. Art.* p. 283), ὁ πατήρ "must be taken for a Vocative case."

χαίρει Βασιλεὺς. D. 2.

— Βασιλεὺς, Gr. Vulg. See *Matt.* xxvii. 29.

DEUS! propitius esto.

ὁ Θεός, ἰλασθητί. *Luke* xviii. 13.

2.

Continet SCRIPTURA. [*Nomin. and Abl. Sing.*]

περιέχει ἐν τῇ γραφῇ¹⁹⁰. 1 *Pet.* ii. 6.

Dicit enim SCRIPTURÁ Pharaoni.

λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή τῷ Φαραῶ. *Rom.* ix. 17.

3.

Sacerdotes, et MAGISTRATUS Templi, &c. [*Nom. S. & Pl.*]

ὁ Στρατηγός τοῦ Ἰερου¹⁹¹. *Acts* iv. 1.

Non profuit illis sermo AUDITUS. [*Nom. S. and Gen. S.*]

ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς¹⁹². *Heb.* iv. 2.

¹⁹⁰ "*Continet Scriptura* (says Hardouin) Græce περιέχει ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, *continet in Scriptura*. Quis porro continet? hinc oratio est," *Comment.* p. 693. The translator seems to me to have confounded the Nominative and Ablative; and had supposed that *Scriptura* was in the latter instead of the former case. In the next example the converse has happened, and *Scripturá* had been supposed to be in the Nominative, whereas it is really in the Ablative.

¹⁹¹ ὁ Στρατηγός τοῦ Ἰερου "It may be asked (says Mr. Middleton) why this person is here and below, v. 24, spoken of in the singular number, and as if there were only one, when we find that in *Luke* xxii. 4 and 52, there were several such στρατηγοί. The most probable opinion is that of Lightfoot." &c. &c. *On the Greek Article*, p. 388. The most probable opinion is, that the translator of the *Book of Acts* had mistaken *magistratus* in the nom. plural for *magistratus* in the nom. sing. and translated accordingly. Many have been the discussions [see Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 384; and Schleusner ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ] on the ὁ στρατηγός τοῦ Ἰερου and Lightfoot, it seems, supposes him "to be the same with the *Man of the Mountain of the House* mentioned in the Talmud." Middleton, *ut sup.* It would have been just as much to the purpose to have supposed him the *Man in the Moon*.

¹⁹² In this phrase *non profuit illis sermo AUDITUS*, the word *auditus*, instead of being considered as the participle, has been mistaken by the translator for the genitive of the substantive *auditus*, and translated ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς.

Et cum produxerit FRUCTUS. [Nom. S. and Acc. Pl.]

Ὅταν δε παραδῷ ὁ καρπὸς¹⁹³. *Mark* iv. 29.

FIDEI. [Gen. and Dat. S.]

τῇ πιστεῖ pro τῆς πίστεως. *Rom.* v. 2. *supra* p. 279.

GRATIÆ.

χαρίτι μετεχῶ pro χάριτος. *1 Cor.* x. 30. *supra* p. 279.

It seems unnecessary, after the examples now given, to go on to the other cases with the formality of a table; since it may be remarked in general, that phenomena similar to those in the above list occur in most cases where the Latin text had an appearance of ambiguity. We find for example, *Matth.* xv. 32, and *Mark* viii. 2, one half of the MSS. read *ἡμερῶν τρεῖς* in the *Nomin.* and the other half *ἡμέρας τρεῖς* in the *Accusat.*, because *tres dies* are either one or other. In *Mark* i. 16. some MSS. read *ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ*, and others *εἰς τὴν θαλάσσαν*, because *in mare* may be either in the *Accusative* or *Ablative*. Grotius remarks, that the Hebrews writing Greek use *τι* and *ὁ* promiscuously. In other words, both are a version of the Latin *quod*; and, in like manner, the prepositions

¹⁹³ We find in the Vulgate, *et cum produxerit FRUCTUS*, which renders it probable that the translator of our Greek Vulgate had supposed that the word *fructus* was in the *nomin. sing.* instead of the *acc. plural*, and that hence his *ὁ καρπὸς*, which has puzzled philologists. We find, *cum fructum ediderit*, Cod. Veron. *cum fructum fecit*...Vercell. *cum produxerit fructum*. Brix.; all of them making *terra* the *nomin.*, though differing in other respects. Hardouin has the following remark on this passage, v. 29: "*Et cum produxerit fructus*; Græce, ὅταν δε παραδῷ ὁ καρπὸς, *cum vero prodiderit se fructus*: ita ut *fructus* sit in *nominativo casu*: ne *terra* scilicet, hoc est, ne liberum hominis arbitrium, existimetur *fructum boni operis* producere." *Comment.* p. 115. It is thus that Hardouin always assigns some mystical and fraudulent purpose for phenomena easy to be explained on critical principles [*sup.* p. 195]; and thus renders his acutest remarks in some measure ridiculous, by their admixture with absurdity.

I may add here, that on the next clause of this verse, *Ἀποστέλλει τοὺς δρεπανοὺς*, Grotius remarks, "*Inmittere falcem* dicunt Latini."

εις and εν are a hundred times confounded in the New Testament; and for this obvious reason, that both are versions of the Latin *in*¹⁹⁴. In Griesbach's celebrated Codex L, than which, as he tells us, no MS. harmonizes in a greater degree with the readings of Origen, we find βαλλοντες and καταρτιζοντες in place of the Accusatives βαλλοντας and καταρτιζοντας¹⁹⁵. So also Acts iv. 5, where we have in the Latin Vulgate *Principes eorum et seniores*, and in the Vulg. Greek τους αρχοντας και πρεσβυτερους, we have in D or Cod. Bezae, οι αρχοντες και οι πρεσβυτεροι. These phenomena, to which we shall subsequently have occasion to revert, occur, as I have already remarked, most copiously in the most ancient MSS. of the New Testament; and all seem to lead back to a Latin origin, which was rendered less Latian in proportion as it was modernized. Michaelis [vol. ii. p. 246] describing the very ancient Cod. Clarmont. says "*Heb. xi. 35*—it has in conjunction with the Cod. Alex. ελαβον γυναικας, which is undoubtedly a false reading, because the following words

¹⁹⁴ "Hebraei Græce scribentes particulas τι et ο promiscue usurpant." Grotius in *Marc.* xiv. 36. "Præpositiones εις et εν frequentissime permutantur in his certe libris." Valckenaer, *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 61.

¹⁹⁵ *Matt.* iv. 18 et 21, legitur βαλλοντες et καταρτιζοντες, loco accusativorum βαλλοντας et καταρτιζοντας, ut apud Latinos accusativi plurales tertiæ declinationis terminantur in es." Griesbach, *Symbolæ Criticæ*, vol. i. p. cv. Tertullian quotes *Daniel* ix. 27 thus: *Et confirmabit testamentum multis Hebdomadâ unâ, et dimidiâ hebdomadis auferetur meum sacrificium.* The Greek of Clemens Alex. instead of *Hebdomadâ unâ et dimidiâ Hebdomadis*, is εβδομας μια, και ημισειτης εβδομαδος, in the *Nom.* while in Theodotion (our common LXX copy) it is εβδομας μια, και εν τη ημισει της εβδομαδος, with the former in the nominative, and the latter rightly in the ablative. See Usher, *Synlogma*, p. 66. In speaking of Daniel, I may observe that Valckenaer has an odd remark on συμφωνιας (*Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 229) "*concentus cantorum in choro* (says he) sic vulgo dicebatur. Illud vero mirum est, ætate jam Danielis, vocem istam Græcam in Chaldaicam linguam fuisse receptam. Reperitur certe in libro Danielis plus semel literis Hebraicis scripta." See *Dan.* iii. 5, 10, 15. In the same verses, 5, 7, 10, 15, we read also the Greek κιθαρα in Hebrew characters. See Casaubon, *Exercitt.* p. 353.

τους νεκρους αυτων are left without meaning.” We have then a tirade about the Syriac, which throws no light upon the subject. The fact seems to be, that as the original was *Mulieres*, the writers of the above codices had supposed that this word was used in the Accusative instead of the Nominative case, and hence their *γυναικας* instead of *γυναικες*. We have seen examples of the like kind above, and some of them still infest our Greek Vulgate¹⁰⁶.

The same diversity of version which occurs in the Greek text of the New Testament whenever the case of the noun had seemed ambiguous, is also to be met with when the tense of the verb had appeared dubious. For example, we are told, *Jude* 14, that Enoch prophesied, saying, *Behold the Lord COMETH with ten thousand of his saints*. This is in the Latin Vulgate *Ecce VENIT Dominus &c.*; but in the Greek Vulgate, quite improperly, *ιδου ΗΘΕ ουριος*, *Behold the Lord HATH COME*. Now to what are we to attribute this improper reading, but to the circumstance that *venit* is both in the present and preterite tense, and has been considered by the translator as in the latter instead of the former of these tenses?

In the first of the Letters attributed to Queen Mary Stuart, we have in the Scottish translation of the lost original “I refusit to subscribe the same.” In the English version it is thus given, “I refused to have him let blood.” ‘The English translator (says Mr. Laing) not perceiving the reference, mistook *signer* for *saigner*, and from a passage in the next letter, converted the Queen’s refusal to *sign* the warrant, into a refusal to have him *let blood*. The difference not only demon-

¹⁰⁶ For example, *Luke* xxiv. 34. The *Cod. Beza* is the only MS. which reads, and rightly, *λεγοντες*; all other MSS. have *λεγοντας*. The Latin Vulgate is *dicentes*. At *Mark* i. 27, we find in our Vulgate *λεγοντας*, while A. C. &c. have *λεγοντες*, improperly. Such diversities I can only account for from the circumstance, that as *dicentes* is both nom. and accus. plural, it has by one translator or transcriber been taken in the former, and by another in the latter sense.

strates that the English is not derived from the Scotch, but that the two versions are both derived from a French original¹⁹⁷.

This mode of reasoning is quite legitimate; and it is one of the main proofs of the Latin origin of the Velesian readings mentioned above [p. 278.], that *errata* are to be found in them which can only be attributed to this circumstance. "They have even manifest *errata* (says Michaelis, speaking of the Velesian readings, vol. ii. p. 352,) which can be ascribed only to the Latin: for instance, *Luke* x. 30, ἀναβλεπων, instead of ὑπολαβων the reading of all other Greek MSS. Here it is evident that *suscipiens*, the reading of the Vulgate, had been falsely written in some Latin MS. *suspiciens*; and that some person who corrected the Greek from the Latin altered, in consequence of this erratum, ὑπολαβων το ἀναβλεπων. In the collection of Velesian readings alone we find πολιν for οικουμένην, *Acts* xvii. 6; which again must be ascribed to the Latin. The old Latin MSS. had in general *orbem terrarum*, several *orbem* alone, which in the modern Vulgate has been falsely written *urbem*; and hence arose the Velesian reading πολιν¹⁹⁸."

Wetstein has furnished a list of such mistakes, or at least diversities in the Velesian readings, some of them sufficiently curious; and he justly adduces these phenomena as a proof of their being of Latin origin¹⁹⁹. I have already (p. 252)

¹⁹⁷ Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 164.

¹⁹⁸ We find in Hardouin a most unfair note on *Acts* xvii. 6: *Hi qui URBEM [ORBEM] concitant, et huc venerunt*—"Qui urbem concitant, Græce την οικουμένην, orbem....Credas errorem librorum esse, qui in Latina editione urbem pro orbem scripserint. Non est ita. Urbem tantum scripsit Lucas: neque noverant Thessalonicensēs, quid in reliquo orbe Paulus et Silas gessissent!" *Comment.* p. 392. When a person is thus disposed, *per fas et nefas*, to defend an hypothesis, it is scarcely to be wondered at that even his legitimate arguments should fail to meet with attention. At the same time I may remark, that if such blunders as the above have intruded into the *Latin*, it is not wonderful that similar ones should be found in the *Greek Vulgate*.

¹⁹⁹ "Tertium argumentum. Ubi variatio in Latina Versione unius

furnished a list of words in which there seems reason to suspect that some oversight has been committed similar to those in some of the readings of the Marquis of Velez, and consequently leading to a like conclusion. There are indeed, it appears to me, in our Vulgate Greek Testament, a number of cases where it seems impossible to account for the diversity of readings, without referring back to a Latin original. For example: It is well known that in ancient MSS., when the same letter ended one word and began another, nothing was more common than to make this one letter do the office of both. Hence we find in the Septuagint, *2 Kings* xvii. 30, *την εγγηλ* instead of *την νεγγηλ*, and v. 31, *την εβλασερ* for *νεβλασερ*. "The text of *John* v. 22 (says Michaelis i. p. 274), is *ουδε γαρ ο πατης κρινει ουδενα, αλλα* &c. which is quoted by Cyprian, who, instead of *ουδενα, αλλα* has *ουδεν αλλα*, which gives a totally different sense to the whole passage." We find in the Vulgate *1 Cor.* xv. 52, in *ictu oculi*, which Beza

literulæ aberratione orta est, in Græco Velezii alia vox notatur, quæ a voce, quam habet textus Græcus, toto cælo abit, manifesto indicio, variationes non ex Græcis sed ex Latinis Codicibus descriptas ab ipso fuisse v. gr. * *

Apoc. xviii. 17, *επι τοπον* in *locum*] *επι λιμνης* in *lacum*.

— xix. 1, *η σωτηρια* *salus*] *ο αινος* *laus*.

— 6, *οχλυ* *turbæ*] *σαλπιγγος* *tubæ*.

— xxi. 12, *αγγελος* *angelos*] *γωνιας* *angulos*."

I content myself with the four last of Wetstein's specimens of the Velezian readings [vol. i. p. 60], and cannot help remarking that all the four seem to me better than the Vulgate Greek text. The 1st is evident—all who navigate *lake or sea*. 2. *Salus Deo nostro* is an odd phrase. 3. *Et audiui quasi vocem TURBÆ magnæ, et sicut vocem aquarum multarum, et sicut vocem tonitruorum magnorum, dicentium Alleluia!* &c. Here the author compares the shout to cataracts and thunders; and it is much more likely that he compared it also to a *trumpet* (a terrible instrument in the *Apocalypse*), than to say, among his comparisons, that the voice of the crowd was like the voice of a crowd. 4. *Habentem portas duodecim; et in portis ANGELOS duodecim, et nomina inscripta* &c. Here I cannot see what angels have to do; and the author seems evidently speaking of the architecture of the twelve gates—*ΑΝΟΥΛΟΣ* &c.

has rightly corrected (says Valckenaer, *Scholæ* ii. 335) into *in nictu oculi*. Now let us apply this to account for one or two diversities of reading in our Vulgate Greek Testament, and which thus will be seen to point back to a Latin origin. We find *Ephes.* vi. 9. the various reading of *παρά Θεῷ* and *παρ' αὐτῷ*. The former reading is among others that of the *Clariphont MS.* and we find in its Latin text *apud Deum* instead of *apud eum*, which is the reading in the Vulgate. Now it is obvious that the original of both Greek texts had been *APUDEUM*, and that this having been read by one translator *apud Deum* and by another *apud eum* had given rise to the two different Greek texts *παρά Θεῷ* and *παρ' αὐτῷ*²⁰⁰. In like manner the Jews say to the blind man who had been made to see by our Saviour (*John* ix. 17.), in the Latin Vulgate *Tu quid dicis de illo, qui aperuit oculos tuos?* This, in the Greek text, is *ὅτι ηνοιξε quia aperuit*, improperly as it seems to me; but the original had been *QUI APERUIT*, and the Greek translator had read *quia aperuit*. In like manner, it is said *Rom.* xi. 4., I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, *qui non curcaverunt genua ante Baal*. This had been written *GENUANTE*; and accordingly we find in the Greek Vulgate *το γονυ genu* in the singular; and it may be added that *TE* seems (by a kind of chime not uncommon) to have had an influence on the Greek text, for we find *γονυ ΤΗ βααλ* instead of *τῷ βααλ*, which latter is a Masculine word²⁰¹. It were easy for me to adduce various other examples of diversities of reading arising from this source. We find, for example, *1 Thess.* ii. 7, *ἐγενήθημεν ἡπιοι*, while other MSS. read *νηπιοι*,

²⁰⁰ Since this was written, I find an analogous remark by Jerome on *Galat.* v. 6. *Persuasio hac non est ex EO qui vocat vos.* In Latinis Codicibus ita scriptum reperi. . . *ex DEO* &c. quod quidem puto *ex EO* fuisse, et non intellectum paulatim ob similitudinem *ex DEO*, increbuisse pro eo quod est *ex EO*." Hieron. *Comm. in Galat.* v. At *1 John* iv. 21, instead of *απ' αὐτοῦ* we have *απο τοῦ Θεοῦ* in *Cod. Alex.* and *a Deo* in *Fulg.*

²⁰¹ The reference is to *1 Kings* xix. 18, *Yct I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the KNEES which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed HIM.* Hardouin also remarks as follows, "*Ante*

but here the change had taken place in the Greek text itself, while some of the phenomena above, as *παρὰ θεῶν* and *παρὰ αὐτῶν* necessarily imply a Latin one. We find *Luke vii. 12, Ecce defunctus efferebatur filius unicus matris suæ* or *MATRISUÆ*, and this in the Greek text is *υἱὸς μονογενῆς τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ*. I shall add one other example, of which Dr. Randolph says he cannot "make tolerable sense"²⁰²; and of which in fact no sense has hitherto been made. *That it might be fulfilled* (says *Matt. iv. 14, 15*) *which was spoken by Esaias the Prophet, saying, "Terra Zabulon, et terra Nephthalaïm, via maris trans Jordanem, Galilæa gentium, populus qui sedebat in tenebris vidit lucem magnam," &c. In thè 'land of Zabulon, and the lnd of Nephthalaïm, by the way of the Sea beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the Gentiles, the peöple which sat in darkness, &c.* Nothing can be more clear than the above passage, as given from the Latin Vulgate; but in Greek it seems shrouded in solecism and darkness—*τῇ ζαβουλων καὶ γῇ νεφθαλειμ, ὁδὸν θαλασσης, &c.* In the first place the translator seems to have taken the words *terra* and *Galilæa* as nominatives (*supra* p. 280.) instead of in the ablative case; and moreover he appears to have read *VIAMARIS* *viam maris* instead of *viâ maris*, and hence his solecism *ὁδὸν θαλασσης*²⁰³.

Baal. Græce τῇ βααλ. At est in Hebræo nomen masculini generis, et in ipso Græco τῷ βααλ, 3 Reg. xix. 18." *Comment.* p. 473. See *supra*, p. 229, the note on *εκτραματι*.

In a subsequent note I shall make some remarks on the mistakes which have arisen in decyphering MSS. which have been written continuously. In *such*, letters and syllables were frequently not repeated, so that *ACHILESTATIUS* might be either *Statius* or *Tatius*; *VIDISE* might be *vidisse* or *vidisse se*, or *vidi se*, or *vidis se*; *SEDICO* might be *sed dico*, *sed edico*, *se dico* &c. At *Acts xviii. 7*, *ONOMATHIOΥΣΤΟΥ* is read in different MSS. *ονοματι Ιουστου—ονοματι τιτου Ιουστου—ονοματι τιτιου Ιουστου.*

²⁰² *The Prophecies and other Texts cited in the N. T. compared with the Heb. Original, and with the Sept. Version.* p. 28.

²⁰³ The practice of writing continuously, or without interval of words, and also a parsimony of letters, and double syllables, has occasioned innumerable errors in decyphering MSS. As a specimen of this parsi-

Various phenomena, indeed, in our most venerated MSS., and in our Vulgate Greek text (derived as has been remarked from few and modern MSS.) seem only explicable on the hypothesis of a version from the Latin. At *Matt. xxv. 14.*, we are told by our Saviour that the kingdom of heaven is as a man travelling into a far country, who called his servants, *et tradidit illis BONA SUA*. In our Vulgate text this is rightly *τα ὑπαρχοντα αὐτοῦ* but in the *Alex. MS.* owing to the ambiguity of the word *SUA*, we find *τα ὑπαρχοντα αὐτῶν*. At *Acts i. 25*, we are told that Judas *by transgression fell, that*

mony, I shall here set down part of an inscription on a plate fixed to a slave belonging to a Christian, in order to prevent his escape :

TENEMEQ

VIA FVG ET REB

OCAME VICTOR

IACOLIT

O.....

That is, *Tene me, quia fugi, et revoca me victori Acolutho*; and on another part of the plate,

FVG EVP

LOGIO EX O

PREVRB

Fugi e Euplogio ex opere urbano. See *Misc. Observ.* tom. i. P. II. p. 25. In a collation given in the same Miscellany of a very ancient MS. of the treatise (attributed to Lactantius) *De Mort. Persecutorum*, we have many specimens of this: Pro *hic circus*, MS. *hic ircus*; pro *ingenti invidia*, MS. *vidia*; pro *de extinguendis*, MS. *dextinguendis*; pro *si non obisset*, MS. *novisset* [confounding B and V]; pro *Constantii*, MS. *Constanti*; pro *credidimus*, MS. *credimus*; pro *Imperator dejectus adeo et proculcatus*, MS. *adō id est a Deo*.—*Misc. Obs.* tom. iv. 62. This latter confusion of *ADEO* and *A DEO* is very common in ecclesiastical MSS. from the practice of writing continuously; and in such MSS. also *Deus* and *Dominus* are often confounded. I shall give a single note from this collation: “*In regno DEI reservatur.*” In MS. invenio *Dñi hoc est Domini*; quod mutari non debuisset. Paulo ante pro *superari*, MS. habet *superarc*. Et pro *OMNES apparatus MS. OMNIS.*” *Ibid.* p. 45. Griesbach says in his note on *Acts xx. 28*: “*Librarii Latini pro DEI seu DI facile scripserunt DNI; e talibus autem codicibus Latinis corrupti fortasse fuerunt Græci illi, qui Κυρίῳ habent.*”

Before closing this note (with respect to parsimony in writing, and

he might go to *HIS OWN PLACE*. This, which in the Vulgate text is *τον τοπον τον ΙΑΙΟΝ*, and in one of Matthæi's MSS. *τον τοπον ΑΤΤΟΤ*, is in the *Alex. MS.* *τον ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ*, probably because in the Latin *in locum ejūs*, the three last letters of *ejūs* had been mistaken for *JUS*. At *Luke* xii. 58, we have in the Latin MSS. the various reading *tradat* and *trahat*, where the commutation was easy; while in Greek the various reading is *κατασυρη* and *κατακρηνη*. But I shall here stop, as it is not my design to exhaust any single topic, but merely to give sufficient specimens of the different phenomena in the New Testament to enable the reader to pronounce a verdict on my hypothesis. For the sake of distinctness I shall arrange a few of the above species into a class.

No. X.

Diversities in Greek from slight Variations in Latin.

APUDEUM (*Ephes.* vi. 9. *supra* p. 286).

παρά θεῷ D.F.G. &c. *παρ' αὐτῷ*. Vulg. Gr.

Pro ILLIS. *Rom.* x. i. ²⁰¹

ὑπὲρ του Ισραηλ. Vulg. Gr. *ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν*. A.B.D. &c.

the blunders of transcription to which it has given occasion), I shall give a single specimen from various emendations which I have made of passages which are still very corrupt, and which may be corrected easily on the above principle. In the late edition of Cicero, by Schutz, we read thus: "Quocirca bene apud majores nostros, senatus tum quum florebat imperium decrevit, ut de principum filiis *sex* singulis Etruriæ populis in disciplinam traderentur." *De Divin.* i. 41. On this Schutz writes: "Apud Valer. Max. i. 41, dicuntur *decem* filii traditi fuisse, itaque h. l. legendum censuit Davisius. Lipsius vero...malebat *duodecim*." p. 331. tom. xv. Lips. 1816. Now it appears to me that Cicero, or an early transcriber, had written *FILIISX*, that is *filiis x.* which had been evolved *Filiis sex*, in our present copies. Thus Cicero is reconciled with Valerius Maximus. In *2 Cor.* x. 7, *INOS*, that is *in nos*, has been read *in os*, and translated *τα κατὰ προσωπον*, which makes the passage unintelligible. The Apostle says, *Look at us, if any man &c.* In the Greek text, *Acts* xxv. 6, *η δεκα* has been written instead of *η η δεκα, octo aut decem.*

²⁰¹ *My prayer to God* (says the Apostle Paul) *pro Illis*. This had been read by one translator for *THEM*, and by another had been supposed *pro*

INDOCTIS. 1 Cor. ii. 13.²⁰⁵

εν διδακτοῖς. Vulg. Gr. ἀδιδακτοῖς. Bentley. *Conj.*

HOC est VERE dictum. 1 Tim. iii. 1.

πιστος ὁ λόγος. ἀνθρώπινος ὁ λόγος, D. *Clar.*

In this last example, with which I shall for the present conclude this short list, it appears to me that *vere* had by one of the Greek translators of Timothy been read *viri*; and hence the two-fold reading of *fidelis* and *humanus*. This latter conjecture of *viri* for *vere*, leads me to speak of what has been termed the *iota-cism*. It is well known that in the East, among the Jews, Arabians, Syrians, and Egyptians²⁰⁶, the chief attention was paid to the consonants, and that the vowels must have been employed with very considerable latitude. A similar latitude (but it is difficult to know whether it was from them, or at what period) was introduced among the Greeks²⁰⁷.

Israelitis; and accordingly we have the *disjecta membra* of this latter word in the Greek reading ὑπερ τοῦ Ἰσραηλ ἵστιν.

²⁰⁵ Bentley, instead of εν διδακτοῖς &c. proposed to read ἀδιδακτοῖς, 1 Cor. ii. 13. This conjecture Vackenaer, *Scholæ* i. p. 209, disapproves; but in his note on the passage itself seems to view it more favourably, vol. ii. p. 134. Perhaps the original was *INDOCTIS Spiritus Sancti verbis*, which would reconcile Bentley and the common reading, or, at least, account for each—one reading in *doctis*, and the other *indoctis*. This would only take place in a Latin original. I may remark, as somewhat analogous, that when our Lord says, *Luke* vi. 35, *Do good and lend*, *NIHILINDE SPERANTES, nihil inde sperantes*; this has been read *nihil in desperantes*, and hence μηδεν ἀπελπίζοντες in our Vulgate text.

²⁰⁶ "Antiqua lingua Ægyptia sine vocalibus scribebatur." Sturz, *De Dialecto Mac. et Alex.* p. 117. The scarcity of vowels, and the adoption of points in the orthography of the others is well known.

²⁰⁷ Montfaucon remarks that "In marmoribus, nummis, et exemplaribus ante septimum Christi sæculum, paucos *iota-cismos*, sive mutationes του η in ι observavimus; in posterioribus vero sæculis, mirum quantum hoc vitium invaluerit, præsertim autem ab undecimo Christi sæculo." *Palæograph.* p. 139. In the Travels of Burckhardt into Nubia, some short inscriptions are given from a rock near Kardassy, written in the first half of the third century. In Nos. 1, 4, 5, we have ΠΠΟΣΚΤΝΗΜΑ; in Nos. 2 and 3, ΠΠΟΣΚΤΝΙΜΑ. A MS. in the Cotton Library has preserved a copy of the Lord's Prayer in Greek, written in Saxon charac-

It is observed by a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, that "a leading feature of the *Romaic* pronunciation is that they give the same sound (that of the Italian *i*) to the vowels η, ι, υ, and the diphthongs ει, οι, υι. This was first termed by H. Stephens *iotacismus*, a word which has since been generally employed to express this peculiarity of pronunciation. A very considerable part of the faults which disfigure the MS. copies of Greek authors, is referable to the *iotacism* of the modern Greeks, by whom most of the Greek MSS. now extant were written²⁰⁵." This confusion of vowels was probably also employed by the Greeks in reading Latin, and to this circumstance I am led to attribute the numerous improprieties in tense which are to be found in the Vulgate Text of the Greek Testament²⁰⁹. Let us take, for example, *Matth.* xxiv. 40,

ters, and which is to be found in Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii. p. 426. We find Καὶ μὴ εἰσενεγκῆς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμον, given thus, *Kemies ininkis inas isperas mon*. Perhaps Ἀρχιτελωνης, *Luke* xix. 2, which has occasioned much discussion, was ἀρχὴ τελωνης. On the contrary, καμηλον, *Matth.* xix. 24, ought to be καμῖλον, a cable.

²⁰⁸ *Quart. Review*, vol. xi. p. 471. There are some good remarks on the *iotacism* in R. Winterton's edition of the *Poetæ Minores Græci*, at the beginning of his notes on Hesiod's *Opæ. et Dies*. Cantab. 1684.

²⁰⁹ In a Greek inscription, Montfaucon *Palæogr.* p. 61, we find REX and REGIS written ῥιξ and ῥιγος and at p. 62, senatoris is σινάτορος. Maffei, in his *Istoria Diplomatica*, has published some fragments of papyri chiefly written at Ravenna, in three of which the narrative of one of the witnesses is in Latin written in Greek characters. In the first of these (written as Maffei conjectures about the year 476) we have *fecit* written φικετ, p. 145; while in the third, written A.D. 591, it is rightly φεικτ, p. 167. In the second document, written also A.D. 591, we have the words *est, testis subscripsi* thus written, εστ εστισ οἰσκριψι, p. 166, the *t* in *testis* being supplied by that in εστ: while in the third we read εστ τειστις σουσκριψι. The Latin word *vidi* is in the first papyrus written βιδι, in the second υειδι, and in the third υιδι. There is a strong tendency to the *iotacism*. The word *relecta* (viz. *read over again*) is by the Greek-Latin witness written ρελικτα, by two of the Latin witnesses *re-lecta*, and by a third *relegta*. This is in the first papyrus: while in the third we have ρελικτουμι in the Latin-Greek; instead of which two of four Latin witnesses write *prælectum*, and the two others *prælictum*. The

where our Lord speaking of his second coming says in the Vulgate, *Tunc duo erunt in agro : unus ASSUMETUR et unus RELINQUETUR*, &c. Instead of *assumetur* and *relinquetur* in verses 40 and 41, we have in the Greek Vulgate παραλαμβάνεται and ἀφίεται, *assumitur* and *relinquitur*, quite improperly, but owing it should seem to the *iotacism*. In like manner our Lord, at *Matth.* xxvi. 2, says in the Vulgate, *post biduum Pascha fiet, et filius hominis TRADETUR ut crucifigatur*. Here in the Greek we have παραδίδοται, *traditur* instead of *tradetur*. "Quod præsens pro futuro positum (says Hardouin, p. 93), ut excusent valde sudant interpretes." He does not, however, attempt an explanation, but it seems to be owing to the *iotacism*. In the same chapter our Lord says at the institution of the eucharist, ver. 28, "Hic est enim sanguis meus . . qui pro multis EFFUNDETUR:" and here also instead of *effundetur* we have in Greek ἐκχυνόμενον *quod effunditur*.

To this same circumstance of the *iotacism* I am inclined to attribute what appears to be a barbarous version, at *1 Cor.* vi. 6, *Is there no one* (says the Apostle) *who is able to arbitrate ἀνα μέσον ΤΟΤ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΤ αὐτου, in the midst of his BROTHER?* Here I cannot help thinking that *fratres* had been

notary also writes *ribis* for *rivis* in the second document, written A.D. 591; and in a single line in the same papyrus he writes *pertinevit* for *pertinebit*, and *vindere* for *vendere*, p. 165. I would recommend the consideration of the various modes in which the same words are written by the different witnesses, to those who profess to decide accurately on the age and country of a MS. from its orthography. Of four witnesses, for example, who write the same clause in the first papyrus, two write *conserverandis*, one *cunserbandis*, and the fourth *conserbandis*; while the Greek-Latin witness, with a mixture of Greek and Latin letters, writes *κονσερbandis*. Maffei, in the same work, mentions a very ancient Psalter in Greek, but written in Latin characters and with a Latin version: "Un codice possiede tra gli altri il nostro capitolo canonico, quale io non farò difficoltà d'asserire esser de' più insigni d'Europa; contiene in gran maiuscolo il Salterio tutto co' Cantici, d'una parte Greco, ma in caratteri Latini, d'altra Latino, ma di versione dalle finor conosciute diversa." *Ibid.* p. 135.

read *fratris*, and thus the accusative plural converted into the genitive singular. In a similar manner, perhaps, we may explain a passage, *Revelat.* xvii. 4, and of which Mr. Middleton says [*Greek Article*, p. 670] it is a "passage which will probably for ever resist the powers of criticism." We are told that the woman had a golden cup in her hand, γεμον βδελυγματων και ΤΑ ΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΑ της πορνειας της γης. It is probable that *impuritalis* had been confounded with *impuritates*, and that hence the strange translation τα ακαθαρτα²¹⁰.

It were easy for me to accumulate various other examples of the same kind; but I shall content myself with setting down a few for the reader's consideration; and which, for the sake of distinctness, I shall, as in the former classes, arrange into a small list.

No. XI.

Apparent Mistakes owing to the Iotacisms.

1.

EXCIDETUR et in ignem MITTETUR. Vulg. *Mat.* iii. 10.

εκκοπτεται και εις πυρ βαλλεται. Gr.

EXCIDITUR et in ignem MITTITUR.

2.

Nemo TOLLET a vobis. Vulg. *John* xvi. 22.

Ουδεις αιρει αφ' υμων. Gr.

Nemo TOLLIT a vobis.

3.

Quis est qui TRADET te? Vulg. *John* xxi. 20.

τις εστιν ο παραδιδους σε;

Quis est qui TRADIT te?

4.

RESTITUES regnum Israel? Vulg. *Acts* i. 6.

αποκαθιστανεις &c. Gr.

RESTITUIS?

²¹⁰ In *Acts* v. 20, the *verba της ζωης*, on which Griesbach mentions a marginal conjecture, originated perhaps in a confusion of *vita* with *vetita*, i. e. forbidden by the high-priest: and 1 *Cor.* ix. 10, there seems some confusion of *spes* and *spicas*.

These examples, with those by which they are preceded, may suffice as a specimen of apparent mistakes in the Greek text arising from the iotacism. Another feature of the *Romaic* pronunciation, and which seems to have begun very early, is the confusion of the letters B and V [*supra* p. 224]. We find in the Latin Vulgate, *Matth.* iv. 6, *Angelis suis MANDAVIT*, which is in Greek *εντελειται mandabit*. In the two following examples there seems an incongruity in the Greek text originally from this cause. The author of the *Apocalypse*, describing the two witnesses who are to prophesy and be put to death before the consummation of all things, says, xi. 11: *And after three days and an half, the spirit of life from God ENTERED into them*—*εισηλθεν intravit* instead of *intrabit*. Here, however, the Latin Vulgate reads *intravit* like the Greek. In the following text it is more correct: *Apoc.* xvi. 16, *et CONGREGABIT illos in . . Armagedon*, which is in the Greek Vulgate *και συνηγαγεν αυτους et congregavit illos*²¹¹.

I shall now close these numerous classes of phenomena, all of which seem to argue that our Vulgate Greek New Testament is a version from the Latin, by requesting for a moment the reader's attention to the influence of the primigenial La-

²¹¹ "Nihil est frequentius in MSS. quam confusio B et V. Centies occurrit in veteribus glossis, ubi legas *Benditorem, Benenum, Berbenam*," &c. &c. Clerici *Ars Critica*, vol. ii. p. 33; where see also the various readings in different copies of Orosius of *regnavit* and *regnabit*, of *monstrabinus* and *monstravimus*. In the very ancient Græco-Latin MS. of the *Book of Acts*, edited by Hearne, usually designated *Laud.* 3. and supposed by Weststein and Woide to have been used by Bede [*N. T.* vol. ii. p. 450. *Notit.* p. 156], we read, *Acts* iii. 22, *Prophetam vobis suscitavit Dominus*, instead of *suscitabit*; and so also vii. 37, where the same prophecy is quoted. In the same MS. vi. 14, we read *mutavit consuetudines*, instead of *mutabit*. In the *Codex Bezae*, *Luke* vii. 27, we have *præparavit* for *præparabit*, and conversely, two verses afterwards, *justificabit* for *justificavit*. p. 385. ed. Kipling.

At *Mark* xi. 8, instead of *δενδρων* we find in the two famous MSS. B and L *αρων*. The original *arborum* has been read *arvorum*, and translated accordingly.

tin in point of *Syntax* on our Vulgate Greek text. We have formerly remarked the solecisms in point of *Gender*, which seem to have been occasioned by *sympathy* or conformity with the Latin; and to this also, I may remark in passing, it may perhaps be attributed that we have sometimes a passive verb in Greek (occasioning great difficulty to philologists) modelled upon a deponent verb in the original. Thus *Heb.* xi. 4, it is said of Abel, ἀποθανὼν ἐπὶ λαλεῖται instead of λαλεῖ, probably because the original had been *loquitur*²¹². In like manner, *Ileb.* vii. 17, we read in a majority of ancient MSS. μαρτυρεῖται instead of μαρτυρεῖ, because the original had been *testatur*. This influence of the primigenial Latin upon our Vulgate Greek text is very obvious in the use of the Latin *ablative* instead of the Greek *genitive absolute*. In Griesbach's MSS. B. D. L. we have γενεσίοις δε γενομένοις, modelled on Latin syntax, and contrary to the genius of the Greek language. His MSS. C and K, &c. have γενεσίων δε γενομένων. In our Vulgate text we have γενεσίων δε αγομένων, and in some other MSS. γενεσίοις δε αγομενοις. What seem- ing demonstrations of a version from the Latin!

In the above example the *Syntax* of our Vulgate Greek text is correct; but in numerous other instances this is not the case. I shall content myself with setting down three specimens from a single chapter, the eighth of Matthew.

No. XII.

Diversities owing to the Influence of Latin Syntax.

ver. 1. καταβαντι δε αυτω	<i>Vulg.</i>	καταβαντος δε αυτου	B.C. &c.
5. εισελθοντι δε αυτω	—	εισελθοντος δε αυτου	B.C. &c.
28. ελθοντι αυτω	—	ελθοντος αυτου	B.C. &c.

In all these cases, taken from a single chapter, the ablative absolute of the primigenial Latin has been retained in the

²¹² See a long note of Valckenaer against λαλεῖται in his *Schediasma*, p. 326 *et seq.* 2 Cor. xiii. 11, Ὁ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ΕΣΤΑΙ μεθ' ὑμῶν ! *erit vobiscum*, perhaps from the influence of *ESTO*.

Vulgate text. Many similar examples occur ; but these as a specimen may suffice.

I have now placed before the reader the chief of those phenomena, whether in words, phrases, or construction, which have weighed with me in suspecting that our Vulgate Greek Testament is a translation or re-translation from the Latin. Yet the current of our argument will afterwards be augmented by some subsidiary streams of different strength and force. It has already been remarked, that of all the classical writers, no one, in point of style, has so near a resemblance as Polybius to that of the New Testament ; and this I have [*supra*, p. 142] endeavoured to account for by the constant residence of that historian at Rome, and his assiduous study of Latin documents. There is another feature in the *Hellenistic Style*, which seems to me to be scarcely explicable, except on the hypothesis of a version from the Latin. This is the want of the *dual number*, which Dr. Marsh endeavours to account for as follows. " Among other peculiarities (says he) in the language of the Greek Testament, it is well known that the dual number is not used ; but I recollect no instance of any attempt that has been made to account for its omission. Perhaps it may be explained as a Syriasm, for the dual was not used in Syriac, except in the three words expressive of *duo*, *ducenti*, and *Ægyptus utraque inferior et superior*. The sacred writers therefore neglected the dual in writing a foreign language, because they were not accustomed to it in their own. Likewise in the Hebrew the use of the dual was usually confined to such objects as existed in pairs, such as **יד**, *the hand* : and it is possible that the distinction between dual and plural, even in such cases, was a refinement of later ages ; as the difference is marked only by the points ; whereas in the Arabic it is denoted by the letters themselves. In our present Masoretic text, **יד** is very frequently used in the dual : but though **ידים** occurs in above a thousand instances in the Septuagint, it is constantly used either in the singular or in the plural. Whether this circumstance justifies the preceding supposition with respect to the Hebrew, or is rather to be

ascribed to the dialect of Alexandria, I leave the learned to determine²¹³."

It appears to me to be much more probable that the neglect of the dual number in the New Testament was owing to its being a version from the Latin; and that inflections which did not exist in the old text were thought unnecessary in the new. Dr. Marsh allows that the use of the dual existed in the Oriental tongues; and that a literal version from the Hebrew would not produce a dereliction of the dual number, may appear from the following circumstance. In 1784, Villoison published some books of a version of the Old Testament, from a MS. which he had found in St. Mark's library at Venice²¹⁴. This version is evidently the production of a Jew or Syrian; and, in fact, is so Jewish, that it *begins*, like Hebrew books, *at the end*²¹⁵. According to Eichhorn, it is even more servile and etymological than the version of Aquila itself²¹⁶. Now, if the disuse of the dual number in the Septuagint and New Testament were owing to the influence of the Hebrew text, it might have been expected to have been wanting in this version; and, in fact, I procured

²¹³ Marsh, *Michaelis*, vol. i. p. 415.

²¹⁴ *Nova Versio Græca Proverbiorum, &c. ex unico S. Marci Bibliothecæ Codice Veneto nunc primum eruta, et notulis illustrata* a Joh. Bapt. Casp. d'Anse de Villoison. Argentorati 1784. 12mo. Ammon afterwards published the whole Pentateuch from the same MS. Erlangæ 1790, 1791. 3 vols. 8vo.

²¹⁵ "A fine, id est, ab ultima pagina incipit retro acto ordine, quod quidem in hoc uno Græco Codice deprehendimus... liquido apparet, hanc translationem a Judæis, in Judæorum, imo et Synagogarum usum confectam fuisse." Villoison, *Pref.* p. ii.

²¹⁶ "Unfreitig ist sie unmittelbar aus dem Hebräischen Text geflossen. Mehr als irgend eine andere alte Version hält sie sich an den Buchstaben desselben, und drückt ihn mit fast noch größerer Mengstichkeit und häufigerer Etymologiesucht, als selbst Aquila, aus." Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, vol. i. p. 422. Leipzig, 1803. Ammon supposes the translator to have been a Syrian, and Eichhorn that he lived at some period between the sixth and tenth century. *Ibid.* p. 428.

the book published by Villoison for the very purpose of making this inquiry. I found, however, the dual used throughout; and shall here set down a few specimens from the first eight verses of the first chapter of Ruth²¹⁷.

ver. 1. και οἱ δύο υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ *Sept. Vatic.*

και δυο υἱα αὐτοῦ *Cod. Venet.*

2. Ονομα τοῖς δυσὶν υἱοῖς *Sept. Vatic.*

Ονομα τοῖν δυοῖν υἱοῖν *Cod. Venet.*

3. Οἱ δύο υἱοὶ αὐτῆς *Sept. Vatic.*

Τω δυο κεινῆς υἱῷ *Cod. Venet.*

5. Απεθάνον και γε ἀμφοτέροισι *Sept. Vatic.*

Απεθάνον δ' ἐτι ἀμφω αὐτῷ *Cod. Venet.*

6. αἱ δυο νυμφαὶ αὐτῆς *Sept. Vatic.*

τα νυμφα ταυτῆς *Cod. Venet.*

8. εἶπε . . . ταῖς δυσὶ νυμφαῖς *Sept. Vatic.*

ἐφη . . . ταιν δυοῖν νυμφαιν *Cod. Venet.*

These examples (and I have omitted some) will show that the disuse of the dual in the *Septuagint Ruth* cannot be attributed to the influence of the Hebrew; as in that case it was at least as likely to be disused in the Venetian version. In this version we have in the first verse of Ruth ἀπηλθεν ἀνὴρ ἐκ ΔΟΜΟΤ ΑΡΤΟΤ του Ιεουδου instead of ἐπορευθη ἀνὴρ ἀπο ΒΗΘΛΕΕΜ Ιουδα of the *Septuagint*—thus giving a version of *Bethlehem*, which signifies the *House of Bread*, and furnishing one, among many much stronger presumptions, that the translation published by Villoison was derived immediately from the Hebrew. At verse 4 we are told in the Venetian Version, ἡγαγεσθην θ' ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκε Μωαβιτιδῆ, still in the dual. Instead of this, we find in the *Septuagint* και ἐλαβοσαν ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας Μωαβιτιδας: and in like manner we read in the *Septuagint* (ver. 2) και ἤλθοσαν εἰς ἀγρον Μωαβ, και ἦσαν ἐκεῖ. I am induced to note these two texts, in passing, for the purpose of remarking, that the interposition of σα in

²¹⁷ See *Nova Versio Græca* a J. C. d'Ansse Villoison, p. 113. and the *Septuagint*, Oxon. 1805. [Juxta Exemplar Vaticanum ex edit. Lamb. Bos.]

ελαβον and ηλθον, which are called Alexandrian forms by philologists²¹⁸, seem to me, like the passive forms λαλειται and μαρτυρεται mentioned above (p. 295), to be *here* owing to the influence or chime of the Latin. The Latin text had perhaps been *venissent* and *cepissent*, and these had been converted into ηλθοσαν and ελαβοσαν.

This remark will form an introduction to some observations which it may be necessary to make before concluding the present Disquisition. It may be objected to our account of the character and origin of the *Hellenistic style*, that the same species of style which exists in the New, appears also in the Greek versions of the Old Testament; and that *there* it cannot be attributed to the influence of the Latin. This, however, is begging the question. We are totally ignorant who were the Greek translators of the Old Testament, and at what period the versions of its different Books were made. It is generally allowed, indeed, that a Greek version of the *Pentateuch*, but of the *Pentateuch* alone, was made in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus²¹⁹. This version has by Usher

²¹⁸ The reader will find much on this obscure subject in Sturz. *de Dialecto Macedon. et Alex.* p. 58—60. It is said by Gaza that το ΗΛΘΟΥΣΑΝ και ΕΜΑΘΟΥΣΑΝ Χαλκιδικης διαλεκτου εστι and Tzetzes says of εσχαζοσαν that it is Χαλκιδικον, ητοι της Αττικης διαλεκτου. Some for *Chalcidic* would read *Chaldaic*, and for *Attic*, *Asian*. Valckenaer, treating of a passage in Tobit, says: "Observetur hac occasione, Fabellam istam Judaicam Tobit antiquissimam Alexandrina esse dialecto scriptam, quod formæ demonstrant quæ in illa occurrunt Alexandrinæ: ex gr. cap. vii. 11, απιβνησκοσαν pro απιβνησκον. Similina sunt ηλθοσαν pro ηλθον, παρεμβαλοσαν pro παρεμβαλον. Talia reperiuntur in versione V. F. centena; nulla apud Scriptores veteres Græcos. Grammatici Bibliothecæ Coislinian. cujus nobis Excerpta dedit Montfaucon, p. 482, hæc extat nota, Ελεγοσαν, εγραφοσαν, και τα ομοια, οι Αλεξανδρεις [the LXX?] λεγοσι." Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 445. We shall afterwards find that what Valckenaer, Sturz, &c. represent as *old Alexandrian* forms, are often *modern Romaic* ones.

²¹⁹ See *supra*, p. 133. There have been disputes concerning the language from which what has been termed the *Septuagint* was made. See Van Dale, *Dissert. super Aristeæ*, p. 173—176. "Pentateuchum

and by some other persons of the most profound learning been supposed to be lost²²⁰; and it has been much doubted, whether even the present Greek *Pentateuch* be more ancient than the reign of Herod. As to the other Books of the Greek version, we know not when they were translated; but probably those in our present copies, or the great proportion of them, were not translated before the second century. This indeed was the age of Scriptural versions—by Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, and others²²¹. I have already, in a former part of this work, had occasion to allude to these translators, and I shall here, in passing, offer a few remarks concerning them. Aquila is affirmed both by Irenæus and Epiphanius to have been a native of Sinope in Pontus, a Roman colony;

Alexandrinorum Interpretum (says Gurlitt) non ex Hebræo, sed Samaritano textu esse conversum, præter alios, nuper contendit Hassenkampius, Rintel. 1765. Cujus sententiam etiam tuiti sunt Dathius et Fr. Volkm. Reinhardus, repugnante Tychsenio, Professore Rostochiensi, qui codicem ex quo Alexandrini verterint Bibliis Judæorum sacra, fuisse contendit *Hebræo-Græcum*, i. e. Hebræum quidem, sed Græcis literis scriptum." [Vid. Harlesii *Introductio in Hist. Linguae Græcæ*, p. 599. ed. 1778.] *Sylloge Comment. a Pott et Ruperti*, vol. i. p. 329. Helmstadii 1800. I have never seen Tyschen's work; but, if he has succeeded in proving his hypothesis, it would go far to show that our *present* Pentateuch was translated after Origen compiled his *Hexapla*; where in one of the columns the Hebrew text was written in Greek characters.

²²⁰ *De Græcâ Septuaginta Interpret. Versione Syntagma*. Lond. 1655. Hody *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 560 and 197. My copy of Usher's *Syntagma* is Lipsiæ 1695. 4to.

²²¹ Hody [*de Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 107], after showing, at great length, the ignorance among the Greeks and Romans of the Jewish Sacred Books, adds "Accedit his denique poeta Juvenalis, qui Mosis volumen *arcanum* appellat, quia Græcis Romanisque ignotum fuit, nec ab illis legi solitum. Videtur sane is credidisse, non Græce illud, sed tantum Hebraice extitisse. *Sat.* xiv. [101]."

'Judaicum ediscunt, et servant, et metuunt Jus,
Tradidit *arcano* quodcunque volumine Moses.'

As Juvenal resided some time in Egypt [*Sat.* xv. 45.], the above passage forms a presumption that the *Greek Pentateuch* was not a common book even in that country.

and from his name he appears to have been a Roman²²². This learned man published two versions of the Hebrew Scriptures; and I have a strong suspicion (though I have nowhere seen such a conjecture), that the first of these was a Latin one. Jerome, who, according to the purpose which he had to serve at the time, fluctuates very much in his praise or dispraise of Aquila, tells us, that he interprets as it were syllables and letters, saying, for example, *συν τον ουρανον, και συν την γην*²²³. This, which is part of the first verse in *Genesis*, must indeed (in this version) be acknowledged to be nonsense; but I strongly suspect that Aquila wrote *In principio creavit Deus CUM cælum TUM et terram*, and that CUM and TUM both translated CYN gave rise to the Greek barbarous text. I have occasionally met with passages in Jerome, which seem to confirm the suspicion, that the first edition of Aquila was a Latin one. * Such, for example, is the following remark on *Jerem.* xxii. 30. Pro *sterili* in Hebræo scriptum est ירירי, quod Aquilæ prima editio *STERILEM*, secunda *αναξητον*, i. e. *non crescentem*²²⁴. Is it, indeed, probable that Aquila should, early in the second century, when Latin was at the highest flood, and Greek at the lowest ebb—that Aquila a Latin, born in a Latin colony, would publish two Greek versions of the Hebrew Scriptures, while he utterly overlooked the wants of his countrymen?

²²² "Aquila Ponticus." Irenæus *Adv. Hæres.* lib. iii. cap. 24. *ἦν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀκυλᾶς... ἀπὸ Σινώπης δὲ τῆ Ποντικῆ ὀνομαζόμενος.* Epiphanius *Oper.* vol. ii. p. 170. *Hexapl. Origenis* ed. Bahr. vol. i. p. 179. We have *Numi* with the following inscriptions: COL. I. AV. SINOPE, i. e. *Col. Jul. Aug. Sinope* Ponti. Rasche *Lexicon v. n. n.* vol. 2. p. 682. Spanheim *de Præst. et Usu Numism.* p. 767. "Adde vel Ponti commemoratam paullo ante *Sinopen*, non *Juliam* solum vel *Augustam*, sed *Flaviam* etiam dictam in nummo Getæ, COL. I. FL. SINOPE, *Colonia Julia Flavia Sinope.*" *Ibid.* p. 769. Amstel. 1671. Ulpian also says, *ff. de Censibus*, L. i. "Est et in Bithynia Colonia Apamena, et in Ponto SINOPENSIS. We find on the Rosetta stone *Αἰτῦ τῷ Αἰτῦ*, *Aquilæ Aquilæ* filio; and, in like manner, had Aquila not been a Latin, his name would not have been *Aquila*, but *Αἰτῶς*.

²²³ Hieron. *Epist. ad Pammach.* vol. ii. p. 122. L.

²²⁴ Hieron. *Oper.* vol. v. p. 147. E. Jerome however adds, Symmachus *vacuum*; LXX et Theodotio *abominabilem* et *abdicatum* interpretati sunt.

Theodotion, as well as Aquila, is represented by Epiphanius as a native of Sinope in Pontus; and he too, as well as Aquila, seems to have edited a double version²²⁵. Origen states in his Epistle to Africanus, that certain Apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel were to be found with a text altogether different in the *Septuagint* and in Theodotion. Now as these passages had no existence in Hebrew; and as the text differed widely in Theodotion and the *Septuagint*, it is obvious that one of them must have been a translation or re-translation from some other language²²⁶.

Symmachus is usually termed a Samaritan; and of his version there were also two editions²²⁷:—that is to say, I presume, a Latin and a Greek one. Jerome, indeed, has the following remark in his Commentary on the second chapter of Titus, when speaking of the various versions of a passage in the 134th Psalm: “Symmachus igitur pro eo quod est in Græco περιουσιον, in Hebræo הַלְלֵךְ expressit εξαίρετον, id est *egregium* vel *præcipuum*, pro quo verbo in alio volumine LATINO SERMONE utens, *peculiarem* interpretatus est.” In fact, we are told by Lambecius that, in a MS. in Vienna, Symmachus and Aquila are classed among the *Latin* Fathers²²⁸.

²²⁵ Θεοδοτίων τις Ποντικός ἀπο τῆς διαδοχῆς Μαρκίωνος τῆς Αἰρεσιάρχου τῆς Σινωπικῆς, *Theodotio quidam genere Ponticus ex Marcionis Sinopensis Heresiarchæ factione, &c.* Epiphaniî Oper. vol. ii. p. 172. By Irenæus he is named “Theodotio Ephesius” lib. 3. c. 24. “Duas fuisse editiones (says Hody) versionis Theodotioneæ, observavit hactenus nemo. Est tamen apud Hieronymum, unde id inferri posse videatur.” *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 584. This however, as Hody himself remarks, is doubtful.

²²⁶ See Origenis *Resp. ad Africanum*, p. 224; with the notes of Jo. Rod. Wetstein, and the correction of these notes by Hody, *de Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 583.

²²⁷ “Duas Symmachum editiones emisisse certum videtur; nec mirum est Epiphanium id præterisse, quandoquidem nec de duplici Aquilæ editione, quæ pluribus testimoniis asseritur, verbum fecit.” Montfaucon, *Prælim. in Hexapla Origenis*, vol. i. p. 121. Edit. Bahrdr.

²²⁸ Hieron. *Opera*, vol. ix. p. 107. I. “In volumine quodam Latino Bibliothecæ Vindobonensis, recensetur is etiam [Symmachus] una cum Aquila, inter *Latinos Patres*.” Hody, *De Bibl. Text.* p. 587. Lambecius, *Com. De Bibl. Vindob.* vol. iii. p. 29.

These passing reflections on the subject of Aquila and his brother-translators, may justify us perhaps in the conclusion, that (in the present imperfect state of our knowledge concerning them) nothing can be deduced from their fragments contradictory to our hypothesis concerning the Hellenistic style. Nothing, I may also remark, can afford a more striking proof of the uncertainty of tradition and history in the second century, than that though Origen in the first half of the succeeding century devoted so much of his life to the study and comparison of these versions, so little should be known of their authors²²⁹. This great writer by the publication of his *Hexapla*, and by his intermixture of different versions with diacritical points, contributed probably to increase that confusion which it was one of his great purposes to remedy²³⁰. These diacritical marks were neglected or misunderstood; and thus a medley of different versions was produced²³¹. Other editors less fitted for the task than Origen published Greek editions of the Scriptures. Of these the chief were Hesychius and Lucianus. The edition of Hesychius was adopted at Alex-

²²⁹ "Sed, ut breviter quod res est dicam; nec quo anno, neque quo regno præcise interpretationem suam concinnarit vel Theodotio vel Symmachus, ulla certa ratione elici potest. Quicquid de eorum ætate apud veteres reperitur, vel sunt apertæ hallucinationes, vel incertæ imperitorum hominum conjecturæ." Hody, *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 580.

²³⁰ "Et certe Origenes non solum exemplaria composuit quatuor editionum. . . sed quod majoris audaciæ est, in editione LXX Theodotionis editionem miscuit, asteriscis designans quæ minus ante fuerant, et virgulis quæ ex superfluo videbantur appositæ." Hieron. *Pref. in Paralip.* vol. iii. p. 6. I. "Epiphanius (says Hody) ait illum [Origenem] ex Aquila potissimum et Symmacho, raro vero ex Theodotione, deprompsisse quæ asteriscis signata sunt. . . . Res plane contrario modo se habebat." *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 606. I quote this to show the imperfect information on these topics, and the necessity of having recourse to internal evidence.

²³¹ "Et hinc apud vos, et apud plerosque error exoritur, quod scriptorum negligentia, virgulis et asteriscis subtractis, distinctis universa confunditur." Hieron. *Suniae et Fretelæ*, vol. iii. p. 27. E. See *supra*, p. 252, how soon an edition of the *Psalter* by Jerome had been corrupted.

andria, and throughout Egypt; that of Lucian, from Constantinople to Antioch; while the Christians of Palestine adhered to the exemplar of Origen²³². "From which of those copies or editions (says Dr. Geddes) the particular Manuscripts now extant in different parts of the world are derived; and what Manuscript deviates least from the old original version, it is impossible to determine, or even to guess, until the MSS. themselves be collated and compared. This is at present the greatest desideratum in sacred philology²³³." A more Orthodox writer than Dr. Geddes, and who had also, like him, bestowed much study on the Septuagint, remarks, that "it plainly appears from the quotations that occur in the writings of the Apostolical and early Fathers; and especially from those frequent and large citations extant in the works of Justin Martyr, that the Septuagint copies which they possessed, were in various places *extremely different* from any of those that are yet come down to us²³⁴."

²³² "Alexandria et Ægyptus, in LXX suis, Hesychium laudat auctorem; Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt; totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat." Hieron. *Præf. in Paralip.* vol. iii. p. 6. H. Hody remarks in his admirable work, that "Editiones sane variæ Origenis, Luciani et Hesychii, intra unius circiter seculi, aut alterius curriculum, videntur inter se usque adeo a librariis fuisse confusæ ac commixtæ, ut earum distinctio ferme penitus evanuerit." *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 638.

²³³ Geddes' *Prospectus of a New Translation of the Holy Bible*, p. 33.

²³⁴ Owen, *Modes of Quotation used by the Evangelical Writers*, p. 10. Montfaucon in his *Palæographia* gives a specimen and fragment of a very ancient MS.; of which he says: "Hoc codice vetustiore nullum ex his qui noti sunt, esse opinor." His quotation extends from *Judg.* ix. 48. to x. 6. and he concludes it by remarking, "Hæc autem toto cælo discrepant a Septuaginta Interpretum versione ut extat in editis hodiernis." p. 190. See also Usher's *Syntagma*, p. 107. *sqq.* Lipsiæ 1694. "In Veteri quidem Testamento (says Wetstein) Codex Vaticanus, et ab Alexandrino et a Complutensi toto cælo distat." *N. Test.* vol. i. p. 26. "Pro germanâ ergo hac Septuaginta Senum editione quodcumque illud est interpretationis, quod nunc extat, haberi a nobis nullo modo potest. Ac

Jerome repeatedly informs us that the version of *Daniel* read in the churches was not that of the LXX, but of Theodotion. Grotius and Gerard Vossius were of opinion that our version of *Chronicles* is also Theodotion's: Lindanus supposed that the Greek *Psalter* is that of Symmachus; and others have conjectured that our *Ecclesiastes* is that of Aquila²³⁵. In fact, I do not know any thing to prevent us from supposing that several of the Books of what we term the *Septuagint* are really a version from the Latin. Jerome, whose genius and learning gave him great authority in the church, was never weary of declaiming against the corruptions of the *Septuagint*, and its discrepancy from the Hebrew truth²³⁶. It would appear also from various passages, that the Jews of that age scoffed at the inaccuracy of the Greek versions which were designated the *Septuagint*. Accordingly Sophronius entreated Jerome to translate first the *Psalter*, and afterwards other Books of the Old Testament into Latin, which Sophronius in turn translated into Greek²³⁷.

verò tametsi nulla alia id evincerent argumenta, portentosa sanè illa Codicum Manuscriptorum, qui hodie supersunt...dissensio...satis declarat." Huet. *De Interpret.* p. 42. See also Hody, *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* pp. 638, 639. Pearson, *Pref. Paræn.* ad LXX. ad fin. ap. *Classical Journal*, No. xxv. p. 106.

²³⁵ See Hody, *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* pp. 282, 214, 588. Ernesti *Instit. Interp. N. Test.* p. 289. Grot. in *Luc.* i. 5.

²³⁶ See particularly his Prefaces to the different Books of the Old Testament, *Oper.* vol. iii. p. 4 et seq. "S. quidem Hieronymus passim hanc Versionem vituperat, ejusque auctoritatem labefactare conatur." Pearson, *Pref. Paræn.* ad LXX. Ed. Cantabr. 1665. ap. *Class. Journ.* No. xxv. p. 92.

²³⁷ "Quia igitur nuper cum Hebræo disputans, quædam pro Domino Salvatore de Psalmis testimonia protulisti; volensque te illudere per sermones pene singulos, asserebat non ita haberi in Hebræo, et tu de Septuaginta Interpretibus opponebas, studiosissime postulasti ut post Aquilam, et Symmachum, et Theodotionem, novam editionem Latino sermone transferrem. [This, I may remark, should almost seem to imply that these Translators had made a *Latin* version.]...Quod opusculum meum, si in Græcum, ut polliceris transtuleris" &c. This, Sophronius

Now as we see in the case of Theodotion the version of a heretic extirpating the old version of *Daniel*, and forming a part of the Septuagint, what is to hinder us from supposing that our present Septuagint version of the *Psalter*, and of several of the Prophets, may be that of Sophronius from the Latin of Jerome²³⁹? In fact, we learn from Jerome himself, that though some *dogs* and *swine* among the Latins barked and grunted at his version, yet that the Greek translation of Sophronius was very favourably received. In his Apology against Rufinus he boasts as follows: "unde me putabam bene mereri de Latinis meis, et nostrorum ad discendum animos concitare quod etiam *Græci versum de Latino* post tantos interpretes non fastidiunt." And soon afterwards speaking of the Greek interpreters he says: "Quanto magis Latini mei grati esse deberent, quod exultantem *Græciam cernerent aliquid a se mutuari*." One of the arguments he uses against Rufinus must have had weight with many. "De *Daniele* autem breviter respondebo . . . ecclesias Christi hunc prophetam juxta Theodotionem legere, et non juxta Septuaginta Interpretes . . . Et tamen miror quomodo Theodotionem *Hæreticum* et *Judaizantem* legit [Rufinus] et qualiscunque peccatoris Christiani, translationem fastidit²³⁹."

did: for Jerome tells us in his Catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, "Opuscula mea in Græcum eleganti sermone transtulit, *Psalterium quoque et Prophetas, quos nos de Hebræo in Latinum vertimus*." See Hieron. *Sophron.* Oper. vol. iii. p. 26. A. vol. i. p. 102. I. It is generally supposed that Sophronius proceeded to translate the whole of the Old Testament from the Latin text of Jerome; and as he was Patriarch of Byzantium, this must have given much currency to his labours.

²³⁸ And. Dounæus [Andrew Downes] remarks as follows to the praise of the LXX. "Atque hoc in multis Septuaginta fecerunt, ut multa de Christo *typice dicta plane dicerent sine figura*. Quo fit ut multa habeant (ausim dicere) *ευαγγελικωτερον*, quam ipsa Hebræa veritas." ap. Chrysostom. Savil. p. 588. or Colomesii *Opera*, p. 581. This excites no suspicion in this Cambridge Greek Professor:

⁵ *O gran bontà de Cavalieri antichi!*

²³⁹ Hieron. *Apol. adv. Rufinum*, Oper. vol. ii. p. 75. C. L. 76. F. And in his Comment. in *Ezech.* cap. xxiii. he says, "Hæc in LXX non ha-

Nor does the version of Sophronius from the Latin text of Jerome appear to have been the only Greek translation of the Old Testament through the medium of that language. And should we allow that in the Miscellany of versions termed the LXX. there may be no version of any Book which is *wholly* derived from the Latin, still the numerous interpolations and corrections may have introduced a number of Latin words and phrases into the text. Even Augustin himself (indifferent philologist and Greek scholar as he was) expresses some surprise at Joshua in the LXX. stretching forth a Gallic *gæsum* towards Ai; and though an explanation is attempted with great learning by Hody, yet it does not seem to me that he is completely successful²⁴⁰. I would remark also, before closing this subject, that in the Book of *Judges*, of *Ruth*, and of the four Books of *Kings*, there is a curious redundancy of *εγω ειμι* prefixed to the first person of various verbs, and occurring no less than ten times in these six Books. For example, *Judges* v. 3, *Ασομαι εγω ειμι τῷ Κυρίῳ*, which is translated in our version *I, even I will sing unto the Lord*. This peculiarity has often been wondered at; but no explanation, so far as I know, has ever been attempted. In fact, it appears to me that *εγω ειμι* is merely a corruption of the Latin *EGOMET*. The passage above is equivalent to *ασομαι*

bentur, qui cum multis aliis, et hæc prætermiserunt, sive interpretata ab eis Scriptorum paulatim sublata sunt vitio. Et Latini nostri, imo invidi Christiani, et ut apertius dicam Grunnianæ (i. e. Ruffinianæ) factionis hæredes, adversum nos latrant, cur juxta Hebraicum disseramus...interrogent Hebræos non unius loci, ne eos a me redemptos jactitent, sed diversarum provinciarum, et cum errori meo vel imperitiæ cunctos viderint consonare, tunc se intelligant nimium esse prudentes, et magis cupere dormire quam discere."

²⁴⁰ *Josh.* viii. 18. *Και ειπε Κυριος προς Ιησυν, εκτεινον την χειρα σου εν τῷ ΓΑΙΣΩ, τῷ εν τη χειρι σου &c.* *Extende Gæsum, qui est in manu tua, versus urbem.* "Septuaginta Interpretes (says Augustin) posuerunt *Geson*, miror si in Græca lingua hastam vel *Lanceam Gableanam* intelligi voluerunt: ea quippe dicuntur *Gesa*." *Loc. de Joshue*, lib. vii, p. 58, et ap. Hody, *De Bibl. Text. Origin.* p. 179.

εγω τῷ Κυρίῳ, εγω. Another example may be found in iv. [ii] *Kings* x. 9, where Jehu having sent to Samaria to put to death the seventy sons of Ahab, their seventy heads were laid in two heaps at the gate of Jezreel. "And it came to pass (says our version) in the morning that he went out, and stood, and said to all the people... Behold I conspired against my master and slew him; but who slew all these?" Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ εἰμι συνεστραφὴν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἀπεκτείνῃ αὐτὸν &c. Behold I MYSELF [egomet] conspired against my master and slew him; but who slew all these²⁴¹?

Hugh Broughton, who intended to have favoured the public with a Greek version of the Old Testament from the Hebrew²⁴², remarks, that "whoever translated the *Book of Job* [in the LXX.] appears to have been well acquainted with the Greek Poets, and therefore was not so attentive to the literal and strict meaning of the Hebrew, but made it his principal aim to use those poetically compounded phrases that were most familiar to a Grecian ear²⁴³." A high compliment is also paid by Valckenaer and Ernesti to the style of this Interpreter. And yet from the note subjoined to the version of *Job* in the Septuagint, one should have expected that it would have abounded in Hebraisms more than any other Book in the Old Testament²⁴⁴. *Job*, however, does not

²⁴¹ See L. Bos, *Præf. ad ed. LXX.* cap. i. Blair, *Lectures on the Canon*, p. 65—69. "Richter, Ruth, Samuel und Könige zeichnen sie durch einen Sprachfehler, den sonderbaren Gebrauch, εγω εἰμι für εγω aus." Eichhorn, *Einkleitung in das Alte Testament*, vol. i. p. 344. He attempts no explanation, nor do the others. Our Lord also says, *Mark* xiii. 6, that many shall come, λεγοντες ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι, dicentes uti egomet.

²⁴² Villosion, *Nova Versio Græca* &c. Præf. ix.

²⁴³ ap. Blair, *Lectures on the Canon*, p. 63. "In *Proverbiiis* (says Valckenaer) cujus Libri Interpres, ceteris Interpretibus Græcis multo elegantior. Idem fuit Interpres libri *Job*." Valck. *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 530. "Quibusdam in Libris diligentius Hebraismum conservat, estque a Græca puritate et elegantia remotius, in aliis ab Hebraismo longius recedit, atque etiam exquisitiona verba usurpat, inprimis in *Jobo*, *Proverbiiis*." Ernesti, *Inst. Interp. N. Test.* p. 289.

²⁴⁴ "Profitetur Phil. Codurcus (says Hody) se credere Librum *Jobi*

appear to have been translated from the Latin but from the Hebrew, and hence the paucity of what are called Hebraisms in his text.

I have entered into these discussions respecting the Greek Translators of the Old Testament, to guard the reader against supposing that the hypothesis submitted to his verdict in the present work can be overturned, or even weakened, by objections drawn from the Septuagint. Michaelis, enumerating some Latinisms in the New Testament, mentions, among others, *Mark* xiv. 15, 'Ἰκανον ποιῆσαι τῷ ὄχλῳ, *satisfacere populo*. This opinion is controverted by his learned Translator. "There is a passage (says he) in the Septuagint, hitherto overlooked, which puts the matter out of doubt; since no one will ascribe the phrases of the Alexandrine version to the influence of the Latin—οὐχι το ἱκανον αὐτῷ οὐχ' οὕτως ἐποίησεν, *Jerem.* xlviii. 30²⁴⁵." Now, so far from putting the matter out of doubt, it may itself raise a suspicion that our Greek *Jeremiah* (the most transposed and corrupted Book in the LXX.) is itself a version, or at least much altered from the Latin; and a few such phrases, which for aught I know may be found there, would render this certain²⁴⁶.

eosdem non habuisse Interpretes cum aliis partibus Scripturæ. Et hoc quidem verum esse evincitur ex verbis illis quæ ad calcem Libri subnecuntur—ἄτος ἑρμηνεύεται ἐκ τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου *translatus est hic ex libro Syriaco*, hoc est, *Hebraico* ut recte explicat Julianus Halicarnassensis. Si Liber *Job* una cum cæteris Libris Scripturæ translatus fuisset, hoc monitum absurdum esset et ridiculum." *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 196. If Hody's view of the meaning of the above phrase be correct, it should seem that the circumstance of a version being made *immediately* from the Hebrew was deemed a singularity.

²⁴⁵ Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 165. 437. See *supra*, p. 269. Grotius also makes the following remark on *ἡρώτησαν*, *Luke* iv. 38: "Videtur esse *Latinismus*: quia Latini *rogare* dicunt pro *orare*. Simili modo loquitur *Matthæi* Interpres γ. 23; *Johannes* iv. 16, &c....Sed et Hellenistæ vocem *ῥωτῶν* in sensu postulationis aut precationis usurpant, id videtur est *Psal.* cxxii. 16." This, however, is no proof that it is not a *Latinism*, though it may afford a presumption that the Psalm was translated or altered from that language.

²⁴⁶ Jerome at *Jerem.* cap. xxxi. says: "Utramque editionem ex toto

To return to the Books of the New Testament.—I have in the present Disquisition presented to the reader such a list of words, phrases, and constructions, as seem to warrant the conclusion that our Vulgate Greek Testament is a version from the Latin. Many of these words have been individually the subjects of long, and I may add unsatisfactory philological dissertations by very learned critics. The cloud, if I mistake not, has now been much removed from them; and, blending their united beams, they at once receive light from and illuminate each other.

posui, ut caput obscurissimum et Ecclesiæ continens Sacramenta, a LXX. sive quis alius hunc Prophetam interpretatus est, aut ignoratum aut omisum ostenderem." See Hody, *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 378.

Since the above was written, I have observed the following remark of Wetstein: "Complutenses denique ubi a Vaticano et Alexandrino dissentiunt (dissentiunt autem locis pene infinitis, præcipue in *Jeremia*) lectiones quas exhibent, non ex aliquo Codice Græco sumsisse, sed sive ex Hebræo, sive potius ex *Hieronymi versione Latina*, imperite sæpius in sermonem Græcum transtulisse videntur." Wetstein, *N. T.* vol. i. p. 26. Of the great liberties of interpolation, alteration, &c. taken by the Complutensian and later editors of the LXX., the reader will find an account in Usher's *Syntagma*, cap. viii.

DISQUISITION V.

The Author in this Disquisition, after some remarks relative to the formation of the Canon, proceeds to show the circumstances which might contribute to give the Greek a superiority over the Latin text. He then passes in review the most celebrated Editors of the N. T.: and it appears that, previous to Wetstein, they commonly express greater respect for the Latin, than the Greek Vulgate. Inferences from this, and from the accusations of Wetstein and Matthæi, that the most ancient MSS. of the Greek Testament Latinize.

“NEC MINIMUM MERUERE DECUS VESTIGIA GRÆCA

AUSI DESERERE—”

HOR. *Ars Poet.*

IN the present Disquisition it is my design to offer some general reflections on the formation of the Canon; and to show, in the first place, that the hypothesis of a Latin origin appears to account for a circumstance which has been urged as an objection against our Canonical Books—the neglect of them by Greek writers till towards the close of the second century. We shall next see the circumstances which contributed, or might contribute, to give the Greek a superiority over the Latin text. The sentiments will then be stated of the most distinguished editors of the New Testament, with respect to the Latin Vulgate; and we shall find that they generally represent even it as possessing a value equal, and occasionally superior, to our modern Vulgate Greek. Those, lastly, who are its keenest opponents we shall find accusing the most venerable Greek MSS. of Latinizing; and, universally, that the more ancient a MS. is, in that proportion are its *Latinisms* more abundant.

To begin, then, with the formation of the Canon.—The Gospels of Matthew and Mark are mentioned by Papias bishop of Hierapolis, who is supposed to have flourished about the year 110. From that period till the time of Irenæus, A. D. 178, no one of the Evangelists is mentioned by name. Justin Martyr, indeed, a voluminous writer who preceded Irenæus about thirty years, makes frequent mention of the *Απομνημονεύματα των Αποστόλων* or *Memoirs of the Apostles*. It is now, however, generally acknowledged that these *Memoirs of the Apostles* so frequently quoted by Justin, though similar, were not the same with any of our four Gospels. This appears both from the quotations themselves, and from the circumstance that Justin, in quoting from the Old Testament, is scrupulously exact in naming the author of the Book from which he quotes; but in no single instance does he mention Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John, as evangelists, though in referring to the *Apocalypse* he names John as its author. Dr. Paley, in his *Evidences*, quotes the following passage from Jer. Jones with respect to Justin: “He cites our present Canon, and particularly our four Gospels, I dare say above two hundred times.” Now it is to be observed that, with the exception of the *Memoirs of the Apostles*, and the *Apocalypse*, Justin cites or refers to no other Book of the New Testament. And is it not very remarkable, if his *Memoirs of the Apostles* were our four Gospels, that they should not only differ so much from the present text, but that in no one of these two hundred times he should ever mention the name of one of our Evangelists, while he is so scrupulous in mentioning, when he quotes them, the names of Isaiah and the other Prophets? “All the references in Justin (says Dr. Paley) are made without mentioning the author; which proves that these Books [the four Gospels] were perfectly notorious.” But were not the Prophecies of Isaiah equally notorious? In short, I believe that by Biblical critics it is considered as established, that Justin’s *Memoirs of the Apostles* were not our present Gospels; and the arguments of Stroth, a German critic, that Justin took his quotations from the *Gospel ac-*

according to the Hebrews, are also, I believe, generally admitted in Germany. "They seem (says Dr. Marsh) really convincing¹."

The *four Gospels*, therefore, seem not to have been in the possession of Justin; and Irenæus is the very earliest writer, now extant, by whom they are expressly cited. It is observable, indeed, that our writers on the Canon always assume a more cheerful and confident tone when they come to Irenæus. "The evidence (says Dr. Paley) *now* opens upon us *full and clear*. Irenæus succeeded Pothinus as bishop of Lyons . . . I remark (adds he) these particulars concerning Irenæus with more formality than usual, because the testimony which this writer affords to the historical books of the New Testament, to their authority and to the titles which they bear, is express, positive, and exclusive²."

It appears, then, that (so far as we know) our *four Gospels*

¹ See Paley's *Evidences*, vol. i. chap. ix. sect. i. § 7. p. 191. Michaelis by Marsh, vol. i. p. 361: "In fact (says Dr. Marsh) the hypothesis of Mr. Stroth is a real advantage to the New Testament: for if Justin really took his quotations from the four Gospels, and the Works of Justin be genuine, the Gospels themselves must have descended to us in a very corrupt state." I begin with Justin Martyr, without mentioning those named *Apostolical Fathers*, of whom Rosenmüller remarks: "Omnes artis criticæ vel mediocriter periti, saltem in Germania, in cofere consentiunt, scripta illa Patribus Apostolicis olim tribui solita, si non omnia, pleraque tamen vel esse supposititia, vel interpolata, nec ante sec. ii. vel iii. edita." *Hist. Interp. Lib. Sac. &c.* p. 231. And again: "Epistolarum vero Ignatii et Polycarpi causa suspecta est; certe non sunt scriptæ ante seculum tertium." *Ibid.* Præf. ad Part. ii. p. vi. Griesbach remarks of the *Apostolical Fathers*: "Admodum exigua est multis de causis istorum scriptorum auctoritas." *Comment. Critic.* Part. ii. p. 64. And Dr. Marsh observes: "This, at least, is certain, that passages are found in these writings [the *Apostolical Fathers*], which from the nature of the subjects *could not* have existed in the first century; and if they prove not the whole to be spurious, they prove at least that these writings have been so interpolated as to make it difficult to distinguish what is genuine from what is false." ap. Michaelis, vol. i. p. 320.

² Paley's *Evidences*, vol. i. chap. ix. sect. i. § 10. p. 196.

are first indisputably quoted about the year 178 by Irenæus bishop of Lyons, a *Roman colony*; and who (if he wrote in Greek) must at least have instructed his flock in Latin, and perhaps Celtic, and was an earnest assenter of a kind of supremacy in the Church of Rome³. As to the *Epistles of Paul*, which form so large a portion of the New Testament, we find them mentioned in 2 *Peter* iii. 16 (one of the *αὐτὴ λεγόμενα* or disputed Books), but no particular number is specified. The next notice of any of them, now extant, is by Clement bishop of Rome, who in his Epistle to the Corinthians alludes to the First Epistle which Paul the Apostle had ad-

³ "Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam [Romanam] propter potentiorē principatū, necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper, ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio" &c. Irenæus *adv. Hæres.* lib. iii. cap. 3. It has been disputed whether Irenæus wrote this work against Heresies in Greek or Latin. Erasmus, its first editor, says in his preface, "Mihi nondum satis liquet Græcæne scripserit an Latine, etiamsi magis arbitrator Latine scripsisse." Afterwards (in his preface to lib. v. p. 292. edit. Froben. Basil. 1548), he states that a passage of Jerome induced him rather to incline to the belief that Irenæus had written in Greek, but that he could come to no certain conclusion on the subject. The reader may find this question ably discussed in Dodwell's *Dissertationes in Irenæum*, p. 391 *et seqq.* My own conjecture is, that Irenæus wrote in Latin, but that our present Latin copy is a re-translation from the Greek: "Latini enim sunt (says he, in speaking of the number 666) qui nunc regnant, sed non in hoc nos gloriabimur." Iren. *adv. Hæres.* lib. v. c. 30. p. 337. This seems to imply that he was a Latin. Tertullian also quotes a very different Latin copy of Irenæus from the present one, unless he himself translated from the Greek. For example, *Adv. Valent.* cap. xxxvi. "Sonuit Homo Sermonem, et hic est primogenitus filius: et Sermoni accessit Vita, et Ogdoas prima conclusa est." This sentence, in our present copy, lib. i. cap. 6, is "Locutus est Anthropos Logon, hic est primogenitus filius. Subsequitur autem Logon Zoe, et sic prima Octonatio completa est." We see also a motive for Irenæus writing, and in Latin, from what he says of Marcus the Valentinian and his disciples, lib. i. cap. 9: "Talia autem dicentes, et operantes, et in iis quoque quæ sunt secundum nos regiones Rodancenses, multas seduxerunt mulieres."

dressed to them. Michaelis expresses much surprise that Clement, whose chief object in this Epistle was to convince the Corinthians of the resurrection of the dead, should string together a rosary of quotations from the Old Testament, which are little or nothing to the purpose, while yet he neglects to refer to the fifteenth chapter of Paul's First Epistle to them, "in which this very doctrine which he wished to demonstrate was not only supported by the best arguments, but maintained by the authority of a Divine Apostle." Upon this passage the following remarks are made by the learned Translator of Michaelis: "This omission appears more formidable to our author than it really deserves; for if Clement quoted not St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians in writing on the subject of the Resurrection, the only inference that can be deduced is, that he had never seen it—not that the Epistle at that time did not exist. If Clement's Epistle be genuine, it must have been written within twenty or thirty years after St. Paul wrote his First Epistle to the Corinthians, and long before the several parts of the New Testament were collected into a volume. It is probable that many years elapsed before the particular Epistles which St. Paul had written to the different communities were known to the Christians in general: each Epistle alludes to circumstances of time and place which were less intelligible and less interesting to other communities than that to which it was immediately addressed; and as the Roman Christians had themselves received an Epistle from St. Paul, they were perhaps less anxious to know what he had written to others. Besides, the primitive Christians were in general poor, notwithstanding that Clement has been dignified with the title of Bishop and Pope; transcripts were attended with expense; the difficulty of communication in those ages infinitely greater than at present: and when we reflect that though the modern art of printing facilitates the distribution of copies in the highest possible degree, yet many of the most valuable productions of Germany, not excepting those written in Latin, are hardly known in England—it is easy

to conceive that Clement had never seen perhaps the greatest part of St. Paul's Epistles⁴."

The first person in whose hands we find an *Apostolicon* or collection of the Epistles of Paul, is Marcion; who previous to the year 130 had collected no less than *ten* of those Epistles. Marcion was a native of Sinope in Pontus, a Roman colony, of which his father was bishop⁵. The Latin was thus his

⁴ Michaelis by Marsh, vol. i. pp. 33. 362. Lightfoot, in his Commentary upon *Acts* ix. 26, says: "Some cannot conceive how it should be possible that he [Paul] should have been a convert three years, and yet his conversion and present qualities should be unknown to the church at Jerusalem. But these two or three considerations may help the scruple:—1. The distance between Damascus and Jerusalem," &c. ap. Lardner, *Works*, vol. vi. p. 261.

"It is right to remember (says the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xi. p. 19), that Petrarch's genius was as original as that of Dante. In that early age of literature the multiplication of copies was slow and uncertain; and we have the authority of Petrarch himself, that the great work of his immortal predecessor was, to a considerable degree at least, unknown to him, until a late period of his poetical career." This, in fact, is not wonderful, when we consider (as Dr. Marsh above remarks) the difficulty of occasionally obtaining even printed works. Bentley (*Phalaris*, p. 429) regrets that he could never meet with Bachet de Meziriac's *Life of Æsop*; nor, though printed in 1632, could it be procured by Bayle when he published the first edition of his Dictionary. Petavius tells us, *Epiphan.* vol. ii. *Pref.* that he could not procure several Latin versions which had been published of portions of the writings of Epiphanius; and was obliged again to translate them. Mr. Fox, in a letter to Gilbert Wakefield, says: "Soon after I wrote to you last, I read Apollonius (in Shaw's edition, for I have not been able to get Brunck's)." ap. *Quart. Review*, vol. ix. p. 326. See also, with regard to the slow transmission of works, *Edin. Review*, vol. vi. p. 171. Peyron, after endeavouring for nearly two years to obtain a copy of the Aldine Simplificius *De Cælo*, procured, by great interest, a loan of it, limited to three months, from St. Mark's Library at Venice.

⁵ Of Sinope, see *supra*, p. 301. For an account of Marcion I must refer to Lardner's *History of Heretics*, p. 198. *sqq.* See also in Beausobre's *Histoire de Manichéisme*, vol. ii. p. 69 and *sqq.* an account of Marcion, and an admirable exposure of the absurd accusations against him.

native language; and we are told by Epiphanius that his disappointment of the pontifical chair at Rome was the cause of his propagating heretical notions. Marcion is represented by Tertullian as *hamadoxio instabilior*; and in his journey from Sinope to Rome (where he arrived about A.D. 127) he had an opportunity of visiting in his way all those churches to which the Apostle Paul had written. These Epistles he would be disposed to collect as a man of learning and talent; as deriving consequence from the possession of them; and above all, perhaps, from their opposition to Judaism, of which Marcion was a most keen opposer. Paul, in fact, was the favourite Apostle of the Marcionites; and Tertullian in his attack on their leader seems to make one or two lunges at the Apostle himself⁶.

I do not mean to assert that it is absolutely certain that Marcion was the first collector of the *Apostolicon* or collection of Paul's Epistles, but merely that we have no extant account, that I know, of a more early collector. That the Apostle himself had made no such collection appears from a variety of circumstances⁷. And all that we can now discover

It is a model of criticism, at once just and lively. Jerome owns that he was a man of genius and great learning. *Com. in Osee*, cap. x.

⁶ Tertullian speaks of Paul "as a novice in Christianity when he wrote his *Epistle to the Galatians*." Michaelis, vol. vi. p. 8. [*adv. Marcionem*, lib. i. cap. 20.] For a similar reason Tertullian aims a blow at Luke: "Ex iis Commentatoribus quos habemus Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse quem cæderet. Porro Lucas non Apostolus sed Apostolicus, non magister sed discipulus; utique magistro minor, certe tanto posterior, quanto posterioris Apostoli sectator Pauli." Tertull. *adv. Marcionem*, lib. iv. cap. 2.

⁷ "Falsa omnino est, si quid judico, illa nonnullorum opinio, qua editio *Ἀποστολῶν* a Paulo ipso procurata censetur. Etenim hujus rei, quæ notatu dignissima fuisset, nullus sane scriptor antiquus mentionem facit, ne in tuenda quidem librorum quorundam N. T. *αὐθεντία*: nullibi Tertullianus *adversus Marcionem* provocat ad hanc collectionem a Paulo ipso factam, qua tamen quævis dubia Marcionis *adversus Epistolas ad Timotheum et Titum* facile dilui potuissent; neque *his illa de authentia Epistolæ ad Hebræos* potuisset excitari, si Paulus Epistolas suas colle-

is, that Marcion had collected *ten* of the Epistles of Paul nearly half a century before such a collection is mentioned by any Orthodox ecclesiastical writer. I have already stated that Marcion was a native of a *Roman* colony; and he was very violently attacked in a very elaborate work, about half a century after his death, by Tertullian the prince of the *Latin* Fathers. Besides the great work of Tertullian in five books *Adv. Marcionem*, there is usually printed with his works, and by some attributed to him, a *Latin* poem in five books against the Heretic. The circumstance of Marcion being born in a Roman colony, and thus chosen by the chief of the Latin Fathers as the object of so laborious an attack, seems to imply that Marcion was not a *Greek* but a *Latin* heretic; and this is confirmed by other circumstances. There is, indeed, a Dialogue against the Marcionites, which has been attributed to Origen, but which is not his. Previous to my having seen this work, I had from a short quotation from it in Lardner, suspected that it is a Greek version from the Latin, and this I afterwards found confirmed by Wetstein⁸. It is not

gisset, atque edidisset ipse." Gabler, *Dissert. Critica de Capitibus Ultimis*, &c. p. 18. Goett. 1782. These same arguments of Gabler I find had been used by Griesbach, p. 64 of his *Hist. Text. Græci Epist. Paul.* p. 64. Jenæ 1777; a book which I was unable to procure till now, when this work is fairly written out for the press. In that work I find the following sentence: "Quid? si Marcionis mutilam editionem occasionem præbuisse conjiciamus Catholicis, ut de curanda meliore ac pleniori Epistolarum Apostolicarum editione cogitarent." p. 66. Mill supposes that the collection of the Apostle's Epistles was first made at Rome: "unde etiam factum puto (says he) ut *Epistola ad Romanos* in Epistolarum cæterarum fronte posita fuerit." *Proleg.* No. 196 and 197. The Roman *Apostolicon* doubtless was in Latin, whatever was the original language of the Epistles.

⁸ The quotation is, τῶ σφ ΦΑΛΣΩ ἡ πιστευῶ Ἀποστολικῇ. *Dial. con. Marc.* sec. i. p. 8; and ap. Lardner, *History of Heretics.* Marcion. *æcl.* xxxv. p. 249: "Ex curiosa vero Dialogi ipsius lectione (says Wetstein) patet non solum, quod et Huetius vidit, illam seculo iv. sub Constantino M. sed etiam *Latine* primum, a Maximo forte Treverensi scriptum fuisse, et postea in Græcam linguam conversum." *Proleg.* vol. i. p. 79, or 212 ed. Semler.

the work therefore of Origen, but of some *Latin* writer whose original is lost, and of which we now only possess a Greek version. There is another remark made by Wetstein which is of infinite importance in our present inquiry. This is, that the *Codices* of Marcion were not in the Greek but in the Latin language⁹. This remark falls with the greater weight from Wetstein, both as he entertained the usual erroneous idea of the universality of Greek in the Apostolical age, and as he was a true Greek, without any of that respect or attachment to the Latin which we shall find to have been nearly universal among the Editors of the New Testament.

Tertullian, among his other reproaches of Marcion (one of which is for the *coldness* of his native climate, in which the Father was a little out of his latitude; but which, if true, was rather an attack on Providence than on Marcion)—Tertullian, I say, among his other reproaches of Marcion, abuses him because he considered as addressed to the *Laodiceans* the Epistle of Paul which we entitle to the *Ephesians*. It is now, however, the opinion of all good critics that Marcion was in the right¹⁰. In the *Apostolicon* of Marcion, the Epi-

⁹ "Ac principio, quod a nemine adhuc animadversum puto (nisi J. Millio Prol. 378 suboluisse putemus) comperimus, Marcionis Codices N. T. non ex Græcis Exemplaribus, sed ex Versione Latina veteri sive Italica conflatos fuisse." Wetstein, *Proleg.* vol. i. p. 79; = 212 Semler.

¹⁰ See the very able argument of Dr. Paley in the *Horæ Paulinæ*, No. iv. of the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, p. 242 *et seq.* Mr. Middleton, in his *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, argues against the inference usually drawn from a passage of Basil, that the words *ἐν ἐφεσῶν* are spurious; and he affirms, p. 511, that "not a single MS. hitherto collated omits the words in question, or has any various reading." Now M. Hug, in his account of the famous Vatican MS., which he examined while it was at Paris, tells us, in speaking of this passage, "abest nomen urbis [*ἐν ἐφεσῶν*] in contextu ipso, et juxta tamen in margine à prima manu, pari elegantia et assiduitate ac reliqua pars operis, adscriptum cernitur, sed characterē paullo exiliori." *De Antiquitate Codicis Vaticani Commentatio*, p. 26. Friburgi Brisg. 1810. M. Hug gives a representation of the passage; and is of opinion that it confirms the assertion of Basil, that ancient MSS. contained merely *τοῖς ἀγγαῖς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν*.

stle to the *Galatians* was also placed first, as earliest written. This is also the sentiment of Michaelis, who remarks [vol. vi. p. 9], that after having been much contested, this opinion “within these few years appears to have met with a more favourable reception.”

In the inestimable work of Epiphanius against Heresies, we are presented with a list of alterations and omissions made, as he affirms, by Marcion in his *Apostolicon*. In general, they are trifling; and in some cases the reading of our present copies agrees with Marcion in opposition to Epiphanius. In some cases, also, the various reading attributed to Marcion appears to have arisen from an erroneous version of his Latin text. Dr. Lardner, who gives us an extract of the collation of Marcion's *Apostolicon* as we find it in Epiphanius, thus writes: “In the 6th verse of the vth chapter (of *First Corinth.*) Marcion read *δολοι corrupteth* instead of *ζυμοι leaveneth*, as it is in our present copies. Marcion's reading is probably the right one¹¹.” This reading is preferred by Mill, who, contrary to his custom, writes a long note upon it: it is preferred also by Valckenaer; and is considered as of nearly equal authority by Griesbach¹². As to the Latins, Tertullian reads *desipit*, the Vulgate and others *corruptit*, and Jerome would read *fermentat*. What then is the primitive reading of the Apostle? I think *desipit*. This had been properly interpreted by one translator *ζυμοι*. Another had confounded *desipit* with *decipit* (and indeed it is so spelt in one of Tertullian's quotations), and had translated *δολοι*—and as this phrase had seemed odd, it had been changed to *δολοι corruptit*, of which *φθειγει*, another reading, is a sy-

¹¹ *History of Heretics*. Marcion, sect. 43. p. 268. Epiphani's *Opera*, Hær. xlii. p. 319. C.

¹² See Mill, *N. T. Not. in loc.* μικρὰ ζυμη—ζυμοι. “Contra morem Jo. Millius (says Valckenaer) notam in hunc locum scripsit prolixam, qua nititur ostendere Paulum hic non ζυμοι scripsisse sed δολοι, quod monstrat et a Patribus lectum, et Interpretibus vetustis et a Codicibus optimis servatum...probabile videtur Codd. antiquos, qui nobis exhibent δολοι, veram servasse lectionem.” Valck. *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 178.

nonyme. This specimen is one of numerous examples, that by supposing a Latin original we should, by accounting for their origin, often greatly reduce the number of various readings¹³.

It appears from the preceding statement, that about A.D. 127 we find in the possession of Marcion a collection of the ten chief Epistles of Paul. These Epistles, which are considered by Dr. Mill as approximating nearly to the Apostolical autographs¹⁴, were all, it should seem, in the Latin language. This circumstance will account for the otherwise strange phenomenon, that the Epistles of this Apostle are not mentioned or quoted by Greek writers, till towards the conclusion of the second century. Justin Martyr, a voluminous author who wrote about the middle of that century, (and twenty years after Marcion had collected his *Apostolicon*), never once quotes or mentions the Epistles of Paul¹⁵. His writings seem, also, to have

¹³ I shall here subjoin another instance, where not merely a various reading is attributed to Marcion, but a nonsensical one, arising doubtless from mistranslation. The Apostle, cautioning the Corinthians [1 Cor. xiv. 19] against the use of a foreign language in their religious assemblies, says: *In the church I would rather speak five words INTELLIGIBLY* [διὰ τῆς νοοῦς μου], that I might instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a foreign language. Epiphanius accuses Marcion, that instead of τῆς νοοῦς μου (which was the reading of his own copy, instead of διὰ τῆς νοοῦς μου, our present text,) he read διὰ τὸν νόμον, *per legem*, which makes nonsense. The Apostle had probably made use of the word *intelligenter*, and this had been translated in one recension τῆς νοοῦς μου in another διὰ τῆς νοοῦς μου while a third, mistaking the word, and thinking it something about the law, read διὰ τὸν νόμον μου. See *supra*, p. 255.

¹⁴ "Genuinam (says Dr. Mill, speaking of Marcion's *Codices*) quod in primævis Codd. expectare par erat, in ipsis ubique fere Scripturamprehendimus, etiam ubi a Textu hodierno dissentiunt. . . . Cæterum utut Autographis ipsis Lucæ, ac Pauli Apostoli mirifice convenerint exemplaria ista Marcionis, haud ita tamen usquequaque feliciter cum ipsis actum erat, quin ut uno, et altero saltem loco, textum violarent Librarii." Mill, N. T. *Proleg.* No. 289, 300.

¹⁵ "Ex Epistolis Pauli, et ex iis, quæ Catholicæ vocantur, ne unum quidem locum [Justinus] protulit."... "Epistolas certe Paulinas omnino aut ignoravit aut repudiavit Justinus." Rosenmüller, *Hist. Interpret. Lib. Sacr.* pp. 154. 160. Hildburgh 1795.

been unknown to Celsus, who is placed by Lardner A.D. 176. This writer having accused the Apostles as originally wicked men, Origen among other remarks observes that "he knows not how Celsus had forgotten or had not thought of making mention of Paul the principal founder of the churches after Christ." And again, in another place he says that "Celsus is unacquainted with the philosophical reflections of Paul¹⁶." On one occasion, indeed, Celsus having made use of an expression similar to one in the Epistles, Origen remarks that "this is the only thing of Paul's which Celsus seems to quote:" upon which Dr. Lardner (who is far from being a candid writer *where the Canon is concerned*) remarks, "But I suppose that Origen is *not to be understood strictly*, but rather in this manner, that Celsus had seldom quoted Paul¹⁷."

The accusers of the ancient heretics for rejecting this or that canonical book always talk as if the New Testament, in its present form, had been *published* by some Jerusalem bookseller at a cheap rate—had been *advertised* in newspapers and reviews, and openly despised and rejected by these heretics. On this subject I would quote a passage (which is full of moderation and good sense) from the *Bampton Lectures* of Mr. Falconer. "The Ebionites (says he, p. 127) certainly received one Gospel, that of St. Matthew; the Marcionites that of St. Luke; and the Gnostics that of St. John: the question then is, whether those persons are to be

¹⁶ Οὐκ οἶδα δ' ὅπως ἐπελαθετο, ἢ ἔκ ἐνοήσεν περὶ Παύλου τι εἰπεῖν. Origen *contra Celsum*, p. 49. Οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν ὅσα περὶ τούτου, καὶ παρὰ τῷ Παύλῳ πεφιλοσοφῆται. *Ibid.* p. 70. edit. Spencer, Cambridge 1677. 4to.

¹⁷ Lardner, *Works*, vol. viii. p. 65. See *Appendix*, note A. It is remarked also by Professor Thorlacius, that the authors of the Sibylline Oracles, who were Greek Christians, who lived in the second century, and who wrote some part of them between A.D. 138 and 169, seem scarcely or not to have been acquainted with Paul's Epistles. "Epistolarum Pauli certa indicia in Sibyllinis vix invenientur. Gravis ille locus 2 *Thess.* ii. 1—14. his auctoribus absque dubio ignotus fuit," &c. *Libri Sibyllistarum Veteris Ecclesiæ*, p. 147. Havniæ, 1815.

denominated Christians who received one Gospel only. But all the primitive Christians were at first, through necessity indeed, in the same situation; for they could not probably know that others existed unless the three first Gospels were composed and published and interchanged among the various Christian communities at the same time. Indeed there might have been a natural partiality for the Gospel written by the person by whom the Christians of a certain tract of country were converted." In fact, till the middle of the second century, each of the Christian communities seems scarcely to have had more than one Gospel; and it is the opinion of Rosenmüller, and others, that in these first times not merely the Ebionites and Nazarenes, but the whole Christians of Palestine, made use only of the Gospel according to the Hebrews¹⁸. At the same period, and in the same country, the Epistles of Paul seem to have been altogether or almost unknown. "Mr. Whiston (says Dr. Jortin) has somewhere observed that Papias takes no notice of Paul, and therefore probably was of the sect of the Ebionites, who hated that Apostle. His remark is, like many other of his remarks, ingenious; and Papias is said to have made use of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which was received by the Ebionites¹⁹." The truth is, that the very existence of Epistles of Paul was, perhaps, scarcely known to this Eastern bishop. They are never quoted, as we have seen, or referred to even by Justin Martyr, who lived and wrote voluminously at a later period than Papias.

It has been, indeed, a subject of much surprise among critics,—since a more accurate investigation has reduced to their just value the vague assertions concerning the citation of our Canonical Scriptures by the writers named *Apostolical*

¹⁸ "Eo, quod non tantum Nazaræis, et Ebionæis, sed et omnibus primæ ætatis Christianis Palæstinensibus, in usu fuisse videtur *Evangelio secundum Hebræos*." Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Matthæum*, p. 4. Norimbergæ, 1788.

¹⁹ Jortin, *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 82. Lond. 1752.

*Fathers*²⁰,—I say it has been a subject of no little surprise, that our Canonical Gospels and Epistles are not taken notice of by any Greek writer till near the close of the second century; and this has furnished objections to their genuineness and authenticity²¹. If we suppose, however, that they remained in *Latin*, till the compilation of the Canon soon after the middle of the second century, this will account for the phenomenon of their being so long neglected by the Greek writers. As to the Latins, we know not *when* they were first mentioned by them, as we have now no ecclesiastical writer in that language earlier than Tertullian.

History is silent with respect to the place *where* and the time *when* the Canon was formed. "The ancient legend (says Dr. Marsh) that the Canon was formed at Ephesus before the close of the first century, has been long rejected as unsupported by any authority whatsoever; and various writers,

²⁰ Dodwell, who seems to have had the merit of giving the first just notions upon this subject, remarks, that in these writers we find, "ne unum quidem *Evangelistam* nomine suo compellatum. Et si quos locos forte proferant quibus similia in *nostris* leguntur *Evangeliiis*, ita tamen illos mutatos ut plurimum, interpolatosque reperies, ut sciri nequeat, an e *nostris* illos, an ex aliis produxerint *Apocryphis* *Evangeliiis*. Sed et *Apocrypha* adhibent iidem aliquoties, quæ certum est in *hodiernis* non haberi *Evangeliiis*." Dodwell, *Dissert. in Irenæum*, p. 67. One of Dr. Lardner's great weaknesses is, that if a fact is, in the slightest degree, hinted at by an ancient writer which has the smallest resemblance to any thing stated in the *Gospels* or *Acts*, this is, in his opinion, a proof that these identical *Gospels*, and that very *Book of Acts*, were read and received by that writer. Thus, for example, he contends that Celsus must have read the Gospel of *Mark*, because he says our Lord was a carpenter. [vol. viii. p. 16, 58.] In fact, of the numerous Gospels which were abroad in the first ages, and which are alluded to by Luke in his preface, much, there is reason to believe, was common to all. See, for example, Serapion's account of a Gospel attributed to Peter, ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. cap. 12.

²¹ "Merito igitur quærimus, qui factum sit, ut Scriptores Græci Sæculi II, qui in Asia et Palæstina vixerunt, Evangelia nostra et Epistolas Apostolorum negligerent?" Rosenmüller, *Hist. Interp.* &c. p. 232.

especially Griesbach in his *Historia Textus Epistolarum Paulinarum*, sect. 2. § 12, and Semler in his *Commentarii Historici de Antiquo Christianorum Statu*, tom. i. p. 35—39, have shown that the Canon was not formed before the middle of the second century²². About this period it would appear, (between the period of the publication of the writings of Justin Martyr, A.D. 140, and those of Irenæus, A.D. 178) the Church, both Greek and Latin, entered into a resolution to check that multitude of Apocryphal authorities which were abroad, and to limit its reverence to the present four Gospels. Irenæus, as I have already stated, is the very first writer by whom all the four Gospels, and their authors, are *definitely mentioned* and expressly cited. This author, also, enters into a long discussion (as if it were even in his time a subject of controversy) for the purpose of proving that there ought to be *four* Gospels. "It is impossible (says he) that there could have been more or less than four; for there are four regions, and four cardinal winds, and the Church extends over the whole earth; but the Gospel is the pillar and foundation of the church, and its breath of life. The church *therefore* must have four pillars." Irenæus adds that the cherubim are quadriform, and compares the Evangelists to the four cherubic resemblances;—a circumstance which has given occasion to the man, lion, calf, and eagle, with which the different Evangelists are usually painted to distinguish them²³."

It should seem, then, that soon after the middle of the second century our Canon was formed; and both the Gospels and Apostolical Epistles would now be extant both in the Greek and Latin languages. As MSS., however, were expensive, and the Christians poor, it is not improbable that

²² Michaelis, vol. iii, p. 554.

²³ "Neque autem plura numero quam hæc sunt, neque rursus pauciora capit esse Evangelia. Quoniam enim quatuor regiones sunt, in quo sumus, et quatuor principales spiritus, et disseminata est Ecclesia super omnem terram, columna autem et firmamentum Ecclesiæ est Evangelium, et spiritus vitæ, consequens est quatuor habere eam columnas," &c. q. l. d. *Adv. Hæres.* lib. iii. c. 11. See *supra*, p. 61.

only the more wealthy communities would possess even all the four Gospels, and sometimes a single, sometimes a few of the Epistles²⁴. Nothing can be a greater mistake than to view the Gospels in the early times of Christianity, in the same light as under our present advantages of printing—bound up in a volume, and to be met with in every house. “I cannot (says Bishop Horsley to Dr. Priestley) admit your position, that ‘each of the Gospels was intended to be a sufficient instruction in the fundamental principles of the doctrines of Christianity:’ the principles of the Christian religion are to be collected neither from a single Gospel, nor from all the four Gospels, nor from the four Gospels with the Acts and the Epistles; but from the whole code of Revelation, consisting of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament²⁵.” Now, in this case, the principles of the Christian religion could scarcely have been collected till after the invention of printing. Previous to this period, a single MS. like the Alexandrian might have been found, perhaps, in a kingdom; but in general each MS. contained only a portion of the Sacred Books, and even such portions were in the hands of few. The same is still the case in countries where

²⁴ Augustin, who was a bishop and a man of great influence, makes an apology for his remarks on the Epistle of James, that at the time when he dictated them he had no good version of that Epistle. “Ipsam Epistolam quam legebamus, quando ista dictavi, non diligenter ex Græco habebamus interpretatum.” August. *Retract.* lib. ii. cap. 32. It appears that books of Scripture were thus single and detached, and that accurate copies were not always easy to be procured. Griesbach, speaking of the Alexandrian MS. says, “Monuisse tamen hoc loco juvabit, Librarium non transcripsisse omnes Novi Testamenti libros ex uno eodemque exemplari, sed usum eum esse pluribus libris, diversæ admodum indolis ac bonitatis, et ex pluribus provinciis oriundis. Rari enim erant illo tempore codices qui universum Novum Testamentum complecterentur; plerique partem ejus tantum continebant, nempe alii Evangelia, alii Epistolas Pauli, alii denique Actus Apostolorum cum catholicis epistolis. Hinc accidit ut *Codex Alexandrinus* non in omnibus libris eandem textus revisionem sequitur.” Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* vol. i. p. ix.

²⁵ Horsley, *Tracts*, p. 285.

printing is not used. "The Abyssinians (says Bruce) have the whole Scriptures as we have, and count the same number of books; but they divide them in another manner, at least in private hands, few of them from extreme poverty being able to purchase the whole either of the historical or prophetical books of the Old Testament. The same may be said of the New; for copies containing the whole of it are very scarce. Indeed no where, unless in churches, do you see more than the *Gospels*, or the *Acts of the Apostles*, in one person's possession; and it must not be an ordinary man that possesses even these²⁶." It is probable, indeed, that even after the formation of the Canon, the greater number of individuals, and even smaller communities, would (as we know to have been the case previous to this period) be in possession only of a single Gospel. Theodoret, who was made Bishop of Cyrus about A.D. 420, speaks as follows on the subject of Tatian: "He also composed a Gospel, which is called *Diatessaron*, leaving out the genealogies, and every thing which showed the Lord to be of the seed of David according to the flesh. This work was not only used by those of his own sect, but also by such as followed the Apostolical doctrine, they not perceiving the fraud of the composition, but *simply using it as a compendious book*. I myself (continues Theodoret) met with more than two hundred of those books, which were in esteem in our churches, all which I took away and laid aside in a parcel, and placed in their room the Gospels of the four Evangelists.²⁷" When a single Gospel was possessed by an individual, he would, when opportunity offered (and as much matter is common to all the Gospels) sometimes, and with no ill design, rather enrich his own copy from the others than procure the whole of them. In this way, perhaps, we may account for that intermixture of texts, of which Origen and Jerome complain; the latter of whom affirms, that "among us every thing is mixed—that passages of Luke and Matthew

²⁶ Bruce, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 493, 4to.

²⁷ Theodoret, *Harcl. Fab.* lib. i. c. 20.

were to be found in Mark, and again in Matthew many of John and of Mark²⁸." Dr. Lardner, speaking of Tertullian, observes that "Tertullian says that Marcion erased the passage which gives an account of the parting of the raiment among the soldiers, "*Vestitum plane ejus a militibus divisum sorte concessum Marcion abstulit* ; but the reason which he assigns for it, viz. *respiciens Psalmi prophetiam*, shows us that in this, as well as in two or three other instances, where he has accused Marcion of altering passages, his memory deceived him, by taking that to be in Luke which was only in Matthew²⁹." The probability, however, is that Tertullian really found in his Gospel of Luke the passages of Matthew which he accuses Marcion of mutilating, and that this fluctuating text was settled by the subsequent editors of the New Testament.

Few things appear to be more certain, than that when the Church first settled the authority of the canonical books of the New Testament, no certain text was legally established, as in the case of the Clementine Vulgate or King James's English version. All that was done was to recognise certain books as canonical ; and hence the continuance of that intermixture of texts above alluded to, and the appearance of various readings before the close of the second century. In a preceding Disquisition, it has been remarked that the autographs of the Apostles, or rather perhaps of their amanuenses, seem soon to have perished. It appears, moreover, from Clement of Alexandria, that already in his time various readings were to be found in the Gospels ; for after citing a text in Matthew he gives two

²⁸ "Magnus siquidem in his nostris codicibus error inolevit, dum quod in eadem re alius Evangelista plus dixit, in alio, quia minus putaverint, addiderunt ; aut dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille qui unum e quatuor primum legerat, ad ejus exemplum cæteros quoque æstimaverit emendandos. Unde accidit, ut apud nos mixta sint omnia, et in Marco plura Lucæ et Matthæi, rursum in Matthæo plura Ioannis et Marci, et in cæteris reliquorum, quæ aliis propria sunt, inveniantur." Hieron. *Pref. ad Evang.*

²⁹ *History of Heretics*, Marcion. sect. xxxvi. p. 260.

other various readings³⁰. Origen also, as we formerly saw (p. 93), observes, in speaking of the Gospels, that "it is manifest there is a difference between copies, whatever it is owing to, whether to the negligence of transcribers, or to the wicked rashness of some in altering what is written, or to a liberty taken by some of adding or leaving out some things by the way of correction and emendation, as they apprehend."

If we turn from the Greek to the Latin Gospels, we shall find reason to conclude that the variation of text in them was, or soon became, still more considerable. The Greeks, as formerly remarked (p. 94), scarcely studied any language but their own: whereas the literature of the Romans was almost wholly Greek, and consisted chiefly of translations and imitations of the writers in that language. The literary Romans were thus, so to speak, a race of translators; and as, from motives of interest, Latin was perhaps the only language

³⁰ Μακαριοι, Φησιν, οι δεδιωγμενοι ενεκεν δικαιοσυνης, οτι αυτοι υιοι Θεου κληθησονται, η (ως τινες των μετατιθεντων τα ευαγγελια) Μακαριοι, Φησιν, οι δεδιωγμενοι υπο της δικαιοσυνης, οτι αυτοι ισονται τελειοι και Μακαριοι οι δεδιωγμενοι ενεκα εμψ, οτι εξουσι τοπον οπου η διωχθησονται. Clement. Alex. *Stromat.* lib. iv. p. 490. Paris 1641. It is not easy to say what Clement means by the τινες των μετατιθεντων τα ευαγγελια, *nonnulli ex iis qui Evangelia transponunt*, and whether he alludes to various versions then extant. This at least is certain, that the text fluctuated in different MSS.

"I subjoin (says Mr. Nolan) a few examples of remarkable texts in which Origen differs from Clement..... *Matt.* v. 48. ο πατηρ ο εν τοις ουρανοις, Vulg. Clem. ο πατηρ ο ουρανιος, Vatic. Orig. — *Ib.* x. 39. ευρησει αυτην, Vulg. Orig. σωσει αυτην, Clem. — *Luc.* xii. 9. ενωπιον των Αγγελων, Vulg. Orig. εμπροσθεν των Αγγελων, Cant. Clem." &c. &c. Nolan, F. *Inquiry*, &c. p. 326. These and the like specimens, given by Mr. Nolan for a very different purpose, seem to have their origin in a diversity of version. We cannot easily account, except in this manner, for ευρησει and σωσει. The original seems to have been *cruet*, from *eruo* (*supra*, p. 234). To what indeed but a diversity of version can we attribute such differences as the following? *Matt.* x. 26. Ουδεν γαρ ιστι κεικαλυμμενον, ο υ αποκαλυφθησεται, και κρυπτον, ο υ γνωσθησεται. Vulg. Ουδεν κρυπτον, ο υ Φανερωθησεται, υδς (και υδς, Orig.) κεικαλυμμενον, ο υ αποκαλυφθησεται. Clem. Orig.

with which (though they succeeded very ill) the Greeks endeavoured to become acquainted, this is one of the circumstances which weighs with me in suspecting that several of the Greek versions of books of the Old Testament were translated through the medium of the Latin. Augustin paints in a very lively manner the different habits of the two nations; and, though his mode of expression on the subject be hyperbolical, yet with all due allowance it clearly indicates the itch for interpretation among the Latins³¹. This taste, and habit, speedily gave rise to a great variety of Latin versions of the Gospels. Sometimes a person of this turn of mind might be able to procure a Greek, when he could not obtain a Latin copy of one or more of the Books of Scripture; and, like the translator of W. de Möerbeka's *Simplicius*, might prefer making a version to hunting after an original. Hence the great variety of Latin translations of which Jerome thus exclaims in the Dedication to Pope Damasus: "Si Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant Quibus? tot enim sunt exemplaria pæne quot codices?"

It seems, at first sight, inconceivable, that a Latin Gospel (if any Gospel was originally composed in Latin) or a Latin Epistle of Paul, should have first been supplanted by a Greek version; and that this Greek version should in turn be re-translated into Latin. Or if an epistle was first composed in Greek, it seems difficult to suppose that this, like the *Aldine Simplicius*, should have been afterwards supplanted by a Greek re-translation from the Latin language. Such vicissitudes, however, seem to have been not uncommon; and several circumstances render the phenomenon of a translation supplanting its original less strange than it may at first appear. Let us take for example the *Epistles to the Corinthians*. At

³¹ "Qui Scripturas ex Hebræâ linguâ in Græcam verterunt numerari possunt, Latini autem Interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuivis primis Fidei temporibus in manus venit Codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari." August. *De Doctrin. Christ.* lib. ii. cap. 11.

the time when the Books of the New Testament were composed, the Roman power (and consequently its influence) was nearly at its highest flood, and that of Greece at its lowest ebb. The Greeks took up arms in behalf of Pompey³², and were consequently regarded with hostility by the conqueror, though the generosity of his nature, and his respect for their ancestors, induced him to use his victory with clemency. In the first book of the *Æneid*, Jupiter consoles Venus for the ruin of Troy, by announcing to her the future subjugation of Greece by the descendant of a Trojan [i. 283].

—— veniet lustris labentibus annis; *

Cum domus Assaraci, Phthiam, clarasque Mycenæ,
 Servitio premet, ac victis dominabitur Argis.
 Nascetur pulchra Trojanus origine Cæsar,
 Imperium Oceano, funam qui terminet astris,
 JULIUS a magno demissum nomen Iulo.

And again, in the sixth book, when Anchises is pointing out to his son the shades of the future heroes of Rome, he exclaims as follows [vi. 836.]:

Ille, triumphata Capitolia ad alta CORINTHO
 Victor aget currum, crescis insignis Achivis:
 Eruiet ille Argos, Agamemnoniasque Mycenæ,
 Ipsumque Æaciden, genus armipotentis Achillei,
 Ultus avos Trojæ, templa et temerata Minervæ.

It has been seen, in a former part of this book, that Cæsar sent a colony to Corinth, and that in the time of the Apostle Paul it was not a Greek but a Latin city. His Epistles to the Corinthians were probably therefore written to them in the Latin language; a hypothesis, as we have seen, which explains many phenomena which otherwise seem inexplicable. As these epistles, however, were in some measure addressed not merely to the Corinthians, but to the saints of

³² Interea totum MAGNI fortuna per orbem
 Secum casuras in prælia moverat urbes,
 Proxima vicino vires dat *Græcia* bello.

LUCAN. *Phars.* III. 169.

Achaia, some Latin, at the period, may have translated them into Latin-Greek, nay, more such versions than one may have been made. And as Greek from the age of Hadrian began to gain the ascendancy over Latin, the translations prevalent in Achaia would be more numerous than the Latin copies, and, when the canon was compiled, might be sent to the compilers as the Epistles to the Corinthians. Accurate critical ideas with respect to the comparative values of originals and versions, and of one version over another of a work merely designed for information, are the result of a state of literature considerably advanced. In fact, they scarcely exist at any period, except among critics by profession. A distinguished philosopher, speaking of Bodin's *Six Books of a Commonwealth*, Englished by Knolles, says, that "Knolles appears to have collated the French and Latin copies so carefully and judiciously that his version is in some respects superior to either of the originals³³." The Caliph Al Mamon, who was no ordinary man, caused a great number of Greek books to be purchased and translated into Syriac, and Arabic; after which, it is said, he ordered the originals to be burned as of no further use³⁴. We have a case completely in point in

³³ Stewart, D., *Preface to the Suppl. of the Encyclopædia*.

³⁴ *Leo Afric.* ap. Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* xiii. p. 261. Of the quality of Arabic versions from the Greek see Huet, *De Interpretatione*, p. 154 *et seqq.* "Toutes les traductions Arabes des ouvrages Grecs (says M. Langlès) ont été faites sur de très mauvaises versions Syriacques. Les textes ne sont pas moins défigurés que les noms propres. Il n'existe peut-être pas un seul ouvrage traduit immédiatement du Grec en Arabe. Toutes les traductions Arabes que l'on connaît semblent faites en dépit du sens commun, et ne peuvent donner aucune idée des auteurs originaux," ap. Ginguené, *Hist. Littéraire d'Italie*, vol. i. p. 212. Some Arabic versions of Greek works seem to have been made through the medium of the Latin. "Galenum autem, (says Huet,) Cebetis Tabulam, Aristoteli adscriptos *De Philosophia Ægyptiorum* libros ab Abenamâ Saraceno Arabicè redditos, aliaque ejus opera ferè omnia, non ex Græcis fontibus, sed ex Latinis lacunis, iisque contaminatis deducta," &c. Huet, *De Interpretet.* p. 161. In Galen's works some treatises in Latin, translated from Arabic, are to be found, of which the Greek is lost. Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.*

the *Septuagint*. The early Fathers of the Church, with the exception of Origen, considered the Hebrew as perfectly superseded by the Greek version; and doubtless, except for the Jews, the former would be no longer extant. In like manner, when an accurate, or supposed accurate, Greek version was made of an Apostolical Epistle, this to such critics as the first Fathers would seem as good as an original³⁵. This Greek Epistle would, in turn, supply a Latin copy to some one who could more easily translate the Epistle than, in the scarcity of MSS., procure an original, or even another Latin version. The like we see has happened in the case of the *Aldine Simplicius*, and the translator of that work has not merely translated the text of Simplicius himself from the Latin, but also the passages of Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and others (whom Simplicius cites), rather than engage in the difficult search for the originals. In fact, even when in the possession of MSS., such sometimes was the inconvenience of consulting them, that a translator, when the passages were of no great length, often preferred giving a version of his own

lib. iv. vol. iii. p. 549. These re-translated into Greek would pass for Galen's original, as has happened in the case of Aristotle *De Plantis*. I may add that Al Mamon's destruction of the Greek *Codices*, if true, renders it probable that he thought these copies almost the only ones extant.

³⁵ "Interpretandi artificium (says Huet) ab antiquioribus Græcis ferè spreto, recentiores leviter excoluere, quæcumque autem e linguis exoticis in Græcam traducta sunt, in iis fere contigit, ut ab ipsis Interpretationibus extrusa paulatim exemplaria penitus tandem intercederint... Interpretationes supersint, primigenii ipsi auctorum Libri perierint." Huet, *De Interpret.* p. 168. Of this Huet gives a variety of examples. Even a wish for uniformity with the old LXX. might lead to a preference of a Greek Matthew, Mark, Epistle to the Hebrews, &c. In the *Monthly Review* of the correspondence of the Duke of Shrewsbury, just published by Mr. Coxe, it is said, "The King's [William's] letters were composed in French; but Mr. Coxe has not given the originals, preferring for the sake of uniformity to publish close translations of them in English." p. 114. Feb. 1822. This, too, in such an advanced state of literature! and by an Editor so long practised in the publication of works connected with diplomacy.

to the trouble of examining the original,—a proof of the lax notions which were entertained on the subject of verbal accuracy. For example, the author of the *Aldine Simplicius* was in possession of a MS. of Aristotle's work *De Cælo*, and yet he frequently in the course of his work translates passages of Aristotle from the Latin of W. de Möerbeka as easier than looking out the passage in the original³⁶. In our present riches of literature, when many have nothing but the trouble of rising to take down a book from their shelves, to examine an index, and to transcribe, we cannot easily conceive the difficulties which were formerly encountered. Hence must have arisen a propensity to translate rather than to consult. Griesbach speaking of Papal Epistles to Greek Councils, and other Latin writings, of this kind, translated into Greek, remarks that when texts of Scripture occurred, the Greek translators, instead of consulting MSS. of the Scriptures, often chose rather to translate from the Latin than to give themselves this trouble³⁷. With such lax notions on the subject

³⁶ "At errabam (says Peyron) dum nuper dicebam, omnes clarorum virorum locos a Simplicio Veneto passim commemoratos præpostere legi. Textus enim Aristotelis *De Cælo* cuique *Commentarii* parti præpositus summa semper fide exhibetur, quod ideo a Græculo factum suspicor, ne continuo insignis ad oculos legentium fraus esset. Ceterum ridendum se propinat, quoties verba Aristotelis *De Cælo* in sequentibus *Commentariis* iterum citata, ne tantam sibi crearet molestiam abs se exarata repetendi, de suo Græca facit." Peyron, *Empedocles*, &c. p. 18. Ambrosius Camaldulensis writes thus in one of his Epistles: "Genealogias Deorum Mariotto nostro ad te remittendas dedi. Græcos illos versus ex Homero, qui deerant in marginibus, scripsi, invento tandem Exemplari quo versus illi continerentur emendatius scripti; nam eos ex auctore decerpenti otium minime suppeditassem." p. 307. ed. Mehus. Flor. 1759. Erasmus having only one Greek MS. of the *Apocalypse* when he published his first edition of the New Testament, and it being imperfect, supplied the *lacunæ* by translating from the Latin. I possess only the Amsterdam Latin version of the *Miscellaneous Observations* published by Dr. Jortin, &c. and was lately obliged to re-translate a passage into English from the Latin copy, not being able to procure the original.

³⁷ "Interpretes talium libellorum Græcos dicta Biblica a Latino auc-

of a literal text, can we wonder at the great diversity of copies of the Scriptures in the first ages, so strikingly pictured by Jerome and Augustine?

Such a diversity may have been produced from a variety of causes. In the persecution of the Church under Dioclesian and Maximian, the Scriptures were sought out with great diligence and consumed with fire³⁹. New supplies thus became necessary; and these would be furnished partly, perhaps, from transcripts of Greek copies, partly from versions. It is remarked by Mr. Nolan, that "in those great convulsions which agitated the Eastern and Western churches with scarcely any intermission, and which subjected the sacred text to the greatest changes through that vast tract of country which extends round the Levant from Libya to Illyricum, the African provinces were exposed to the horrors of persecution but for an inconsiderable period. The Church, of course, which was established in this region, neither required

tore laudata non semper transcripsisse e Græco Bibliorum codice, sed e Latinis sæpe Græca fecisse, multis exemplis probari potest. Sic in versione Græca celebratissimæ Leonis I. *ad Flavianum Epistolæ...*] Cor. xiii. 4. Latina Leonis verba: *Est enim pateriens et benigna, et non amulatur, non agit perperam, non inflatur, non est ambitiosa, non quærit quæ sua sunt,* ita reddidit interpretes *ἐστιν ἀνεξίκακος καὶ καλοθέλης, καὶ οὐκ ἐριστικὴ, οὐδὲ περῖττει ματὴν, οὐδὲ οὐγκύται, ἔδε AMBITIONΕΥΕΙ, οὐδὲ ζῆτει ἅπερ ἑαυτῆς ἰδία ἐστίν:* quæ in Græcis Novi T. codicibus his verbis leguntur: *μακροθυμεῖ, χρηστεύεται, οὐ ζῆλοι, οὐ ΠΕΡΙΠΕΥΕΤΑΙ, οὐ Φουσιεται, οὐ ἀσχημονεῖ, οὐ ζῆτει τὰ ἑαυτῆς.* Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* vol. i. p. cxvi. Here, I may remark, we have in the modern translator the *non est ambitiosa* of the Latin-Vulgate transformed into a Latin-Greek verb, *ἔδε ἀμῶντιονευεῖ*, which, of itself, might argue a version from the Latin. But in our Greek Vulgate we also find the Latin phrase *non agit perperam* converted into the Latin-Greek verb *οὐ περπερευεται*: and is not this as decisive of a Latin origin as the other? See *supra*, pp. 157. 231. *So πάντα στεγεί, i. e. tegit.* Valcken. *Scholæ*, ii. p. 230. Schleusner *ΣΤΕΓΩ*, and v. 3. *ψαμίσω, absumo.*

³⁹ See Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* lib. viii. c. 2. *τὰς δὲ ἐνθεὺς καὶ ἱεῖρας γράφας κατὰ μισαὶς ἀγῶρας πυρὶ παραδιδόμενας, αὐτοῖς ἐπειδόμεν οφθαλμοῖς.* *supra*, p. 56.

a new supply of Sacred Books³⁹," nor is it unlikely that they furnished many members of the Greek church with versions made from their Latin Scriptures. Eusebius also tells us, that (besides Africa) Italy, Sicily, France, and Spain, were persecuted for a much shorter period than the Eastern provinces. It is not improbable, therefore, that Greece, Egypt, and Palestine, might receive some supply of copies from the West. We have seen in a former part of this work (p. 41.), that Constantinople, which originally was much colonized by Latins, soon became a Greek city, and it seems likely that some of their *codices* would undergo a similar transformation. Eusebius, indeed, tells us in his *Life of Constantine*, that, by command of that emperor, he prepared fifty *codices* written on parchment in order to be used in the churches; and what Eusebius did under the auspices of Constantine I. Athanasius afterwards (though we know not to what extent) performed by command of Constans⁴⁰. It can scarcely be doubted that the copies sent by Eusebius were of the recension of Origen, and those of Athanasius were probably the recension of Hesychius. And yet we find that in the time of Jerome these (so far at least as the Old Testament was concerned) had given place at Constantinople to the recension of Lucian (*supra*, p. 304). It has been supposed by some that Lucian was the editor of the ancient Latin ver-

³⁹ Nolan, F., *Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate*, p. 295. Euseb. *De Martyr. Palæst.* cap. 13. Mr. Nolan's book is full of inconclusive reasonings, but abounds in valuable quotations.

⁴⁰ Eusebius *De Vita Constantini*, lib. iv. cap. 36, 37. Athanasii *Ad Imper. Constant. Apol.* vol. i. p. 676, Coloniae 1686. See also Wetstein, *Prolegom.* p. 70, who speaking of the *Codices* furnished by Eusebius remarks, "Sed et eadem occasione accidisse puto, ut libri illi pauci veteres, qui ex incendio Diocletiani manibusque traditorum salvi evaserant, præ novis istis et pretiosis regiisque Codicibus sorderent atque vilescerent, passimque seponerentur, sicque paulatim neglecti interirent." On the contrary, the Eusebian copies seem to have been neglected in the succeeding reign, when Athanasius was applied to: and both soon afterward seem to have given way to the recension of Lucian.

sion named the *Italic*; but perhaps it is more probable that the Latin copies used in Italy were translated by him into Greek, and that they thus obtained a preference in Constantinople or New Rome⁴¹.

The change of Constantinople, from a Latin to a Greek city, was also in course of time undergone by various Roman colonies in the East. The church of Ælia (as Jerusalem was named when rebuilt by Hadrian) appears at its first settlement to have been a Latin church⁴². How long it continued

⁴¹ "Non desunt qui Lucianum versionis Latine Veteris *Italæ* nominatæ auctorem fuisse, errore perabsurdo autumarunt." Hody, *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 628. One of the reasons assigned by a Greek author for the undertaking of Lucian, seems to be corruptions from continued retranslations: "Hic quum Sacros Libros multa adulterina recepissee vidisset, quod et tempus ipsum multa in eis corrupisset, et continua aliorum ex aliis descriptio [versio? καὶ τῆς συνεχὲς ἀφ' ἑτέρων εἰς ἑτέρας μεταβίβασις], atque improbissimi homines, Hellenismi patroni, eorum sensum pervertere tentassent, multaue adulterina in eis interseruissent, eos ipse omnes in manus assumens, ex lingua renovavit Hebraicā, quam ipsam quoque maxima ex parte callebat." See ap. Suidas, in *voc.* Λυκανός. Lucian also edited the N. Testament.

Baronius having contended, from the words of a letter of Pope Nicholas to the Emperor Marcian, that "In sacris etiam Missarum solemnii penes Græcos ea semper viguit consuetudo, ut tam lectiones Evangelicæ quam Apostolicæ primum Latine, inde Græce eadem in Ecclesia publicæ recitarentur," Casaubon remarks: "Non dicit Papa eam consuetudinem vigere apud Græcos, de Constantinopolitana enim Ecclesia tantum loquitur, ubi plerique Itali erant, aut sermonis Latini periti...Papæ narratio nihil habet neque admirabile, neque a probabilitate alienum, si dextre accipiatur. Apparet enim eos qui hoc Nicolao dixerunt, de Ecclesiis illis *Novæ Romæ* locutos esse, ad quas conveniebant plerique omnes Latini, aut Latinæ linguae periti, Græci vero non adeo multi. Merito igitur partis majoris habita est ratio, sed nec pauci illi Græci sunt contempti; in quorum gratiam institutum, ut quæ legebantur e sacris literis mox Græce iterum legerentur. Adhuc nimirum vigebat in Ecclesia Dei Pauli Apostoli præceptum, qui verba non intellecta proferri vetat in Synaxibus." *Exercitt. ad Annal. Eccl. Baronii*, p. 166.

⁴² See this in the passage quoted from Dodwell, Note B. in the *Appendix*. In Ælia were struck many *Latin Numi*: as for example, one to

so, and at what period it became Greek, it is not easy to determine: but when this happened, it is probable that the former Latin copies would be translated into Greek; for in those times, as I have remarked, no very accurate ideas existed with regard to the comparative value of originals and versions; and a person who had a Latin copy would often find it more easy (like the author of the *Aldine Simplicius*) to have that Latin copy translated, than to hunt after a Greek one. Alexander, one of the bishops of Ælia, who lived in the reign of Severus, formed a library in that city which is mentioned by Eusebius. "At this time (says he) many learned ecclesiastical persons flourished, whose epistles written to one another are still extant, and not difficult to find. For they have been preserved even to our age in the library of the city of Ælia, which was founded by Alexander, who was bishop of that church. Out of this library we ourselves have collected materials for our present subject. Of these ecclesiastics was Beryllus bishop of Bostra, in Arabia, who, together with Epistles and Commentaries, left several other monuments of the elegance of his genius. Another was Hippolytus, who presided over some other church. There came also into our hands a Disputation of Caius, a most learned man, held at Rome in the times of Zephyrinus against Proclus, a defender of the Cataphrygian heresy. In which dispute he, silencing the rashness and boldness of his adversary in compiling new Scriptures, mentions only thirteen Epistles of the Holy Apostle [Paul], not accounting that to the Hebrews among the others; and indeed, even now, it is thought by some of the Romans that this Epistle was not written by the Apostle⁴³."

Of the authors here enumerated by Eusebius, Caius was certainly, and (as Bostra was a Roman colony) Beryllus was

Commodus with the inscription COL. ÆL. CAP. COMM. P. F. that is *Colonia Ælia Capitolina Pia Felix*. See Rasche, *Lexicon Univ. Rci Numariæ*, vol. i. p. 120.

⁴³ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. c. 20.

probably, a Latin writer⁴⁴. Hippolytus, the bishop of Portua is also rightly classed by Du Cange among the Latin writers. In fact, the works mentioned by Eusebius in the above chapter, and which he had consulted in the library of Ælia or Jerusalem, must have been Greek translations, made probably in that city from the Latin. This writer, though the historian of the church, and one of the most learned men of his age, had a very imperfect acquaintance with the Latin language⁴⁵. Soon after the period of the formation of the Canon, every thing began to assume a Greek aspect. Constantinople, the capital of the empire; gradually became wholly Greek; and Ælia and the other Eastern Latin colonies imitated the capital. In such circumstances the Latin copies of books of the Scriptures would occasionally be translated into Greek, and hence probably, as we may afterwards find, the variety of recensions.

It may appear, perhaps, to the reader from the above remarks, that from the want of critical knowledge and the vicissitudes of those early times, the Apostolical originals *may* have occasionally been supplanted by translations and re-translations. We can even conceive how a Latin Epistle of Paul

⁴⁴ Muratori [*Antiqq. Ital. Med. Æv.* vol. iii. p. 854] has preserved a production supposed to be by Caius, of which the following is a specimen: "Acta autem omnium Apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt, Lucas optime Theophile comprehendit, qui sub præsentia ejus singula gerebantur, sicut et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis." This is evidently a barbarous version (if it can be so called) from the Greek, which Greek had been a translation from the Latin of Caius; and, as I have hinted above, p. 314, something similar may probably have happened in the works of Irenæus.

As to Bostra, we find in the *Numi* of Alex. Severus, &c. COLONIA BOSTRA.; and in one of the Philips, BOSTRA. COL. METROPOLIS. Rasche, *Lexicon Univ. Rei Num.* p. 1582.

⁴⁵ See *supra*, p. 95: "Latinorum (says Dodwell) enim quos habemus Eusebio antiquiorum Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum neminem ille novit, qui non aut Græce scripsit, aut in usum saltem Græcorum fuerit Græce versus." ap. Pearson, *Opera Posthuma*, p. 110.

to the Romans (if he wrote to them in Latin) may have been much supplanted by, or interpolated from a Latin version from the Greek. It is well known that the sentiments of Paul have a striking affinity with those of Seneca; and the style of the Apostolical Epistles seems, from what can be now collected, to have had a strong resemblance to that of the philosopher⁴⁶. Such a style would, to uneducated persons as the Christians generally were, seem (especially when its fashion was over) less easy and agreeable than one more simple and barbarous. "There are (says Valckenaer) in that Latin version named the Vulgate, many most elegant phrases, remains of the old Italic⁴⁷." This pure text, in the daily decline of literature, was polluted with numerous barbarisms and glosses, as no authoritative superintendence seems for several centuries to have been exerted over the text. It was thus abandoned to the caprice of transcribers—the gold of the original gradually became dim; and in some cases the fine gold seems to have been changed to dross.

It might have been expected that the Commentators of the Scriptures would have given some check to this license of transcription. In the first ages of the church, however, they considered the *literal sense* as of little consequence, and were continually in pursuit of mysteries and allegories. Even Origen himself, of whom Dr. Bentley says that "he may be called the first Christian critic," and who was, so to speak, a critic by profession, is mainly occupied with such clouds which shifted and varied their forms with every wind of doctrine⁴⁸. To a person of a mystical and allegorical turn of

⁴⁶ See a small tract entitled *Fr. Ch. Gelpke Tractatiuncula de Familiaritate quæ Paulo Apostolo cum Seneca Philosopho intercessisse traditur, verisimillima*, in 4to. Lips. 1813. or Schoell's *Histoire Abregée de la Littérature Romaine*, vol. ii. p. 445—452. See *supra*, p. 67.

⁴⁷ "Sunt in illa versione Latina quam *Vulgatam* dicunt, multa elegantissima, etque ex *Italica* Versione veteri," Valckenaer, *Scholæ*, vol. i. p. 570.

⁴⁸ "Origines (says Ernesti) tom. vii. in *Joan.* provocat ad Commentarios superiores, sed ita, ut de allegorico et dogmatico genere intelligatur

mind, the more variable is a text, the more favourable to his views. Ambrose, indeed, lays it down as a canon of criticism, that it was of no consequence what words were employed, if their sense was similar; and that a Christian commentator ought to care little for words, and bestow his chief attention on mysteries⁴⁹. No canon was more faithfully practised by the Fathers of the Church, who are always mystical and allegorical in proportion to their antiquity⁵⁰. It ap-

...nam literalem interpretationem in universum N. T. primum Origenem edidisse in σημειώσεων opere, certum est." *Ihst. Interp. N. T.* p. 330. Valckenaer, however, seems disposed to bring down the origin of literal commentary so late as Chrysostom. "Primo (says he) in nugis Allegoricis et Emblematicis occupati, tandem tamen, auctore præsertim Chrysostomo, cœperunt verum sensum Scripturæ indagare Christiani, literalem nempe!" Valck. *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 564. Yet Matthæi speaks as follows, even of Origen and Chrysostom: "Eadem est ratio variantium lectionum quæ in Origene, Chrysostomo, et aliis reperiuntur. Nec enim isti patres ita diligentes erant in laudandis et explicandis Literis Sacris, ut nunc sunt critici; ac facilius etiam quam nos, cum Græci essent, vocabula similia inter se permutabant. Haud raro etiam Græcitatem secuti, neglexerunt verba contextus sacri." Matthæi, *Nov. Test.* vol. i. p. 43.

49 "Nihil apud me distat in verbo, quod non distat in sensu...nos verba negligere debeamus, spectare *mysteria*." Ambros. lib. 2. in *Luc.* cap. 11. "Apostolo dicente in *figura gesta* esse complura quæ temporibus gesta superioribus sunt, quid igitur obstat quo minus Bathsheba sancto David in figurâ sociata esse credatur, ut significaretur congregatio nationum quæ non erat Christo legitimo quodam fidei copulata conjugio." Ambr. *Apol. David.* c. 3. "David nempe hic *Christum* significat; *Bethsabe*, sponsam ejus, *Ecclesiam*; *Urias* vero *Diabolum*." August. contra *Faust.* lib. xxii. c. 87.—Poor Uriah!

50 The reader will find many ludicrous examples of this propensity of the Fathers in Whitby, *Dissert. de S. Script. Interp. sec. Patrum Comment.* Origen himself affirms, that it is *absurd* to suppose that Christ died only for the sins of *men*, and not also for the *stars*, seeing that it is asserted in Scripture that *the stars are not pure* in the sight of God: Αποπον γαρ, ὑπερ ἀνθρωπινων μὲν αὐτον Φασκειν ἁμαρτηματων γενεασθαι θανατη, κῆστι δὲ καὶ ὑπερ ἀλλῃ τινος—οἷον ὑπερ ἀστρων, οὐδὲ των ἀστρων παντως καθαρων οντων ευωπιον τῷ Θεῷ. ὡς ἐν τῷ Ιω^ο (xxv. 5) ἀνγνωμενη ἀστρα δε ου καθαρα ευωπιον αὐτη. Q. E. D. Origen's demonstration is founded on *Heb.* ii. 9: ὅπως...ὑπερ παντος γενεσται θανατη. Yet Origen was a great man.

pears from this, that they were little disposed or qualified to fix the text of the New Testament; which, on the contrary, served their purpose in the ratio of its fluctuation and rudeness; since the more dark or barbarous a style is, the greater scope does it afford for mysteries. The same fluctuation of style and variety of text was sometimes useful in a contest with an opponent; and a Latin Father who was acquainted with Greek, had an advantage over his adversary, by appealing from the Latin to the Greek text, with which that adversary might not be acquainted. Such an appeal is in the following instance made by Tertullian, a man of genius and piety, but who made no scruple to defend an argument *per fas et nefas*. It is in his book *de Monogamia*, in which he violently declaims against second marriages; an argument in which he is somewhat hampered by the liberty given by the Apostle Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians. In order to repel the force of this passage, Tertullian affirms that it is corrupt in the Latin copies, the reading being, he says, different in the authentic Greek. But it is evident, from his very manner and concessions, that this is a mere subterfuge for a controversial purpose; and it is the opinion of Semler, his able editor, that Tertullian made use of no *Greek codex* of the Gospels or Epistles⁵¹. The appeal therefore to

⁵¹ *Si autem dormierit vir ejus*—1 Cor. vii. 39. "Sciamus (says Tertullian) plane non sic esse in Græco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit, per duarum syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem eversionem: *Si autem dormierit vir ejus*, quasi de futuro sonet, ac per hoc videatur ad eam pertinere, quæ jam in fide virum amiserit." *De Monogamia*, c. xi. *Oper.* p. 532. "Ego parum absum (says Semler) quin statuam Græcum esse glossam quæ ad *authenticum* addita est." *Append. ad Wetstein. Proleg.* p. 588. [*dormit* according to Tertullian had been made *dormierit*]. The same writer (who edited Tertullian) affirms that this Father made use of no Greek Codex of the New Testament. *Dissert. de varia et incerta Librorum Tertulliani indole*, p. 230 *et seq.* And in the Appendix to Wetstein, he says, "Dixi vero etiam, Tertullianum in his libris nunquam Græcum textum oculis suis vidisse, sed secutum semper Latinam translationem." p. 586. Rosenmuller also affirms of the above passage, "totum locum Tertulliani legens, facile intelliget hanc lectionem ab eo esse fictam...

the Greek, and the superior consequence attributed to it by this Father, was probably merely a trick of controversy; for "so very rare (says a writer) was the humble qualification of reading Greek, that we have every reason to believe it was possessed by few of the Latins, Tertullian excepted, until the age of Constantine⁵²."

Jerome, in his character of a controversialist, was sufficiently alive to the advantage of an ambiguous text, and of having the Scriptures in a foreign language. In his dispute, for example, with Jovinian, he pretends that the reading of *Sobrietas*, 1 Tim. ii. 9, is wrong, merely, as Erasmus remarks, to serve a controversial purpose⁵³. It is well known to be the character of Jerome (though a man of great learning and piety) to blow hot, or cold, as serves the purpose he has in hand. Does it serve his design at the moment to dispraise Aquila—then we have "Aquila autem Proselytus, et CONTENTIOSUS Interpres." Is it convenient at another period to defend him—then we have "Aquila qui non CONTENTIOSUS, ut quidam putant, sed studiosius verbum interpretatur ad verbum⁵⁴." Rufinus having reproached him with

fidem suam ipse suspectam reddidit his verbis: '*Hoc quidem si ita esset* (that is if the reading were *dormierit*) *in infinitum emissa licentia*' " &c. Rosenmüller *Hist. Interp. Libror. Sacr. Part. ii.* p. 17—23. See a similar *ruse de guerre* of Ambrose ap. Porson, *Letters to Travis*, p. 390: where that Father first boldly denies that a certain clause is in '*the ancient Greek MSS.*' " A little after, however (says Porson), conscious of the weakness of his assertion, he adds, '*But grant it written by the Evangelists,*' and then proceeds to explain."

⁵² Nolan's *Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate*, p. 57.

⁵³ "Non enim (says he) ut male habetur in Latinis codicibus, *sobrietas* est legenda, sed *castitas*, id est *σωφροσύνη*." Hieron. lib. i. *adv. Jovin.* "Sed Hieronymus captat (says Erasmus) commodum argumentationis suæ, et torquet hanc dictionem ad patrocinium partis suæ." Erasm. *Schol. in lib. i. Hieron. adv. Jovin.*

⁵⁴ The reader will find a compilation of Jerome's assertions concerning Aquila in Montfaucon's *Hexapla Origenis*, vol. i. p. 187 *et seqq.* ed. Bahrldt. "Hieronymo (says Hody, speaking of Aquila) dicitur *Interpres contentiosus*...Alibi illum laudat Hieronymus, et aperte sibimet contra-

the versatility of his versions, Jerome gives the following reply: "Quid igitur peccavi, si verbum ambiguum diversâ interpretatione converti⁵⁵?" It happens, however, that this "verbum ambiguum" constantly becomes very clear upon occasions; and that of all the opal diversities of its shade, that colour only beams forth which it suits the purpose of Jerome at the time to display.

It might be supposed, that as the Latins thus occasionally appeal to Greeks, the Greeks would in turn appeal to Latin copies. After the removal, however, of empire to the East; and when the Greeks had no longer their former interest in learning Latin, they seem to have almost quite abandoned the study of that language. Yet Latin copies were not improbably made use of by the first eminent Greek Scripture critic. Dr. Marsh remarks in his notes to Michaelis, that "the possibility that Greek MSS. in Alexandria were altered from the Latin no one can deny. Even so early as the time of Origen, single alterations may have taken place; for the learned Father, in a passage quoted by Wetstein in his note to *Matt.* viii. 28, complains of erroneous readings *εν τοις Ἑλληνικοις αντιγραφαις*, which clearly implies the use of MSS. written in some other language than the Greek; and as he spent some time in Rome, it is not impossible that he made use of the established ver-

dicens (id quod sæpe facit) ait illum *non contentiosius, ut quidam putant*," &c. Hody, *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 576. Even Erasmus himself, the editor and eulogist of Jerome, owns "Ille sæpenumero violentus est, parumque sibi pudens; sæpe varius, parumque sibi constans." *Apol. adv. Stunicam*. We have seen above, p. 93, how Jerome, with reference to the LXX, ridicules the notion of an inspired Interpreter, while in another place [*supra*, p. 258] he says of the LXX "qui Spiritu Sancto pleni, ea quæ vera fuerunt transtulerant." Upon this latter passage Erasmus remarks, "Hoc Hieronymus Domnionis, ad quem scribit, animo tribuere videtur: nam aliàs his diversa scripsit, nec id uno sane loco." *Schol.* vol. iii. p. 7. E.

⁵⁵ Hieron. *Apol. adv. Ruff.* lib. i. There is a vast deal of *character* in the writings of Jerome, and in those of Tertullian, and Epiphanius. The two former of these Fathers were men of genius; and the great work of the latter is only more valuable from his not having been so.

sion of a church which at all times maintained the highest authority⁵⁶." In fact, as we have seen above, a journey to Rome for the purpose of obtaining Latin copies was not necessary; as Origen might have consulted them in the library of Ælia or Jerusalem, which was in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea, so long the residence of that critic.

This great man, by his genius and learning, seems to have given that superiority to the Greek over the Latin Vulgate, which had gradually been prepared by the circumstances of the times. It has already been remarked [p. 38] that from the time of Hadrian, a regular preference of the Greek language seems to have been established at court, which continued to extend till the seat of empire was established in the East. Latin literature was neglected; and as at this period some men of powerful talents appeared at Alexandria, the

⁵⁶ Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. iii. p. 659. See also *ibid.* ii. p. 396. Spohn in his admirable edition of Woide's *Notitia Codicis Alexandrini*, remarks as follows: " Multo studio pugnat Woidius contra Wetstenii sententiam, qui quidem verum vidit, idoneis vero argumentis non probavit. Animadverterat consensum amicū inter *Codicem Alex.* et *Vulgatam Latinam*, et inde concluderat, Codicem ad illam esse conformatum. Quod Woidius pernegat. Notum est Origenem Romæ esse versatum, et Alexandrinus Episcopo et partibus Romanorum fuisse; nemo quoque ignorat Hieronymum magnum extitisse Origenis admiratorem, atque ab ejus syllabis pendere; neminemque fugit Hieronymum de variis Latinæ versionis vitiis conqueri quæ tamen ante in usu erat, et ejus reliquias in Codicibus Græco-latinis reperisse sibi videbatur Sabatierus; nemo negat, ecclesiam Latinam antiquissimis jam temporibus infallibilitatem quamdam, quamvis nullo adhuc Concilio constitutam adfectasse. Si igitur Scriba Latinus Codicem describeret, nonne Græca ad Latina verba, quæ Divina credebantur, accommodare poterat? Quod in *Cantabrigiensi* sive D apud Wetst. factum est, ut cuilibet in oculos incurret, si ille Codex, quem jam Angli parant, juris publici factus erit. Et si e tali Codice ab alio scriba Græcus tantum textus describeretur, novus hic Codex cum versione Latina consentire debebat, omnesque, qui deinceps ex illo hauriebantur. Et inde ortus est consensus ille *Cod. Alexand.* cū Latina Vulgata, quem quidem Wetstenius exemplis idoneis non demonstravit," Spohn, *Not. Cod. Alex.* p. 257. See also Wetstein, *N. T.* vol. i. p. 19.

writers of this city began to sway the opinions of the world⁵⁷. From this School issued the learned and indefatigable Origen. His most gigantic labours, indeed, were employed on the Old, but he did not at the same time neglect the New Testament. We have seen above, how he complains of disorders in the Greek copies, and these he naturally endeavoured to remedy. But all his changes were not improvements. "It is a certain fact (says Michaelis) that several readings in our common printed text, are nothing more than alterations made by Origen, whose authority was so great in the Christian church, that emendations which he proposed—though as he himself acknowledged they were supported by the evidence of no manuscript—were very generally received⁵⁸."

Nor was Origen the only celebrated editor, if he may be so termed, of the Greek New Testament. By the command of Constantine I., Eusebius, as we have seen above (p. 336) prepared fifty codices written on parchment, in order to be used in the churches; and what Eusebius did for the Greek Testament under the auspices of Constantine, Athanasius afterwards performed by command of Constans. While these illustrious men, and others of little less reputation, by their editions of the Greek text gave it consequence, and a certain degree of uniformity, the Latin was abandoned to nameless transcribers; so that, as Jerome complains, there was almost as great a variety of text as of copies. Latin ecclesiastical literature assumed, almost from its very commencement, that servile imitative character which had existed in the secular

⁵⁷ Ginguéné, mentioning the famous Eclectic School at Alexandria, founded by Potamo and Ammonius, remarks, at the same time, the contemporary neglect of philosophy and literature at Rome: "Les Romains (adds he) n'avaient rien été qu'à l'imitation des Grecs. Les lettres Romaines n'existaient plus, et dans plusieurs parties les lettres Grecques florissaient encore; c'était un ruisseau tari avant sa source." *Hist. Litter. d'Italie*, tom. i. p. 20. Paris, 1811.

⁵⁸ Michaelis by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 368. also pp. 396—399. See also Montfaucon, *Palæogr. Græc.* p. 40.

literature of Rome at the beginning of its progress. It is remarked by Bishop Pearson, that the works of Tertullian "are full of the divinity of Justin," and that he "advances all his [Justin's] conceptions"⁵⁹. Now if a man of vehement and vigorous genius, like Tertullian, could bend to the authority of the pious but doting Justin,—is it to be wondered at, that the commentaries of such a critic as Origen were merely retailed in wretched versions to the Latins⁶⁰? The Canons of Eusebius, and other improvements made in Greek MSS., were transferred to Latin ones; the copies of the Latins were castigated according to the Greek editions, and Latin versions of the Books of Scripture were made from that language⁶¹.

"The final revolt and separation of Italy (says Mr. Gibbon) was accomplished about two centuries after the conquests of Justinian; and from his reign we may date the gradual oblivion of the Latin tongue. That legislator had composed his *Institutes*, his *Code*, and his *Pandects*, in a language which he celebrates as the proper and public style of the Roman government; the consecrated idiom of the palace

⁵⁹ Pearson, *of the Creed*, pp. 171, 201.

⁶⁰ For example, Jerome writing to Augustine says, "Apud Græcos [Psalmos] interpretati sunt multis voluminibus primus Origenes, secundus Eusebius Cæsariensis...apud Latinos autem *Hilarius* Pictaviensis, et Eusebius Vercellensis episcopus, Origenem et Eusebium transtulerunt." Hieron. *Oper.* vol. ii. p. 114. A. How these versions were carried on we may learn from what Jerome says of Hilary. "Græcarum Literarum quandam aurulam ceperat. Sed Heliodori Presbyteri quo ille familiariter usus est, ex quo ea quæ intelligere non poterat, quomodo essent ab Origene dicta quærebat." Hieron. *Epist. ad Marcellam*, vol. iii. p. 37. Wetstein says of Origen, "factum, ut non modo ipsius N. T. *εξδοσις* tantum non sola pro Authentico Codice haberetur, ac passim omnium frequentissime describeretur; verum etiam ut Interpretes atque enarratores N. T. pene universi, temere non alias atque Origenis explicationes adoptarent." *Proleg.* p. 67.

⁶¹ "Canones quoque quos Eusebius Cæsariensis episcopus, Alexandrinum sequutus Ammonium, in decem numeros ordinavit, sicut in Græco habentur, expressimus." Hieron. *ad Damasum, Pref. in IV. Evang.*

and senate of Constantinople; of the camps and tribunals of the East. But this foreign dialect was unknown to the people and soldiers of the Asiatic provinces; it was imperfectly understood by the greater part of the interpreters of the laws, and the ministers of the state. After a short conflict, nature and habit prevailed over the obsolete institutions of human power: for the general benefit of his subjects, Justinian promulgated his *Novels* in the two languages; the several parts of his voluminous Jurisprudence were successively translated: *the original was forgotten, the version was studied*; and the Greek, whose intrinsic merit deserved indeed the preference, obtained a legal as well as popular establishment in the Byzantine monarchy⁶². We see, here, another example of a version superseding its original; and had that original not contained *in gremio* evidence of the language in which it had been composed, it might not merely have been superseded by the translation made from it, but might itself have been considered as a version from the Greek. The *Constitutions* of the Emperor Frederic II. as king of Sicily (given so late as A.D. 1221) are extant both in Latin and Greek; and it has been a subject of some controversy which of the two is derived from the other⁶³.

⁶² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. chap. LIII. vol. x. p. 153. In the (I suspect absurd) remark, that the intrinsic merit of the version of the Jurisprudence of Justinian deserved the preference over the original, we have another example of the indifference commonly entertained with respect to the comparative values of Originals and Translations. See *supra*, p. 332.

⁶³ See Montfaucon, *Palæographia*, pp. 389, 417. Vincent. Paravicinus *De Viris Eruditione Claris*, Centur. II. n. 65, says, "Joannis Casæ Monumenta Latina prodierunt Florentiæ anno 1564, in 4to. Sed in illis non est Libellus de Moribus, titulo *Galatei*, qui tamen præcipuus fere est...conversus in linguam Germanicam, Gallicam, Hispanicam, et *Italicam*." Now the *Galateo* was first written in *Italian*, and thence translated into Latin; and not, as here supposed, translated from Latin into Italian. See *Miscell. Observ.* tom. v. p. 408. See *supra*, p. 77. "I explained (says Lord Teignmouth) to Serajélhak, (the person mentioned by Sir W. Jones,) Parnell's *Hermi*, and he composed a Persian poem on

But to return to the New Testament.—It appears from a number of circumstances above enumerated, that the Greek copies could not fail in obtaining a vast superiority in authority over Latin ones. The early distinguished Latin Fathers, Tertullian and Cyprian, were not Italians but Africans, far from the country where the Canon must have been settled; and Augustin, another African Father, affirms that the Latin should yield to the Greek copies *chiefly because the Greeks were more learned and diligent divines*⁶⁴. In short, the Greeks gained so complete an ascendancy over the Latins, that the latter condescended to glean from them the History of their own church; though the great ecclesiastical historian Eusebius was, as we have seen, very imperfectly acquainted with the Latin language, and in Dodwell's opinion made use of no Latin documents but such as had been translated⁶⁵. Nothing, one should think, could be more certain than *the succession of the Roman Pontiffs*; and yet this is a matter of the greatest doubt, and has been the subject of the most learned discussions⁶⁶. The place where the Canon was

the same subject. As it has been frequently transcribed, it might perhaps, without this explanation, at some future time be considered the original of Parnell's poem." *Life of Sir W. Jones*, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 169. Lond. 1807.

⁶⁴ "Libros autem Novi Testamenti, si quid in Latinis varietatibus titubatur, Græcis cedere oportere non dubium est, et maxime qui [quia] apud Ecclesias doctiores et diligentiores reperiuntur." Aug. *De Doctr. Christ.* lib. ii. cap. 15. Here in *QUIAPUD* we have another example of a single letter being made to serve for two. See *supra*, p. 286.

⁶⁵ *Supra*, p. 95. "Latinorum enim quos habemus Eusebio antiquiorum Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum neminem ille novit, qui non aut Græce scripserit, aut in usum saltem Græcorum fuerit Græce versus," Dodwell apud Pearson, *De Serie et Successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum*, p. 110. 4to. Lond. 1688.

⁶⁶ See Pearson, *De Serie et Successione*, &c. "Duo supersunt Romanorum Pontificum veteres Catalogi (says he) annis uniuscujusque Pontificatus consignati, sed non parum diversi, quorum unus a Græcis, alter a Latinis prodit...Ego verò, quod ad duo priora ferè spectat secula, neutrum probandum, utrumque a veritate longe alienum, et a ducis autoritate removendum sentio," p. 6. Mabillon has published in his

formed—the language (with the exception of Matthew's Gospel) in which it was composed—these seem to have been equally unknown to the Christians of the third, as of the thirteenth century. If there be a single Book in the New Testament which seems to argue a Greek origin, it is the Epistle to the Hebrews; and yet, as we saw above [p. 63], we are told by Clement of Alexandria and others that it is a version from the Hebrew. It is justly remarked by Dr. Jortin, that “from A.D. 70 to 150 is a dark interval; and we have very short accounts of the transactions of those days, unless we should accept of groundless rumours, and frivolous tales⁶⁷.” Nor do Jerome and his contemporaries appear to have had much more accurate accounts than ourselves of those times. The second century was the age of Greek versions of the Old Testament, a subject of great interest to the Christian church, and which not long afterward occupied the attention of her ablest scholar. Yet nothing, as we have already seen [p. 302], can be more indistinct, and contradictory, than the accounts transmitted to us on the subject.

We have seen in a preceding part of this essay, that when the Church first settled the authority of the Canon, no certain

Analecta Vet. what he entitles *Catalogi duo Vetrerimi Romanorum Pontificum*, from two ancient Latin MSS. of the Monastery of Corbey. “Mira est discrepantia numerorum (he remarks) tam unius Indicis ab altero, quam utriusque a Vulgatis.” *Analect.* tom. iii. p. 430. Paris. 1682. Pearson, who prefers, on the whole, the authority of the Greek to the Roman testimony, makes the following remark: “Græci autores in Ecclesia qui ad Romanam urbem ‘propter potentio rem principalitatem undique convenerunt,’ successionem episcoporum, et historiam rerum gestarum accuratius observasse, et conservasse videntur, quam ipsi alumni in eâ urbe nati, et educati Christiani, qui, eo temporis tractu, propter fidem celebres, propter doctrinam, aut literarum scientiam non adeo præclarum testimonium nacti sunt. Facessat igitur prima Baronii regula,” p. 136. This first rule of Baronius was the very reasonable one that *in his, quæ sunt Ecclesiæ Romanæ, major fides sit adhibenda ejus Alumnis quam cæteris*: and surely it required no great “doctrina aut literarum scientia” in the Roman church, to preserve a list of the Bishops of their own See.

⁶⁷ *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 78. Lond. 1752.

Text appears to have been established. Accordingly, the variation of text, and particularly (from causes already specified) in the Latin copies, soon became remarkable. At length, about A.D. 383, Damasus bishop of Rome requested Jerome, who was at that time resident in that city, to undertake a recension of the Latin Scriptures, beginning with the Gospels. Three or four years previous to this period, Jerome had visited Constantinople; and though at the age of fifty, had condescended to become the disciple of Gregory of Nazianzum⁶⁸. He applied also to the study of the Greek divines and ecclesiastical historians; and translated into Latin various works of Origen and the Chronicle of Eusebius. He was thus fresh from his Greek studies when he was requested by Damasus to undertake a recension of the Latin Scriptures, a task which he seems to have executed with his characteristic impatience and rapidity⁶⁹. Bewildered with

⁶⁸ "Bientôt après [A.D. 379 ou 380] il (Jerome) se rendit à Constantinople, et quoique âgé de cinquante ans il devint le disciple de S. Grégoire de Nazianze dans l'exégèse sacrée. Il s'appliqua aussi à l'étude des écrivains ecclésiastiques Grecs, et traduisit en Latin diverses ouvrages, telles que la Chronique d'Eusebe et les Homelies d'Origène." Schoell, *Hist. Abr. de la Litt. Rom.* tom. iv. p. 51. "Gregorius primum Sasimorum, deinde Nazianzenus Episcopus, vir eloquentissimus, præceptor meus, à quo Scripturas explanante didici." Hieron. *Script. Eccles. Catal. Oper.* vol. i. p. 102. A. In an Epistle to Nepotian, Jerome gives an amusing anecdote of this Father.

⁶⁹ "Certe universum N. T. levi brachio, et quasi currente calamo ab eo castigatum fuisse, clare satis arguit præcipitata Operis editio." Mill. *Proleg.* No. 862. Jerome frequently mentions the haste with which he often composed, "ut scitis me non cogitatum diu limatumque proferre sed ad revelanda mysteria Scripturarum, uti verbis penè de trivio, et interdum per singulos dies usque ad numerum mille versuum pervenire." *Pref. in lib. II. Comm. ad Ephesios*, vol. ix. p. 89. M. In the Preface to the third book of the Epistle to the Galatians, he gives the following picture, worthy of Rembrandt. "Accedit ad hoc, quia propter oculorum, et totius corpusculi infirmitatem, manu mea ipse non scribo...verum accito notario, aut statim dicto quodcumque in buccam venerit, aut si paululum voluero cogitare, melius aliquid prolaturus, tunc me tacitus ille reprehendit, manum contrahit, frontem rugat, et se frustra adesse toto gestu

the variety of the Latin copies, Jerome thought it advisable (and it certainly saved him much trouble) to take the Greek edition of the Scriptures as his standard. This edition had been brought, as we have seen, into a somewhat fixed state by the labours of Origen, and subsequent editors of great name; while the Latin had been left to shift for itself. From the itch also of the Latins for translation, and (what was nearly equivalent) for glosses and improvements, the variety of Latin copies seems to have been immense; and Jerome gladly turned to the Greek, which, from circumstances just stated, had attained a certain uniformity. Whether as a justification of his method of procedure, in castigating the Latin from the Greek; or whether that was his real opinion,—Jerome asserted, that, with the exception of the Gospel of Matthew it was a thing not to be doubted that the Books of the New Testament had been originally composed in Greek. “De Novo nunc loquor Testamento (says he) quod GRÆCUM esse non dubium est, excepto Apostolo Matthæo, qui primus in Judæa Evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis edidit⁷⁰.”

corporis contestatur.” In the first of his Prefaces to this Commentary and elsewhere, Jerome owns that he had followed the Greeks. “Origenis Commentarios sum secutus. Scripsit enim ille vir in Epistolas Pauli ad Galatas quinque propria volumina.” *Hier. Oper.* vol. ix. p. 63. I and p. 77. I. “Ego, in Commentariis ad Ephesios, sic Originem, et Didymum et Apollinarium, sequutus sum.” *Adv. Rufin.* lib. i. “Nam quod dicunt Origenis me volumina compilare, et contaminari non decere veterum Scripta, quod illi maledictum vehemens esse existimant eandem laudem ego maximam duco, cum illum imitari volo quem cunctis prudentibus, et vobis placere non dubito. Si enim criminis est Græcorum benedicta transferre, accusetur Ennius, et Maro, Plautus, Cæcilius, et Terentius, Tullius quoque, et cæteri eloquentes viri.” *Prol.* in lib. II. *Comment. in Mich.* vol. vi. p. 69. B. In short, ecclesiastical literature among the Latin became what some one calls “une littérature de copies et de traductions.”

⁷⁰ *Pref.* in IV. *Evang. ad Damasum.* In a MS of the Epistles of Paul and Seneca in the Laurentian Library, we read thus: “Præcedentes Paulli et Senecæ Epistolas, etsi de his dubia sit apud Ecclesiam opinio, nihilominus testimonium gloriosi Hieronymi satis approbare videtur.” Bandini, *Cat. Cod. Lat.* tom. iii. p. 274. See *supra*, p. 67.

Now I readily concede, that of the Gospels and Epistles which had been seen by Jerome, the whole, perhaps, might be versions from the Greek; or, which is nearly the same thing, the original *codices* had been throughout interpolated and altered in these copies. Such a circumstance would easily induce Jerome to affirm that the Evangelists and Apostles had originally written in Greek. The hypothesis, if I may so term it, afforded him full scope for making use both of Greek and Latin exemplars; and (which is ever to be regretted) especially the former, for the completion of his Recension⁷¹. But that Jerome's opinion that Greek was the original language of the New Testament (which, as I would again and again repeat, I neither affirm nor deny) that this opinion, I say, was founded on critical presumptions, and not on ancient testimony, appears from the doubts and contradictions of more ancient writers upon the subject. There is a very common illusion among those who write upon ecclesiastical matters. Looking back through the long vista of eighteen centuries, the writers of the three or four first centuries seem to us as it were placed upon the same line; and we always talk of them as contemporaries, and as intimately acquainted with the transactions of one another⁷². The true way of getting rid of this illusion, is to look back a few centuries, or even half a century from the present time, to transactions among ourselves. Even in the course of fifty years,

⁷¹ See Mill, *N. T. Proleg.* No. 1334; a passage which will be afterwards quoted, at Note 86. "Il [Jerome] ne laissa pourtant pas de consulter aussi quelquefois les exemplaires Latins. Peut-être seroit-il à souhaiter qu'il les eût consultés plus souvent." Simon, *Hist. Crit.* p. 29.

⁷² Jerome, speaking of the Apostles in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, art. *Lucas*, says: "Sed et Tertullianus vicinus eorum temporum" &c. though he did not flourish till about A.D. 190. And speaking of the parable of the Unjust Steward, *Luke* xviii. 1, he says: "Origenis et Didymi in hanc parabolam explanationem invenire non potui; et utrum abolita sit temporum vetustate, an ipsi non scripserint, incertum habeo." *Oper.* vol. i. p. 91. C. iii. p. 53. E. These we see were ancients to Jerome, yet we group all the Fathers together.

when things are left to tradition, as they generally were by the illiterate Christians of the first centuries, how dim and uncertain does every thing become! Irenæus, endeavouring to confute the Valentinians on the subject of the number of Passovers which elapsed during our Lord's ministry, asserts that our Lord lived to an old age, or was at least fifty years old at the time of his crucifixion. "From the fortieth or fiftieth year (says Irenæus) there is a decline towards old age, and this was the case with our Lord when he taught, as the Gospel proves; and all the old men testify, who lived in Asia with John, the disciple of our Lord, that John affirmed it to them. Now he lived with them even until the time of Trajan. Moreover, some of them saw not only John, but also the other Apostles, and heard the same thing from them, and they all give testimony to this relation⁷³. Dr. Whitby, after producing this passage, exclaims as follows: "Behold here, according to Irenæus, how all the elders of Asia testify with one voice, that they had received from John a tradition concerning a thing manifestly false. Behold an Apostolical man representing the Apostles themselves as giving false testimony concerning Christ⁷⁴!" In fact, Jerome himself seems

⁷³ "A quadragesimo aut quinquagesimo anno declinat jam in ætatem seniozem, quam habens Dominus noster docebat, sicut *Evangelium et omnes seniores testantur, qui in Asia apud Joannem discipulum Domini convenerunt, id ipsum tradiidisse eis Joannem*, permansit autem cum eis usque ad Trajani tempora. Quidam autem eorum non solum Joannem, sed et alios Apostolos viderunt, et hæc eadem ab ipsis audierunt, et testantur de ejusmodi relatione." Irenæus *adv. Hæres.* lib. ii. cap. 29.

⁷⁴ "En omnes Asiæ seniores ab ore Joannis, et aliorum Apostolorum, una voce testantes se traditionem de re manifestò falsà accepisse!" &c. Whitby, *Strict. Patr.* p. 220. The credulity of Irenæus is demonstrated by what he says of Lot's wife, "Uxor [Lothi] remanserat in Sodomis, jam non caro corruptibilis, sed statua salis semper manens, et per naturalia ea quæ sunt consuetudinis hominis ostendens. et dum sæpe auferuntur ab ea membra integra, perseverat statua salis quod est firmamentum fidei." *Adv. Hæres.* lib. iv. cap. 51. Augustin actually doubts in his greatest Work, whether Apuleius had not been really metamorphosed into an ass. "Sicut Apuleius, in libris quos *Asini Aurei* titulo inscripsit,

to acquiesce in the inferiority of legendary, if I may so term them, to critical reasons; which latter appear to have been employed, from want of external evidence, before his time in the Church. "The Epistle inscribed to the Hebrews (says Jerome) is not supposed to be Paul's, *on account of its difference in style and speech.*" (Here critical grounds are obviously preferred to authority and tradition; and with good right, as we may judge from what follows); "But either (proceeds Jerome) of Barnabas, according to Tertullian; or of Luke the Evangelist, according to some; or of Clement, afterwards bishop of Rome, who, *they say*, being constantly with Paul, took down in writing what Paul said, and dressed it in his own style and manner. . . . He [Paul] wrote as a Hebrew to the Hebrews in Hebrew, that is in his own tongue very elegantly, that those things which were written elegantly in Hebrew might be more elegantly translated into Greek. And this (concludes Jerome) is the reason that the style of this Epistle may seem to differ from the rest of Paul's Epistles ⁷⁵."

It may appear from the above remarks, that in affirming that, with the exception of Matthew's Gospel, the whole of the New Testament was originally written in Greek, Jerome speaks as a critic, not an evidence: and this sweeping assertion, indeed, is contradicted by himself in his observation just cited concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews. Another Father, but who is equally late with Jerome, and from his

sibi ipsi accidissee, ut accepto veneno, humano animo permanente, asinus fieret, aut indicavit, aut finxit." *Civ. Dei*, lib. xviii. c. 18.

⁷⁵ "Epistola autem quæ fertur *ad Hebræos*, non ejus creditur propter styli sermonisque distantiam, sed vel Barnabæ juxta Tertullianum, vel Lucæ Evangelistæ juxta quosdam, vel Clementis Romanæ postea Ecclesiæ episcopi, quem aiunt ipsi adjunctum sententias Pauli proprio ordinasse et ornassee sermone... Scripserat ut Hebræus Hebræis Hebraicè, id est, suo eloquio disertissime, ut ea quæ eloquenter scripta fuerant in Hebræo, eloquentius verterentur in Græcum; et hanc causam esse quod à cæteris Pauli epistolis discrepare videatur." Hieron. *Script. Eccles. Cat Oper.* vol. i. p. 91 A.

want of learning was far less competent to decide on the subject, considers Greek as the original language of the New Testament. This is Augustine, who tells the Latins that it was needful for them to study Hebrew and Greek, in order to have recourse to the primigenial exemplars when they were puzzled by the variety of Latin interpretations. He affirms also that the Latin ought without doubt to yield to the Greek copies, because the Grecians were more learned and diligent⁷⁶. Now I allow that the numerous Latin copies of the Scriptures which were abroad in the fourth and fifth centuries, when Jerome and Augustine wrote, were either versions from, or interpolated from the Greek; but it is not less true that our present Greek Vulgate seems to be a version from the Latin, and that there is scarcely a page from which more than one apparent proof might not be brought to justify the hypothesis. The assertions of Augustine and Jerome (writers of the fourth and fifth centuries) are matter not of evidence but opinion. The same Fathers, as we have formerly remarked [p. 67], supposed that the absurd correspondence between Paul and Seneca was genuine, and was besides conducted in bad Latin, though surely Seneca was

⁷⁶ See *supra*, p. 349. "Et Latinæ quidem linguæ homines, quos nunc instruendos suscepimus, duabus aliis ad Scripturarum divinarum cognitionem opus habent, Hebræa scilicet et Græca, ut ad exemplaria *præcedentia* recurratur, si quam dubitationem attulerit Latinorum Interpretum varietas." *Aug. de Doctrin. Christ.* lib. ii. c. 11. Yet Augustine himself knew little Greek [*supra*, p. 19] and no Hebrew; nor is the use of this latter language very apparent, if, as he asserts, the LXX were inspired: "Spiritus enim qui in Prophetis erat (says he) quando illa dixerunt, idem ipse etiam erat in Septuaginta viris, quando illa interpretati sunt. Qui profecto autoritate divina *et aliud dicere potuit...et aliquid prætermittere, et aliquid addere, etiam ut hinc ostenderetur, non humanam fuisse in illo opere servitutem, quam verbis debebat Interpres, sed Divinam potius potestatem, quæ mentem replebat et regebat Interpretis!*" *August. de Civitate Dei*, cap. 43. I suspect, as already hinted, that a certain supposed fitness in uniformity with the Divinely-inspired *Septuagint*, had its effect with other causes in giving a preponderance to the Greek New Testament. See *supra*, p. 333.

more capable of understanding a Greek Epistle than the poor and illiterate Christians of the Church of Rome.

In fact, the days are now over when the mere *ipse dixit* of Augustine or of Jerome was sufficient, not merely to supersede inquiry, but almost to render it impious. Without the slightest idea of comparing the subjects, or even of throwing ridicule upon these two illustrious men, I shall merely as a *delassement* set down here a curious example of deference to their authority in a late acute and learned Protestant judge. Lord Monboddo [*A. M.* vol. iv.] contends, on the authority of Jerome, that "men, such as the ancients describe satyrs, have been found, who had not only tails but the feet of goats, and horns on their heads." He tells us, moreover, that "we have the authority of another Father of the Church for a greater singularity still of the human form; and that is of men without heads, but with eyes in their breasts. This (says he) is related by St. Augustine, who saw these men in Ethiopia, whither he went to preach the Gospel, and was some time among them, and relates several other particulars concerning them. And the same Saint tells us that he saw in the same country men with only one eye in their forehead . . . I do not believe (continues his lordship) that men with eyes in their breasts or with only one eye in their forehead are now to be found on the face of the earth; and yet I think we *cannot doubt* that they once existed in Ethiopia, where St. Augustine says he saw them." [*Ancient Metaphysics*, vol. iv.]

But to return to our subject.—It is not to be denied that, with the exception of those for the Gospel of Mark and the Epistle to the Romans, no advocate for a Latin original has appeared but Hardouin. I am willing also to own that what Porson names the "usual paradoxes," or, in language too harsh, the "reveries of that learned madman," greatly diminish the weight of his authority, especially where the prejudices of his order were concerned⁷⁷. It is no argument, how-

⁷⁷ See *supra*, p. 196. Since a former note [p. 189] was written, I suspect that the antipathy of Hardouin to the Greek text originated in the de-

ever, or even presumption against the truth of a position, that it had not been made or supported by preceding critics; an objection which might be made to discoveries, or supposed discoveries, of every kind. Of such discoveries many yet remain to be made; and future critics will wonder at our hallucinations, as we are surprised at those of our predecessors⁷⁸. Above all, as I have formerly remarked [p. 186], it is impossible to say what may have been secretly discovered in Biblical criticism, since authors on those topics may have often suppressed their real sentiments from anxiety for their repose. Had this not been the case, some of our profound Greek scholars might have found better occupation than torturing (as the Chinese do their women) *the feet* of the Tragic Muse, rendering her still more hobbling and deformed in proportion to the efforts which they make to embellish her⁷⁹.

When we consider that theologians have in general written under the terrors of a burning, or (in Protestant countries) of a starving Inquisition, it is scarcely to be wondered at that

ference paid to it by the Jansenists, in what is called *la Version de Mons*, from the circumstance of its being printed there. In this version, of which a long critique may be found in P. Simon's *Hist. Crit. des Versions du N. T.*, chap. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, the Messieurs de Port-Royal show a deference to the Greek text very unusual among Roman Catholics; and this was, probably, the original cause of Hardouin (who often attacks the version of Mons) attacking also the Greek text. His motives, however, whether good or bad, are of no critical consequence, any more than the motives of Luther in beginning the Reformation. The question with the critic is, are his assertions or conclusions right or wrong?

⁷⁸ See *Appendix*.

⁷⁹ I expected in the *Tracts* of Porson (whom I venerate as a great critic) that among his notes on Greek authors some valuable ones would be found on the Greek Testament. The following remark, written in the edition of the *Cod. Alex.* by Woide, is the only one: "*Act. D. Apost. xxviii. 26, male impressum βληπουτες pro βλεποντες, quod recte habet Codex.*" *Tracts*, p. 289. When one compares this with his numerous and often admirable notes on the profane writers, one is put in mind of Falstaff's halfpenny-worth of bread to several gallons of sack. *O monstrous! but one halfpenny-worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack!* 1st Part of *King Henry IV.* act. ii. sc. 4.

no one eminent editor of the New Testament has hinted that it bears marks of being a version from the Latin; nor do I affirm it as certain, or even probable, that any one of them actually believed that this was the case. This, however, only renders the circumstance more curious, that so many of them should have indirectly proceeded as if the Latin were more venerable than the Greek Vulgate. If a book has been literally translated from one language to another, it will not merely re-translate more readily into its original language than into any other; but if in both cases the versions be literal, the new version into the original language will be better, and have more the air of an original, than that version itself from which it is made. In addition to idiomatical phrases, the class of what we have termed semi-synonymes will be restored in the re-translation to their due extent and value. For example, in the Letters attributed to Q. Mary Stuart, she says in the Scottish version, speaking of her longing for news, "The *awaytyng upon* tham yesterday causit me to be almaist in sic joy, as I will be at your returning⁸⁰." Now the *awaytyng* of wished for news may make one anxious, but never joyful. But in re-translating *awaytyng* into its French *attendant*, we at once see the original, and that it ought to have been translated not *awaytyng upon* but *expecting*. In like manner, if a work be literally translated from Latin into Greek, and afterwards literally re-translated from Greek into Latin, this Latin version will be more idiomatical, easy, and natural, than the Greek version itself from which it was made. That such is the case with the Latin, compared with the Greek Vulgate, seems to me obvious; and it may in some measure, perhaps, account for that partiality in its favour which has been entertained by the most eminent editors of the New Testament. I shall proceed cursorily to cite the chief of these editors, and we shall see how they exalt the Latin directly or indirectly.

⁸⁰ Letter 2. Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 192. 8vo. London 1819.

1. It has already been remarked, in speaking of the *rifacimento* of the Latin Vulgate by Jerome [p. 353], that the great error of this distinguished man was his castigating the Latin Vulgate by the Greek, instead of collating the ancient Latin copies. While he states, however, in his Dedication to Damasus, that he has done this, Jerome at the same time seems to acknowledge that the Latin copies belonged to a more venerable class of *Codices* than the Greek ones of his own age: “*Igitur hæc præsens Præfatiuncula (says he) pollicetur quatuor tantum Evangelia, quorum ordo est iste—Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, Joannes, Codicum Græcorum emendata collatione sed et Veterum, nec quæ multum a lectionis Latinæ consuetudine discreparent*⁸¹.”

If we descend from Jerome to the Complutensian editors, —“Who (says Porson) can deny their prejudice in favour of the Vulgate to have been excessive and absurd, after reading the following sentence from their preface to the Old Testament? ‘*Mediam Latinam beati Hieronymi translationem, velut inter Synagogam et Orientalem ecclesiam posuimus, tanquam duos hinc inde latrones, medium autem Jesum h. e. Romanam sive Latinam ecclesiam collocantes*⁸².’”

Erasmus, speaking of his own editions, says: “*Testamentum Novum omni qua licuit diligentia, quaque decuit fide recognovimus, idque primum ad Græcam veritatem, deinde*

⁸¹ Hieron. in *IV. Evang. ad Damasum Præf. Oper.* vol. ix. 1. Hilary the Deacon (or Ambrosiaster) affirms that the Latin Codices of his time were much less corrupted than the Greek ones. “*Præscribitur nobis (says he) de Codicibus Græcis, quasi non ipsi ab invicem discrepent, quod fecit studium contentionis. Quia enim propria quis auctoritate uti non potest ad victoriam, verba Legis adulterat, ut sensum suum quasi verba Legis asserat, ut non ratio sed auctoritas præscribere videatur. Constat autem quosdam Latinos, porro olim de veteribus Græcis translatos Codicibus, quos incorruptos simplicitas temporum servavit et probat: postquam autem a concordia animis dissidentibus et hæreticis perturbantibus torquere quæstiones ceperunt, multa immutata sunt ad sensum humanum, ut hoc contineretur in literis, quod homini videretur,*” Hilary. *Diw. in Rom.* v. 14, ap. Mill, *Proleg.* No. 788.

⁸² Porson, *Letters to Travis*, p. 43.

ad fidem vetustissimorum *Latinae linguae* codicum⁸³." This great man was induced by the common prejudice, if I may so term it, in favour of the Greek, to act sometimes in opposition to his own judgment. "Sunt (says he) in quibus nostra *Vulgata magis probatur editio*, aut *Ambrosiana lectio* quàm *Græci Codices*; et tamen consentientibus omnibus Græcis exemplaribus, quoniam illa mutare non licuit, Latina accommodavimus, ne non responderent cum in hoc ipsum adderentur⁸⁴."

Robert Stephens, in the preface to his edition A. D. 1551, expresses himself thus: "Porro Veterem versionem negligendam non existimavi, idque tribus potissimum de causis, primum quia eam multis in locis *Vetustissimi exemplaris Græci esse loco videbam*."

Beza, all whose prepossessions were hostile to the Roman Church, and who cannot be supposed to have spoken from prejudice or policy in favour of the Vulgate, thus expresses himself: "Quam immerito veterem interpretem multis reprehendit [Erasmus] tanquam a Græcis dissentientem. Dissentiebat, fateor, ab iis exemplaribus quæ ille nactus erat, sed non uno loco comperimus aliorum codicum, et quidem vetustissimorum autoritate, eam interpretationem niti quam ille reprehendit. Quin etiam aliquot locis animadvertimus veteris interpretis lectionem, quamvis cum nostris Græcis exemplaribus interdum et non conveniat, tamen *ipsis rebus multo melius quadrare*, nempe quod ille quisquis fuit emendatus aliquod exemplar nactus esset⁸⁵."

We now come to Dr. Mill, whose exceeding veneration

⁸³ Præfat. *Annot. N. T.* ed. Basil, 1546 [p. viii].

⁸⁴ *Erasm. Apolog.*

⁸⁵ *Bezae Epist. ad Eliz. Reg. Angl.* Yet Beza, who thus reprehends Erasmus on account of his preference of his Greek MSS. to the Latin Vulgate, is himself thus censured by Valckenaer, "docte ita vertit interpretes Lat. vetus, a quo centies et sæpius *temerario consilio* Beza recessit." *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 216. The reader will find some able strictures on Beza in the Preliminary Dissertations of Dr. Campbell, prefixed to his version of the Gospels, Dissert. x. Part v. vol. ii. p. 206 *et seq.*

for the ancient Latin text is well known. "Nobis cum novatoribus (says he, speaking of Beza and others) earumque translationibus nihil commercii est. Immo veterem *Italicam*, ceu ad exemplaria primæva compositam, summa veneratione prosequimur, ejusque vel semesa MSS. fragmenta quælibet auro contra non cara ducimus. Neque vero de ejusdem, jam quod macularum haud parum contraxerit, editione Hieronymiana derogatum quidquam volumus. Optandum equidem foret, ut Hieronymus ex collatione præstantissimorum qui ætate ista comparari poterant Codicum Latinorum, restituere studuisset *Italicam* originariæ suæ puritati. Cum autem ex Græcis suis eam castigare ipsi visum sit, ex animo certe gaudemus quod in hac re parum sibi permiserit, ac pauca duntaxat immutarit. Hoc siquidem pacto manet etiamnum haud exigua pars *Italica*, textusque adeo *primævi originarii* passim haud obscura videre est, quæ ex morosiori ejus ad Codices Græcos, qui tum ferebantur, conformatione, pleraque prorsus periissent. Hæc nostra est de Vulgata versione sententia; quam certe tantum abest ut ad textum Græcum excusum quemcunque reformatam velim, ut contra optime cum ea actum existimem, si MSS. exemplarium diligenter collatorum ope, talis apud posteros prodeat, qualem eam edidit Hieronymus⁸⁶." Such, indeed, is the veneration which Dr. Mill expresses for the Italic, that his opponent Whitby exclaims with contemptible bigotry: "Putares, lector, te audire Morinum aliquem, aut Amelotium pro Latinis codicibus tanquam pro aris et focis contendentem, potius quam *Protestantem, aut Ecclesiæ Angl. filium!!*⁸⁷."

⁸⁶ Mill, *N. T. Proleg.* No. 1334. Dr. Mill, says Bentley, "pretends that he [Jerome] spoil'd the old Italic version (equal almost, if you'll believe the Dr., to the Apostles and Evangelists own originals), while he endeavor'd to mend it." Bentley, *Answer* [to Middleton's Remarks], p. 18. 4to. 1721. See what Wetstein says of Mill, *Proleg.* vol. i. p. 176.

⁸⁷ *Examen Var. Lect. D. Millii*, lib. i. cap. v. sect. 4. It is Whitby who is here the Amelotte or Morin. In fact, so far as biblical criticism is concerned, the Papists have acted with much more light and liberality than Protestants. "Unde quæso (exclaims Wetstein) isthæc partium

Dr. Bentley, in his proposed edition of the Greek New Testament, accompanied by the Vulgate, which unfortunately was abortive, so expressed himself concerning the use of the Vulgate in leading to the discovery of "the words, and order of words" in "the oldest copies of the original Greek," that Dr. Middleton, in his *Remarks, paragraph by paragraph, upon the Proposals*, &c. thus expresses himself: "And is not our author [Bentley] here saying and doing much the same thing which we justly condemn in the *Church of Rome*, undervaluing the credit of all the *Greek copies*; advancing and authorizing the *Vulgar Latin*, and proving it to be the best means we can use of finding out the true exemplars of the ancients⁸⁸?" It is true that to this Bentley replies that "the case is entirely different. The Popes (says he) have authoriz'd and authenticated a particular edition which is frequently faulty; our master before he uses the Vulgate corrects it from better MSS. than they either had or knew how to use in thousands of places: he takes it only as an assistant, *directing us to discover the genuine Greek*; he never once makes the genuine Greek bend and yield to the Latin, nor deserts that to comply with this⁸⁹." It is evident, however, that there is no little foundation for Middleton's remark. Indeed, Bentley himself tells us in his *Proposals*, that the

permutatio, ut Pontificii scilicet partes Protestantium, et hi vicissim partes illorum sustineant."! *N. T.* vol. i. p. 107.

⁸⁸ *Remarks, Paragraph by Paragraph*, &c. p. 12. 4to. 1721. "In his two pamphlets, from which Dr. Bentley's *Proposals* for printing a new edition of the Greek Testament and St. Hierom's Latin version 'received a great shock in the eye of the world,' Dr. Middleton was assisted by the learned Dr. Ashton, then Master of Jesus' College Cambridge." Kidd, ap. Porson's *Tracts*, p. 322. One of Middleton's luckiest thrusts was the motto from an oration of Burmann: "Doctus Criticus, et adsuetus urere, secare, inclementer omnis generis libros tractare, apices, syllabas, voces, dictiones confodere, et stilo exigere, continebitne ille ab integro, et intaminato Divinæ Sapientiæ monumenta crudeles ungues?"

⁸⁹ *Answer, &c. by a Member of Trinity Coll. Cambridge*, p. 27. 4to. 1721.

first idea and birth of his work proceeded from his "revolving in his mind some passages of St. Hierom" relative to the fidelity of the Vulgate in words and even to the very order of the words in the oldest copies of the original Greek. In a letter also to Wetstein, dated Cambridge, July 10, 1718, he uses the following remarkable expression: "jam autem illud unice expeto, ut si quos Latinos veteris notæ Actuum, Epistolarum, et Apocalypseos codices apud vos repereris, eos accuratissime tam ad verba, quam ad verborum ordinem, cum Papæ editione conferas: hujusmodi **LATINOS VETERIMOS VEL GRÆCIS IPSIS PRÆTULERIM**. In Evangeliiis autem tam uberem MSS. copiam penes me habeo, ut nihil amplius optem⁹⁰." Even Hardouin himself could scarcely have expressed himself differently.

The next eminent editor of the Greek New Testament was Bengel, who thus expresses himself with respect to the Latin Vulgate: "Antiquissimæ et longe gravissimæ translationi Latine tantundem facile operæ dicavi, quantum ipsi textui Græco⁹¹." The veneration of Bengel for the Latin is also proved by his following Canon: "Alexandrini Codicis et Latine Versionis collatio unam brevissimam, certissimam, et facillimam decidendi rationem, partim subministrat, partim ad eam deducit⁹²." Ernesti remarks, after Wetstein, that Bengel thus nearly reduces the whole to the Latin; for that the Alexandrian MS. was interpolated from that language⁹³.

⁹⁰ ap. Wetstein, *N. Test.* vol. i. p. 154. Semler, one of the most distinguished divines of Germany, has the following note on Bentley's declaration, "*hujusmodi Latinos veterrimos vel Græcis ipsis prætulerim*." "Sum fere in eadem hæresi; non quod sic intelligam, statim verum atque ingenuum esse, quicquid extet in Latinis vetustis codicibus: sed quod ad detegendam Scripturam primam plus conferunt, quam plerique Græci libri, qui nobis adhuc innotuerunt." ap. Wetstein, *Prolegom.* p. 394.

⁹¹ Bengel. *Appar. Crit.* p. 656. ed. 2da; ap. Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 463.

⁹² Bengel. *Introd. in Crisin N. T.* § 32. See also Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 193. Wetstein, *N. T.* vol. i. p. 158.

⁹³ "In summa judicii de lectionibus deligendis, non probatur, quod novam delectus maxime fecit [Bengelius] *Alexandrini Codicis, et Latine*

2. This latter remark, which has been made by several other writers, leads us to Wetstein. We have seen in our review of preceding editors of the Greek New Testament, that they seem all, directly or indirectly, to have proceeded as if the Latin were more venerable (or, to repeat the expression of Beza, that it is sometimes found "*ipsis rebus multo melius quadrare*") than the Greek Vulgate. For this I have already [p. 359] endeavoured to account. Wetstein seems originally to have had a like reverence for the Italic with his predecessors; but he lost it previous to the final publication of his Work⁹⁴. It is stated as one of the great merits of this distinguished editor, by Ernesti, that "in judicio lectionum universo præter cæteros probandus, quod id ad Codices *pure Græcos*, et non interpolatos e Latina versione, Patresque Græcos veteres, maxime dirigit⁹⁵." The *accusations* of Wetstein, however, still more forcibly than the *panegyric* of his predecessors, point back to a Latin original; as he boldly *accuses all the Greek MSS., which he himself admits to be the most venerable in point of antiquity, of Latinizing*: "Si jure querimur (says he, after giving some account of *Codd. Alex. Vat. Ephrem* and *Cant.* or A. B. C. D.) *Codices Vetustissimos ex Versione Italica fuisse ita interpolatos, ut inde ad stabiliendam*

Versionis consensum, non animadvertens, id quod erat in promptu in tanta Lectionum similitudine, Codicem illum ex hac interpolatum esse." Ernesti, *Instit. Interp. N. Test.* p. 284. See also Wetstein, *N. T.* vol. i. p. 159.

⁹⁴ "Sententiam mutavi, recedendo a sententia tum Bentleji tum Bengelii, existimantium Versionis Latinæ, et Codicum Græcorum cum illa consentientium, magnam esse contra Codices Græcos auctoritatem; idque feci, non levitate aut *affectu* permotus, sed post acrem aliquot annorum meditationem, et post longum et laboriosum examen." Wetstein, *N. T.* vol. i. p. 169. This is in answer to a charge of Bengel's, that in this change "*casus externi varios affectus pepererunt*." See also Wetstein's remarks on an observation of Erasmus concerning *Cod. Basil.* vi. 27. Wetst. *N. T.* vol. i. p. 44.

⁹⁵ Ernesti, *Inst. Int. N. T.* p. 285. Wetstein himself says, "Cum enim ego auctoritatem Versionis Latinæ, et aliarum omnium Versionum, et Codicum etiam Græcorum cum Versione Latina consentientium, Lec-

veram lectionem parum auxilii peti possit, multo magis dolendum est, *non tantum nullos æquales, sed ne quidem intervallo unius, duorum, imo trium seculorum proximos*, ex quibus hoc damnum sarciretur, hactenus repertos fuisse. Cum enim Codices quatuor primæ classis, quos descripsi, sint quarti et quinti seculi, Codicum secundæ classis, qui sequuntur, ne unum quidem seculo nono antiquiorem esse pronunciare auserim⁹⁶."

In effect, several distinguished critics previous to Wetstein, had occasionally thrown out hints that some *Codices* of the New Testament were either translated, or castigated and interpolated from the Latin. "De Græcis (says Mill in treating of the *Codex Bezae*) unum illud ultra quæritur, an aliqua ex parte castigata fuerint ad Latinum exemplar? Ea enim erat de libris hujus generis eruditorum quorundam nostræ et superioris ætatis diserta sententia. Nempe cum mirifice consenserint ista cum Latinis, contra quam reliqui Græciæ libri, iique optimi, facile ipsis persuasum erat, ea vel non omnino fuisse Græcæ originis, sed *tota, quanta quanta, traducta de Latinis*; vel saltem recensita et emendata fuisse, variis sui partibus, ad Latinam versionem. Sic de ipsis pronunciant Erasmus, Lucas Brugensis, Estius, Grotius, alii, quorum sententiam nil mirum si in hac editione nostram fecerimus⁹⁷."

tioni reliquorum Codicum Græcorum, ut plurimum postponam." *N. T.* vol. i. p. 166.

⁹⁶ Wetstein, *N. Test.* vol. i. p. 38. And at p. 115, he remarks, "mihi verum certumque, et nisi fallor passim in his *Prolegomenis* satis probatum evictumque videri, *Codices nimirum vetustissimos Græcos cum Versionibus hinc inde ad exemplaria Latina mutatos fuisse*."

⁹⁷ Mill, *Proleg.* No. 1282. See a remark of Erasmus, *supra*, p. 84, and 85; and of Grotius, p. 102. Lucas Brugensis in *V. L. Græc. ad Marc.* vii. 31, says: "Parisiensium Codices 2 et 8—multum vereor, *ne ex Latina editione mutuati sint*: libenter enim illi consonant contra alios omnes, id quod hactenus sæpe vidimus." ap. Wetstein, *N. T.* vol. i. p. 41. One of these MSS. which Simon [*Hist. Crit. du N. T.* chap. xi. p. 118.] calls "Le plus ancien Exemplaire Grec des Evangiles de ceux qui sont dans la Bibliotheque du Roy," is the L of Wetstein and of Griesbach, the latter of whom has given a minute account of it in his *Symbolæ*,

According to Mill, the famous Vatican and St. Germain MSS. were in the number of those “qui ad exemplar Latinum seu conficti, seu saltem castigati fuissent”⁹⁸.

Hardouin had remarked in his *Commentary* [p. 729], that the *Alexandrian MS.* had been nearly formed upon the Vulgate—“ex Vulgata fere concinnatum istud exemplar est;” a circumstance with which Wetstein tells us he was unacquainted, till he had already remarked with amazement its affinity with the Italic. “If (proceeds Wetstein) this learned man had contained himself in these limits, and had abstained from his paradoxical and rash conjecture,—that all the Books of the New Testament were first written by the Apostles and Evangelists in Latin, and afterwards translated neither fortunately nor faithfully into Greek, he might have merited not merely pardon but praise”⁹⁹. In fact, Hardouin, as we now see, embarrassed his hypothesis with unnecessary difficulties. Had he contented himself with asserting that the most venerable Greek MSS. now extant, are versions from the Latin, his purpose might perhaps have been equally served¹⁰⁰, and he would have been supported by some of the most distinguished Scripture critics. Indeed, from the language used by Wetstein, it may be concluded that he almost suspected that the *Alexandrian MS.* was not merely interpolated, but even a version from the Latin. “Quid igitur,” (says he, after mentioning Hardouin’s opinion of the *Alex. MS.*; and the same thing, adds

vol. i. p. lvi—cxli. He affirms that no MS. harmonizes more nearly with the readings of Origen; and contends that the coincidence of this, and of some other ancient MSS. with the Latin, is no proof of their corruption from that language. p. cx—cxvii. “Neque tamen is ego sum (he concedes) qui præfractæ in Græcos quosdam Codices irrepsisse neget quasdam lectiones, Latina stirpe prognatas...*Alexandrino*, ut hoc utar, in Actis Apostolorum, et in Epistolis Catholicis adpersæ sunt Lectiones nonnullæ Latinizantes; et Evangeliiis vero et Paullinis Epistolis tales in hoc libro vix inveniuntur.” p. cxii.

⁹⁸ Mill, *Prolegom.* No. 1479 and 1457.

⁹⁹ Wetstein, *N. T.* vol. i. pp. 12. 18.

¹⁰⁰ See *supra*, p. 357.

Wetstein, seems to have been suspected both of it and the *Vatican MS.* by Simon) quemquam Acoemitarum Constantinopoli, vel librariorum Alexandriæ tam fuisse linguæ Latinæ peritum, ut Libros Sacros ex hac lingua in Græcam convertere potuerit, et tam ineptum atque impudentem ut id facere voluerit? *Ανα ποταμων ιερων χωρους παγας.* Etiam si non esset, quod ad hanc quæstionem responderemus, inde tamen minime consequeretur, non demonstrari posse, quod et jam, ni fallor, demonstratum est, et postea ex aliis Codicibus demonstrabitur¹⁰¹." This distinguished critic also remarks, "Codicem *Vaticanum* N. T. ex versione Itala interpolatum, et in aliis etiam *Alexandrino* esse similem, atque adeo *ex eadem officina* exiisse" [p. 26]. The like [p. 28] he remarks of the *Codex Ephrem*, and universally, as we have seen above [p. 365], that the four most venerable MSS. his A. B. C. D. are completely interpolated from the Italic. The very same charge is brought against them by Matthæi, who in his edition of the New Testament renews the accusation of Wetstein. This editor, in pronouncing a panegyric upon one of his own codices [H] has the following words: "Insanus quidem fuerit, qui cum hoc aut *Cod. V* comparare, aut æquiparare voluerit *Codd. Alex. Clar. Germ. Boern. Cant.* qui *sine ullo dubio* pessime ex Scholiis et Versione Latina Vulgata interpolati sunt¹⁰²."

Of the MSS. here enumerated by Matthæi, the four last have their Greek text accompanied by a Latin version; and have thence been denominated *Codices Græco-Latini*. If the charge made by Wetstein of corruption from the Latin, was made even against the *Alexandrian and Vatican MSS.* (which have no Latin text, and are even supposed to have

¹⁰¹ Wetstein, *N. T. Proleg.* vol. i. p. 19=51. ed. Semler. The passage of Simon to which Wetstein refers is as follows: "Au reste je n'ose pas assurer que ce Manuscrit appelé *Alexandrin*, et même celui du *Vatican*, ne puissent estre mis au nombre de ceux qui ont esté decrits par des Copistes Latins dans ces anciens temps." *Hist. Critiq. du N. T.* chap. xxxii. p. 383.

¹⁰² Matthæi, *N. Test.* vol. ix. p. 254.

been written in countries where Latin was unknown), the accusation seemed much more plausible when directed against those MSS. where the Greek was accompanied by a Latin text. The "*His* [Latin. Vers. et Script.] *annumeramus omnes Codices Græco-Latinos*" of Wetstein [i. p. 82] was for a time, according to Dr. Marsh, admitted "perhaps by every critic in Europe," till called in question by Semler¹⁰³. Woide, in his edition of the *Cod. Alex.* endeavours, in his sixth section *de Latinizatione Codicis*, to defend the ancient Greek MSS. in general, and in particular the *Cod. Alex.*, from the charge of having been corrupted from the Latin. A valuable edition of Woide's *Notitia Cod. Alex.* with remarks, was published by Spohn: and this critic, as we have seen above [p. 345], is of opinion that Wetstein's charge was just, though he might have supported it by better arguments¹⁰⁴. Griesbach, like Woide, describing a favourite MS. in his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, vol. 1. cx—cxvii. contends that the consent of certain of the most ancient Greek MSS. with old Latin versions, while they differ from modern Greek MSS., ought not to be urged as a proof of corruption or alteration from the Latin. Yet as we have seen [p. 366], he allows that the charge may, to a certain extent, be true. A similar concession is made by Michaelis, who in the three first editions of his *Introduction* took part with those who accused the most ancient MSS. of Latinizing, but in his last edition represents the charge as ungrounded. "I candidly confess (says he) that Griesbach and

¹⁰³ Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. pp. 641, 679.

¹⁰⁴ It appears to me that Woide is throughout exceedingly unfair or prejudiced. Let us take, as an example, the passage *Matt.* xxv. 14, mentioned above, p. 288, on which the following is his note: τα ὑπαρχοντα αυτη, *Vulg.* bona sua. *Alex.* τα ὑπαρχοντα αυτων. "Quivis videt (says Woide) *Vulgatum* cum Græco convenire, et *Alex.* hic errare, non autem e Latinis refictum esse." *Not. Cod. Alex.* p. 139. ed. Spohn. Now in what other way is it possible to account for its erroneous reading, but from the ambiguity of *bona sua*? "Bengelius ipse fatetur *Cod. Alex.* ad Latinam quidem lectionem alicubi conformatus deprehenditur," Semler ap. Wetstein *Proleg.* p. 404. See *supra*, p. 365.

Woide have greatly contributed to confirm me in this new opinion... But (continues Michaelis) I would not be understood to assert, that the Greek text has in no case been altered from the Latin, since any version whatsoever, that stood in high authority, might sometimes have had this influence; for even Erasmus, in his edition of the Greek Testament, altered many passages from the Latin. In cases, therefore, where we have particular reason to suspect an alteration, I would by no means deny it: as for instance, *Rom. i. 32*, where after the word expressive of *ἐπιγινώσκεις*, the Latin Version has in almost all copies *intellegerunt*, for which different Greek MSS., even such as are of high antiquity, have the following different readings, *οὐκ ἐνόησαν, οὐκ ἐγνώσαν, οὐ συνέχαν*. This variety betrays a translation from the Latin¹⁰⁵."

It appears, from the above quotations, that the very opponents of the doctrine of the *Latinization* of the most venerable Greek MSS. find it necessary to use limitations. They concede, also, that the more ancient a Greek MS. of the New Testament is, the greater is its coincidence with the ancient Latin Versions: but this they endeavour to account for by the circumstance, that the more ancient the text of a Greek MS., the more nearly it must approximate to that ancient text from which the old Latin versions were made. "It is true (says Dr. Marsh, speaking of the famous *Cambridge MS.*) that a very great number of the readings peculiar to the *Codex Beza* are found in the Vulgate, as appears from consulting Wetstein's Greek Testament, where the *Codex D* and the Vulgate are frequently quoted together, for readings that are found in no Greek MS. at present known: and I have myself collated the two first chapters of St. Mark with the old Latin versions published by Blanchini, and have found that in most of the readings in which the *Codex Beza* differs from all the Greek MSS., it agrees with some one of those Latin Versions. But shall we therefore conclude that

¹⁰⁵ Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 165.

those readings were actually borrowed from a Latin Version, and translated into Greek? It is at least as possible that they might have had their origin in the Greek, as in the Latin; and this very possibility is sufficient to defeat the whole of Wetstein's hypothesis¹⁰⁶. . . . "That the *Codex Beza* (continues Dr. Marsh) very frequently agrees either with the Vulgate, or some other Latin version, is by no means extraordinary, when we reflect that this MS. is *one of the oldest now extant*, and that the Greek MSS. from which the Latin versions were made, come nearer to it in point of time than to those Greek MSS. from which the *Codex Beza* differs. The authors of these Latin versions must have found in the Greek MSS. from which they translated, the readings which are common to them, and to the *Codex Beza*: and this very agreement, instead of showing these readings to be spurious, is a strong argument that they are ancient and genuine. To this

¹⁰⁶ Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. iii. p. 680. In some cases, as *Matt.* iii. 16, το πνεῦμα καταβαίνοντα, *supra*, p. 272, it seems impossible to account for the readings in the *Codex Beza*, except upon the hypothesis of a version from the Latin. See on this subject Middleton on the Greek *Article*, p. 685 *et seqq.* *Classical Journal*, No. xxiv. p. 276 *et seq.* I may here take notice of a remark of Hardouin. The Apostle Paul, *Acts* xvii. 28, quotes part of a verse of Aratus, τὴ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἶμεν and Hardouin, after observing that the Apostle uses the plural number τινες, *quidam vestrorum Poetarum dixerunt*, proceeds thus:—"Non Aratum certe respexit, cujus sub nomine quæ circumferuntur carmina sunt ficta longe post Pauli ætatem." He adds, "τὴ γὰρ. In *Cantabrig.* τὴτὴ γὰρ. Quod si sic est a Paulo prolatum, non Aratum ille certe spectavit: cum necesse sit τὴτὴ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἶμεν, esse carminis partem extremam, quæ est apud Aratum pars prima, ut necesse est, hoc modo τὴ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἶμεν." *Hard. Comment.* p. 394. This destruction of the verse is somewhat analogous to what was formerly remarked [p. 80] as happening in the *Aldine Simplicius*. As to the objection of Hardouin, that "non unus aliquis, sed plures" are cited by the Apostle, the same passage is to be found in the *Hymn* of Cleanthes to *Jupiter*, v. 4, which is another proof of the extensive reading of Paul. The words of Cleanthes are, εἴς σε γὰρ γένος εἶμεν. Cf. *Pythagor. Carm.* v. 63, ἀλλὰ σὺ θάρσει, ἐπεὶ δεινὸν γένος ἐστὶ βροτοῖσιν.

must be added, that a great number of these readings are found in the Syriac, the Coptic, the Sahidic, the margin of the Philoxenian version, the *Versio Syra Hierosolymitana*, and the quotations of Origen. Now we must suppose that *all these have been corrupted from the Latin, if the charge be true with respect to the Codex Beza*¹⁰⁷."

This latter remark is the main argument of those who oppose the doctrine of derivation from the Latin. It must be obvious, however, to the reader, that whatever force it may have against the supposition that the Greek text of this and other MSS. was translated from the Latin during the middle ages, it rather seems to confirm the hypothesis of a primitive Latin original. M. Hug, after pointing out the coincidence of some of the readings of the *Codex Beza*, and of this Greek MS. alone, with those of the most ancient ecclesiastical writers, has the following remarks with respect to the *Latinization* of the MS: "The coincidence of the ancient Latin versions with D [the letter by which the *Codex Beza* is noted in the *Gospels* and *Acts* by Wetstein and Griesbach] is evident and undeniable the Latins (proceeds Mr. Hug) have been accused of having altered and moulded the Greek text according to their Translations. But have they then, also, interpolated from their versions the exemplar of Justin Martyr? the exemplar of Clement of Alexandria? Had they also their emissaries in Syria, in order to falsify the Greek text, or the copies of the Peshito in that country? Have they also corrupted the Syriac MSS. of the Nestorians? And what then! have they also altered the Codex of Marcion according to their sentiments and after their Translation? Was there in the times of Irenæus already a Latin Translation? and if so, is it probable that, as it were instantaneously, the Greek text would have been moulded to a conformity with it¹⁰⁸?"

¹⁰⁷ Marsh ap. Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 682.

¹⁰⁸ Hug *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, vol. i. p. 133. Tübingen 1808.

All these questions, which are designed to reduce the hypothesis of Wetstein to an absurdity, are as it were so many proclamations, as we shall afterwards find, in favour of a primitive Latin original. I have already remarked [p. 369], that all the *Codices Græco-Latini* are classed by Wetstein together, and placed by him in that portion of his *Prolegomena* which he devotes to an enumeration of the writers and writings of the Latin Church. "*His annumeramus* (says he, vol. i. 82) *omnes Codices Græco-Latini.*" Of these the most important is the famous MS. containing the *Gospels* and *Book of Acts*, which was presented by Beza to the University of Cambridge in 1581, and which hence is sometimes denominated the *Cod. Bezae* and sometimes the *Cod. Cantabrigiensis*. It is the Text, as we have seen above, on which Dr. Marsh and Mr. Hug found their defence against the charge of Wetstein concerning the Latinizing of Greek MSS.; and therefore before concluding this Disquisition I shall offer a few remarks on the subject.

Many descriptions have been given of the *Codex Bezae*, and a fac-simile edition of it at the expense of the University of Cambridge was published by Dr. Kipling in 1793. It is unnecessary for me to repeat what has been so well said on the history, and in the description of this MS. by Michaelis and his translator; nor need I enter into the discussion concerning the comparative antiquity of this and the Alexandrian and Vatican Manuscripts. "The Gospels (says Michaelis, speaking of the *Cod. Bezae*) are arranged in the usual order of the Latin MSS. Matthew, John, Luke, Mark . . . and perhaps of all the Manuscripts now extant this is the most ancient." This, also, is the opinion of Dr. Marsh, who expresses himself as follows: "With respect to the comparative antiquity of the *Cod. Bezae* with that of other MSS., we may safely assert that no one can be put in competition with it, except the *Codex Vaticanus* . . . If it be asked (continues he) to which of these the preference is due; I would answer, to the *Codex Bezae*; for the *Codex Vaticanus* has accents and marks of aspiration, which were added by the person who

wrote the MS. itself¹⁰⁹." Wetstein, who (as Porson remarks) "was rather prejudiced against this MS.," observes: "Omnibus Indiciis Vetustatis insignis hic Codex, et fortassis omnium, qui nunc supersunt antiquissimus." And Valckenaer, who makes some very violent attacks upon it, says: "Omnium forte, qui supersunt, antiquissimo, sed et quod fatendum est inquinatissimo, Codice Cantabrigiensi." This philippic is pronounced by Valckenaer at the very time when he is quoting this MS. as the only one which, in his opinion, represents in a passage of which he is treating the true hand of Luke¹¹⁰.

But if the *Codex Beza*, in the opinion of so many able critics, may dispute priority, so far as ink and paper are concerned, with any other MS. of the New Testament, it far in the opinion of others surpasses each and all of them with respect to the venerable antiquity of its text¹¹¹. Dr. Mill, with whom it was no favourite, and who seems to have considered it as perhaps a version from the Latin, affirms that, "amidst all its excentricities, it sometimes alone preserves the

¹⁰⁹ Michaelis, by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 229; iii. p. 720. In a curious Latin MS. of the twelfth century in the Medicean Library, we read in the margin of the Prologue to the Gospel of John as follows: "Qui etsi post omnes Evangelium scripsisse dicitur, tamen dispositione Canonis ordinati post Matthæum ponitur... et hoc Virgini debebatur." Bandini, *Cat. Cod. Lat.* tom. i. p. 151.

¹¹⁰ Wetstein, *N. T. Prolegom.* vol. i. p. 34 = 92. Semler. Valckenaer, *Schediasma*, p. 368. See also *ibid.* pp. 373. 382. Even Hardouin himself says of this MS.: "In MS. *Cantabrigiensi*, qui creditur unus esse ex antiquissimis qui nunc extant." *Comment.* p. 7. And Sabatier thus expresses himself: "Nullus ex cunctis Codicibus, quos hactenus memoravimus, *Cantabrigiensi* Codice est antiquior; quippe qui sibi ducentos supra mille annos vindicat." *Bibl. Sac. Lat. Vers. Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 35, ap. Kipling, *Cod. Beza*, *Præf.* p. ii. Kipling, the editor of the fac-simile edition of this MS., says: "Nihil videtur obstare, quo minus vera sit Whistoni conjectura, Codicem scilicet *Cantabrigiensem* secundo descriptum fuisse post Christum natum sæculo." *Ibid.* p. iv.

¹¹¹ See Hug, *Einleitung* &c. vol. i. p. 114. The passage already quoted from this work [*supra*, p. 372,] mainly refers to the text of this MS.; and the learned critic endeavours at considerable length to prove the

genuine text, when lost in all others ¹¹²." Porson gives the following very favourable opinion of the *Codex Beza*: "It abounds (says Academicus) with absurdities. So does almost every ancient MS. A MS. may be, upon the whole, of great authority, and yet have many absurd readings. The greatest fault of our MS. is, that it is also full of interpolations. Yet even these are often curious, as they are supposed to be taken from Apocryphal Gospels. Another mistake your correspondent has quoted from Wetstein (who though an excellent collator of Greek, knew little of Latin MSS.), that Beza's MS. follows a strange and uncouth system of orthography. But his examples will scarcely make good his assertion. The words *templatio*, *quotiens*, *thensaurus*, *intellego*, are so written in many if not in most old MSS.; *tempto* and *intellego* you may find in Davies's edition of Cicero, *Tusc.* lib. iv. 12; *quotiens* is frequent in Inscriptions: *thensaurus* is in Faernus's edition of Terence, without doubt from the *Codex Bembinus*, the oldest MS. extant. I am persuaded that the other peculiarities mentioned by Wetstein would be found, upon examination, to stand upon equal authority. The truth is, Wetstein was rather prejudiced against this MS. Mr. Griesbach, who is more candid, says [*Symbol. Crit.* p. cxvii.] that it has a great quantity of very ancient and good readings ¹¹³."

Of these "very ancient and good readings" in which the *Codex Beza* differs from other MSS., I shall content myself with quoting one, in passing, chiefly for the purpose of show-

concordance of D. or *Cod. Beza* with Clemens Alexandrinus and other very ancient Fathers. *Ibid.* p. 114, *et seq.*

¹¹² "Verum utcumque mire interpolata sint hujusce Codicis Græca; cum tamen in multis retineant puritatem primævorum, unde deducta sint, fontium, copiam certe haud exiguum exhibent genuinarum lectionum, à receptis hodiernis discrepantium. De iis quas *Cant.* cum aliis Codd. communes habet, alias: hic eas duntaxat attingemus, quæ in *uno hoc quod sciam*, occurrunt Exemplari Græco," &c. Mill, *Proleg.* No. 1278.

¹¹³ Porson, *Tracts*, p. 293, from *Gent. Magaz.* Oct. 1788, p. 875, where it was first published.

ing how the common reading may have originated in a corruption of the Latin. Our Lord having healed a dropsical man upon the Sabbath-day says, in our version, in justifying himself to the Pharisees, *Luke xiv. 5, Which of you shall have an ASS or an OX fallen into a pit, and will not straight-way pull him out on the sabbath-day?* In ABEGHMS of Griesbach, and BHV of Matthæi, not to mention others of inferior note, instead of *ΟΝΟΣ η βους* we have *ΤΙΟΣ η βους*, a *SON* or an *OX*, which reading is absurd. The combination, indeed, of *Son* and *Ox* is quite unnatural; and our Lord's argument would have no force; since, as Dr. Campbell *in loc.*, amongst other strong objections against it, justly observes that "a man possessed of even the Pharisaical notions concerning the Sabbath might think it, in the case supposed, excusable from natural affection, or even justifiable from paternal duty, to give the necessary aid to a child in danger of perishing, and at the same time think it inexcusable to transgress the commandment for one to whom he is under no such obligations." In one MS. alone, the *Codex Beza*, do we find *προβατον*, *sheep*, instead of *υιος*: and this reading is confirmed by a similar passage, *Matth. xii. 11*. In fact, it appears to me that the original had been *OVIS*, and this by a common metathesis had been read *ΥΙΟC* by the translator¹¹⁴. The other reading, *ΟΝΟΣ*, had also been either occasioned by

¹¹⁴ Of such transpositions many examples occur: "*Gen. xix. 3. το-πον legendum ποτον, convivium. Par mendorum in hac ipsa voce sustulit Salmasius, p. 339 Achillis Tatii. Sic Sapientia ii. 7, pro αερος reponendum εαρος ex acutissimi Petri Nannii conjectura.*" P. Colomesii *Opera*, p. 630. Hamb. 1709.

The reading of the Latin Vulgate, *Matth. xv. 8*, is *Populus hic labiis me honorat*. In the *Vercelli* MS. it is *Plebs hæc labiis me diligit*; which renders it probable that the Interpreter had mistaken, by a kind of metathesis, *τιμα* for *amat*, and translated accordingly. In the Vulgate, *Luke xxi. 11*, we have *et signa magna erunt*. The *Vercelli* MS. adds *et liemes*; which seems to have arisen, as in the former case, from a metathesis of *σημεια*. When Matthew writes, *xxi. 5, ΕΙΠΑΤΕ τη θυγατρι Σιων*, and John in the parallel passage, *xii. 15, ΜΗ ΦΟΒΟΥ θυγα-*

OVIS; or more probably perhaps, from the incongruity of the common reading, and the propriety of joining the Ox and Ass, which are habitually associated in Sacred Scripture.

Markland (in a letter to Bowyer, dated May 12, 1776), speaking of Dr. Harwood's edition of the New Testament, says: "The editor has followed the copy which Beza gave to Cambridge, of which Dr. Mill somewhere says in his notes, that of all the copies he ever consulted this is the most faulty one. Doctors differ. The editor [Dr. H.] thinks, that after having been engaged in the study of the Scriptures for a considerable number of years, this MS. and the Clermont copy of the Epistles come the nearest to the originals of any MSS. in the known world. *Utri creditis Quirites*¹¹⁵?" Now the only use which I would at present make of the preceding remarks upon the *Codex Beza* is the following. This MS. is affirmed by the most distinguished critics to be of the *most remote and venerable antiquity*; and, whatever may be its defects, it is usually admitted to be incomparably more respectable than the modern MSS. which were made use of by the Complutensians, or by Erasmus¹¹⁶. Now if it be no crime to charge this MS. (to say nothing of its venerable compeers) with being either *a version, or throughout interpo-*

τηρ Σίαν, I can only account for it by a metathesis of *Intima* and *Netime*.

Since the above was written, I have observed the following conjecture of Dr. Mill: "τινος ὑμῶν οἷς, ἢ βοῦς [*Luc. xiv. 5*]. *Cant. uti liquet ex ejus Latinis cujus ex vobis ovis aut bovis. Verum diu est, cum originaria ista Græca perierunt. Ex οἷς factum a scribis posterioribus ὑίος quod in Codices multos transiit. Tandem vero a quopiam, cui haud congruum visum erat, ut filius et bos hic conjungerentur parique quasi passu incederent, mutatum ὑίος in οὐός maxime quod alias in hoc Evangelio conjunctim legantur, xiii. 15.*" *Proleg. No. 423.* The Greek, however, of the *Cod. Beza* is *προβατον* and, from the exceeding prevalence of metathesis or transposition, the other conjecture seems most probable.

¹¹⁵ Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 308.

¹¹⁶ Compare *supra*, p. 83 with p. 374.

lated from the Latin, where can be the offence of inquiring whether this may not be the case also with the Vulgate Text, or, in other words, with the confessedly modern MSS. of Basil and Alcalá? Was an angel, or an apostle, the compositor of the edition of Elzevir, any more than that of Harwood? And why may not the same rules of criticism be applied as freely to the one as to the other?

When this work was nearly completed, my attention was directed to an "Appendix containing some remarks on the *Codex Beza*," at the end of Middleton *on the Greek Article*. These remarks, though the author does not form so large a conclusion, seem to me to go a considerable way to prove that this venerable MS. is a version from the Latin. "The defenders of the *Codex Beza* (says Mr. Middleton) for the most part content themselves with endeavouring to repel the charge of its *Latinizing*, though its very remarkable agreement with the Latin is a fact which more or less they feel themselves compelled to admit. It will be remembered that I am concerned only with its frequent and generally unsupported variations from the other MSS. in the insertion or omission of the article¹¹⁷." The author then enters upon the subject of the *Latinization* of the *Codex Beza* at considerable length; and, towards the conclusion of his argument, affirms that much of the reasoning which has been employed, and with success, to demonstrate the Velezian readings to be a version from the Latin, "*mutatis mutandis*, will apply to the *Codex Beza*" . . . "I cannot (says Mr. Middleton) allow the Marquis [of Velez] to be condemned, and the translator of the interpolations in the Codex to be acquitted: this would be *dare veniam Corvis*. Velez has been guilty of certain omissions; but the Codex not only omits but inserts the Article without rule or meaning, so far as I can discover, and certainly in defiance of the usage which prevails every where else."

"I believe then (proceeds Mr. M.) that our Cambridge

¹¹⁷ Middleton, *Of the Greek Article*, p. 678.

MS., though a most venerable remain of antiquity, is not to be considered, in a critical view, as of much authority. It is of use to the Translator, and to the dogmatic Theologian; but not, I think, generally speaking, to the Editor of the New Testament, whose object is to give a text approaching as nearly as possible to the Autographs. But here I would not be misunderstood. If we had at the present day no other Greek MS. of the Evangelists and Acts than the *Codex Beza*, the truth of our religion would indeed be as evident as if we had only any other single MS. of the same writings, viz. either B (the *Vat.* 1209) or the H of Matthaci, supposing it to extend so far; we should still have a record of the same miracles, of the same divine doctrines, of the same death and resurrection of Christ, and of the same miraculous gifts imparted to the first teachers of Christianity. But in the view of criticism the case would stand very differently: almost every thing which the learned have determined respecting the style and language of the Evangelists would be wholly unfounded, and *Hardouin's hypothesis of a Latin original of the Gospels and Acts at least, would not be altogether chimerical*¹¹⁸." Let the reader weigh well these observations of this learned and orthodox writer. Had Erasmus (we may conclude from them) been so lucky, or unlucky, as to meet with the *Codex* afterwards possessed by Beza, instead of the *Basileensis* B. vi. 25, (written by a careless and ignorant scribe of the 15th century,) in that case Hardouin might have held up his head, instead of being hooted at as a visionary or infidel. "According to Wetstein (says Michaelis, speaking of this Basle MS.) it is an incorrect copy of the Gospels, written in the 15th century, in which η, ι and ε; ω and ο; α and ε; β and υ are very frequently confounded; and which was purchased by the monks of Basle for two Rhenish florins, a price proportionate to the value of the Manuscript. Erasmus used it in his edition of the New Testament; and it was from this MS. that the press was set, after he had made his alterations, which are still visible, as also the marks of the

¹¹⁸ Middleton, *Greek Article*, p. 695, 696.

printer¹¹⁹." But it will be said, that this Basle MS., the text from which the first published edition of the Greek Gospels was printed, was supported by other authorities. So also is the *Codex Beza*, and by *authorities of far greater antiquity and dignity*. "It is true indeed, (says Mr. Middleton speaking of the *Latinizing* of this MS.) that our *Codex* is not the only one which has been suspected: some others, though I believe in a less degree, share the accusation. It ought, however, to be understood, that in the *Latinizing* readings those MSS. for the most part agree with the MS. of Beza: D. L. 1. 13. 33. 69, &c. will commonly be found together in Wetstein¹²⁰." Now the first of these, L, is the *favourite MS. of Griesbach*, who collated it with great care, and tells us that he found no MS. which harmonizes in so great a degree with the readings of Origen¹²¹. Once more then I would repeat the question,—If the few modern MSS. of Erasmus

¹¹⁹ Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 220; who justly remarks, *ibid.* p. 218, that "in whatever relates to the manuscripts at Basle, we may depend on the accounts of Wetstein, who resided there, and made very frequent use of them." The description given by Wetstein of *Cod. Basil. B. vi. 25*, of which the above passage of Michaelis is an abstract, may be found Wetstein, *N. T.* vol. i. p. 44: "Erasmus (says W.) anno 1515 hunc ipsum Codicem in officinam Frobenianam ut typis ederetur, tradidit, unde etiam signa Typothetarum, et quaterniones, et paginas signatas editionis primæ Erasmiianæ adhuc retinet; ante tamen Erasmus hunc Codicem ad fidem Theophylacti, aliorumque Patrum, et *ex Versione Latina*, aut aliis Codicibus Græcis, interdum etiam *ex conjectura* correxit, uti et ex inspectione Codicis discere licet, et ipse *Epistola celi* ad Budæum hoc ultro fatetur. En exempla, ex margine hujus Codicis petita, ubi eum Erasmus sua manu perperam correxit." See these examples, *ibid.* p. 44.

¹²⁰ Middleton, *Greek Article*, p. 697.

¹²¹ *Symbolæ Criticæ*, vol. i. lxvi.—cxli. Codex est insignis et excellens "cui paucissimi Ev. Codd. comparandi sunt, præferri vix ullus potest," &c. p. lxxiv. Birch, describing the *Vatican MS.* says; "Affirmare non dubito inter omnes qui hodie extant, vix ullum Cod. reperiri cui eadem tribuenda sit dignitas et autoritas. Nullus Origeniano textui propius accedit, et tam multas exhibet lectiones in quibus solus cum Origene concordat. *Mira quoque in lectionibus singularibus cernitur convenientia cum D.*" that is with the *Codex Beza*.

were more respectable than the venerable *Codex Bezae* and its associates, against which the charge of *Latinizing* has been repeated so long and so loudly;—once more I would ask, why Hardouin, or any one else, may not analyse the Vulgate Greek New Testament, or in other words the MSS. of Erasmus, or Stephens, with equal freedom as we analyse the *Vatican*, *Alexandrian*, or *Cambridge* Manuscripts? Once more I would ask, Why may not the same canons of criticism be applied with equal liberty to the editions of Elzevir, and of Harwood?

In fact, if Wetstein, and Matthaei, and other distinguished critics and commentators have charged not only this MS. but the *Alexandrian* and other venerable compeers with being *translated, or altered throughout from the Latin*, it can be no crime to examine whether the edition of Elzevir may not be liable to the same accusation. The charge of Wetstein has, as we have seen [p. 368], been to a certain extent admitted by his opponents; and the arguments which have been employed against him (however they may contravert his hypothesis, or load it with difficulties) have no force against the hypothesis of a primitive or very early Latin Exemplar. Let us listen once more, before concluding, to the objections which have been urged against him. “Many *simply Greek MSS.* (says Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 167) have readings which have been called *lectiones Latinizantes*—shall we conclude then that *even these* have been interpolated from the Latin; and is no limit to be fixed to the operation of this supposed contagion? Besides, we have other ancient versions, which have been made immediately from the Greek, such as the Syriac, and the Coptic, which have frequently those very readings that have formed the ground of accusation against the *Codices Græco-Latini*.” Now it will be obvious to the reader that this remark (which coincides with those quoted above [p. 372] from Dr. Marsh and M. Hug), whatever force it may have against the doctrine of a partial alteration of the Greek from the Latin versions in the West, does not bear at all upon the hypothesis of a primitive or very early

Latin Exemplar. The observation of Dr. Marsh—that we must suppose the Syriac, the Coptic, the Sahidic, &c. to be corrupted from the Latin, if we suppose the *Codex Beza* to be so,—only serves to prove that a primitive Latin Exemplar may have existed, since its influence has been universal. “Some of the MSS. (proceeds Michaelis) exposed to this censure were written in countries which give the charge a very high degree of improbability; the *Alexandrine MS.* for instance, which was written in a country that belonged to the Greek diocese, and where that language alone was spoken. It is surely improbable that any man who lived in Egypt would alter the Greek original from a Latin Translation.” Here again, in this objection to the hypothesis of Wetstein, is an argument which might be urged in favour of a primitive Latin Exemplar. The Latinization of the *Alexandrian MS.*, which in some of its parts even Griesbach, as we have seen, confesses [p. 366], could not, according to Michaelis, have arisen from modern interpolations from the Latin, and consequently must have flowed from a primitive fountain¹⁹². A

¹⁹² Although the opinion here expressed by Michaelis, and contended for by Woide, &c. that the *Alexandrian MS.* was written in Egypt, would serve, in some degree, rather to strengthen the hypothesis of primigenial Latin originals; yet, as I have in fact no object but the discovery of truth, I will not conceal my suspicion that this MS. was probably written in France. We are told by Woide: “In ipso Cod. MSto, in plagula chartacea, in qua Lucaris testimonium legitur, hæc p. 1. Latine, sed antiquo atramento, adscripta reperio: *Donum datum cubiculo Patriarchali, anno 814 Martyrum* (anno Christi 1098).” p. 13. ed. Spohn. Woide takes it for granted that the Patriarchate here meant was that of *Alexandria*; but I rather suspect *Antioch* is meant. It was in this very year Antioch was taken by the Crusaders; and the Patriarch, who was supposed friendly to the besiegers, had suffered much from the besieged Mahometans. “Patriarcham vero retinuerunt [Turci] ligatum in ferreis vinculis, dicentes: Iste sanctus est, et si exierit, forsitan per ejus preces capiemur a Christianis, qui foris sunt.” *Belli Sacri Hist.* ap. Mabillon, *Museum Italic.* tom. i. P. ii. p. 161, also p. 176. As soon as the city was taken, “In illa die extraxerunt Patriarcham, qui erat jam per octo menses in carcere, habens marcida fere crura prostricta compedum, et nequibat expedite ambulare. Tunc cucurrerunt

like conclusion might be contended for, from a circumstance which has been urged as decisive against the hypothesis of Wetstein, and which was the principal phenomenon that prevailed with Michaelis to abandon it. "It appears (says he, ii. p. 168) from most of the *Codices Græco-Latini*, that the Latin version has been altered from the Greek text of that copy to which it was annexed; for instance, the *Cod. Cant.* and *Laud.* 3. The Latin version in these MSS. varies so materially from the other Latin versions, that there is much more reason to suspect an alteration in the Latin than in the Greek, especially as the latter is placed in the first column. In reading the *Acts of the Apostles*, published by Hearne from the *Cod. Laud.* 3, every one must observe that

omnes majores ad eum, et corruerant proni ante ejus pedes." p. 179. I suspect it was to this favourite of the Crusaders that the *Alex. MS.* was presented. As to the *Æra of Martyrs*, it was not only used in Egypt, but "by St. Ambrose, Epiphanius, Evagrius, Hermannus Contractus [a celebrated monk of St. Gall and Augia, who died A.D. 1054], Bede, and others." *Works of J. Gregory*, P. II. p. 164. Lond. 1671. Of the siege of Antioch a striking account is given by Gibbon, chap. LVIII. vol. xi. p. 64. *sqq.*

From Antioch the *Cod. Alex.* seems to have been carried to Mount Athos, where it was obtained by Cyrillus Lucaris [See Wetstein, *Prolegom.* p. 10. Spohn, *Notit. Cod. Alex.* p. 10—13. Marsh ap. Michaelis iii. p. 653]. According to Cyrillus, "Liber iste scripturæ sacræ Novi et Veteris Testamenti prout ex traditione habemus, est scriptus manu Theclæ...Nomen Theclæ in fine libri erat exaratum...Extinctum ergo et Theclæ nomen et laceratum, sed memoria et traditio recens observat." Cyrillus does not say that this effaced inscription was in Greek; and Woide himself admits, § 28. p. 21, "A duobus autem Librariis hunc Codicem exaratum esse colligo." Possibly the subscription might be *Hic liber scriptus FVITIGALIA*: This book was written in France; and as C and G were scarcely to be distinguished [see *Cod. Beza*], this had been read *Hic liber scriptus fuit Theclâ*, a legendary name very famous in the church. Some of the mistakes in the *Alex. MS.* seem to have their origin in French pronunciation: as *Marc.* vii. 13, *αυτῶ* for *αυτῶς* xiii. 20, *εχλετῶ* for *εχλετῶς*, &c. The Catalogue entitled *Daily and Nightly Canons of the Psalms* [Spohn, p. 66.] may have been added by an Accemet monk at Antioch.

the Latin has been frequently altered from the Greek, even at the expense of grammatical accuracy." "I formerly (says Michaelis elsewhere, ii. p. 165, speaking of the charges of Wetstein and others)—I formerly took part with the accusers, as appears from the former editions of this Introduction; but I have gradually altered my opinion, and am at present fully persuaded that the charge is ungrounded. I candidly confess that Griesbach and Woide have greatly contributed to confirm me in this new opinion; though the alteration itself is rather the result of my own private reflection; of a more careful examination of the readings of these MSS; and, above all, of a diligent use of Hearne's edition of the *Acts of the Apostles* from the Greek MS. called *Codex Laudianus*, in which the two texts are written in parallel columns¹²³.

Now it is very certain that, upon consulting the *Codices Græco-Latini*, we find that instead of seeking to adapt the Greek to the Latin text, the latter seems to have been studiously adapted to the former. One of the most curious of these is the *Codex Boernerianus*, now in the Electoral Library at Dresden, and which was published by Matthæi with all its peculiarities in 1791. This MS. appears from an Irish inscription [ed. Matthæi, fol. 23.] to have been written in Ireland (it is supposed in the ninth or tenth century), and was evidently designed to serve at once as a copy of Paul's Epistles, and to afford instructions in Greek. Accordingly we find, *Rom.* viii. 5, *οἱ γὰρ κατὰ σαρκὰ ὄντες* *qui enim secundum carnem sunt* + *participium*. *Rom.* iv. 13, *ἐπαγγελία τῷ ἀβραάμ* *promissio* + *dativus abrahæ*. Nothing can be more evident than the anxiety of the writer of the *Cod. Boern.* to adapt his

¹²³ In speaking of the Velesian readings, Michaelis says that "Wetstein, who was at all times too much inclined to suspect an imposture, contends that Velez collated not Greek but Latin manuscripts;" an opinion which Michaelis endeavours unsuccessfully to confute. See vol. ii. p. 353; with the note of Marsh, vol. iii. p. 824. Suspicion in a critic is a much more valuable quality than faith—

— Σωφρονος δ' ἀπιστίας
Οὐκ ἔστιν ὕδεν χρησιμώτερον βροτοῖς,

interlined Latin to the Greek text. Thus we find, *Rom.* iv. 16. εἰς τὸ εἶναι βαιβάριαν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν [sic] *in esse firmam promissionem t.* [aut] *ut sit firma promissio.* A more striking example of the adaptation of the Latin to the Greek text occurs *Philipp.* ii. 4, where, instead of *ἐκαστοι σκοπουντες*, we have in the *Cod. Boern.* *ἐκαστοις κοπουντες*, and in the interlined Latin *singuli laborantes t. quærentes.* "The ignorant writer of the *Cod. Boern.* (says Marsh) falsely divides *ΕΚΑΣΤΟΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΝΤΕΣ*, as it stood in the ancient and probably valuable MS. from which he copied, into *ἐκαστοις κοπουντες*, instead of *ἐκαστοι σκοπουντες*, writes over *κοπουντες* his own translation *laborantes*, adds *quærentes* the translation of *σκοπουντες*, because he found it in a Latin version, forgets to alter *singuli* to *singulis*, which he ought to have done, in order to make the corruption of the Latin consistent with itself, and produces a sentence wholly devoid of meaning¹²⁴." It is obvious, from the above examples, that the Latin version in *this MS.* has been scrupulously adapted to the Greek; and as this also seems to have been the case with other MSS. of the same class, it renders it more difficult to account, without reverting to a very early Latin original, for the manifest Latinisms even in point of syntax occasionally to be found in them. For example: both the *Cod. Boern.* and its twin brother the *Augiensis* have in *Philipp.* i. 27. *ἀξίως τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ* instead of *ἀξίως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, making the Greek *ἀξίως* like the Latin *dignus* absurdly govern the ablative¹²⁵.

With regard to the *Laud.* 3, or Greek-Latin copy of the *Acts of the Apostles*, edited by Hearne, and which Michaelis represents as having chiefly influenced him to alter his former opinion concerning the *Latinization* of the *Codices Græcolatini*: "It appears (says Dr. Marsh) from the fac-simile which Hearne has given at the end of the preface, as well as from the edition itself, that only one word, at the utmost two, and

¹²⁴ Marsh, ap. Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 675.

¹²⁵ See Kuster's *Preface* to his edit. of Mill's *N. Test.* pag. penult. Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 225.

that seldom, is written in a line; and they are so written that each Latin word is always opposite to the correspondent Greek word. This clearly shows that it was written for the use of a person who was not well skilled in both languages; and as the Latin occupies the first column, this circumstance affords an additional argument in favour of the opinion that it was written in the West of Europe where Latin only was spoken¹²⁶.” Woide endeavours at considerable length to prove that the Latin text of this MS. was derived from the Greek; and, though he admits that it has interpolations, he contends, in opposition to Wetstein, that even in such cases the Greek was not taken from the Latin, but on the contrary the Latin from the Greek. As the elucidation of this topic is of no little consequence in our present inquiry, I shall set down without mutilation the argument of Woide:—

“Sed ipse Millius Laudianum Codicem *interpolatum* esse confitetur. Hæc sint concessa. Sed an ideo e Latinis refictus, quod hic quæritur potissimum et unice. Pertinaciter id quidem Wetstenius [N. T. vol. ii. p. 451] ‘*Hinc ortæ sunt plurimæ illæ additiones, huic codici cum sola Italica, ut ex Cantabrigiensi, Cypriano, Irenæo, et Lucifero Calaritano, constat, communes, ita tamen ut non Latina ex Græcis, sed Græca ex Latinis præpostere formata sint, quod vel exinde constat, quoniam in istis locis Græca Cantabrigiensis a Græcis Laudiani admodum differunt, v. gr. Act. iv. 32; v. 38; vi. 10; x. 41; xiii. 8. cujus rei alia ratio afferri nequit, quam quod diversimode æque tamen imperite plerumque eadem verba Latina in Græcum transtulerint.*’ Sed hæc (says Woide) non magnum habebunt momentum apud Lectores, si iis confirmavero, Græca nec præpostere esse posita (*potius Latina*) nec admodum differre, nec eadem verba Latina apud utrosque reperiri, e. gr.

Act. iv. 32, habet

Cantabr. καὶ οὐκ ἦν διατριβὴς ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲμία.
et non erat *accusatio* in eis ulla.

¹²⁶ Marsh, ap. Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 748.

Laudian, και ουκ ην χωρισμος εν αυτοις τις.

et non erat *separatio* in eis ulla.

Cyprianus habet “ nec fuit inter illos *discrimen* ullum.”

Ambrosius cum Laudiano convenit.

Act. v. 38.

Cantabr. μη μιαναντες τας χειρας.

non *coinquinatas* [sic] *manus*.

Laud. μη μολυνοντες τας χειρας υμων.

non *coinquinantes manus vestras*.

Quis non videt *coinquinatas* e Græco male esse conversum?

Act. vi. 10.

Cantabr. δια το ελεγχεσθαι αυτους επ' αυτου μετα πασης παρρησιας,

μη δυναμενοι ουν αποφθαλμειν τη αληθεια.

quoniam probatur illis ab illo cum omni fiducia,

non potentes autem resistere veritati, tunc.

Latina male e Græco translata.

Laudian. διоти ελεγχοντο υπ' αυτου μετα πασης παρρησιας, επειδη

ουκ ηδυναντο αντιλεγειν τη αληθεια.

propter quod redarguerentur ab eo cum omni fiducia,

cum ergo non possent contradicere veritati.

Act. x. 41.

Cant. ημερας μ. dies xl.

Laud. δι ημερων τεσσαρακοντα, per dies quadraginta.

Act. xiii. 8.

Cant. επειδη ηδιστα ηκουεν αυτων.

quoniam libenter audiebat eos.

Laud. 'Οτι ηδεως αυτων ηκουεν.

quoniam libenter eorum audiebat.

Latinus ordinem Græcorum sequitur, et αυτων eorum male interpretatur.

Act. xiii. 43.

Cant. εγενετο δε καθ' ολης της πολεως διελθειν τον λαγον του θεου.

factum est autem per omnem civitatem transire verbum Domini.

Laud. εγενετο δε κατα πασαν πολιν φημισθηναι τον λογον.
factum est autem per *universam* civitatem *diffamari*
verbum.

Qui hæc non præjudicata mente legerit (concludes Woide) concedet, et Latina non esse eadem, quod Wetstenius audacissime asseverat, et Latina potius e Græcis quam Græca e Latinis translata esse¹²⁷."

It is evident, from the above quotations, that even though Woide could have succeeded in demonstrating that the *Greek text* of the Cambridge and *Laud* MSS. was not derived from the *Latin text of those MSS. themselves*, but the contrary, still that the great diversity of the *Greek texts* in the two Manuscripts could only have arisen from *one* of them, at least, being a version. Let us suppose, for example, that Luke had written with the *Cambridge MS.* και ουκ ην διακρισις εν αυτοις ουδεμια, in that case the reading of the *Laud. MS.* και ουκ ην χωρισμος εν αυτοις τις, could only have arisen from its being a re-translation. But why, it may be said, should it be supposed a version from the Latin? In the first place, from the high authority of the Roman Church, the Latin text was more likely to have such an influence than any other; and, in the next place, we find the above clause in the writings only of the Latin Fathers. We now see that the arguments of Woide and his associates do not bear against a primigenial or even a very early Latin copy. It is no proof, for example, that the *Codd. Beza* and *Laud.* do not Latinize; that their *own Latin* is scrupulously adapted to the Greek text by which it is accompanied; and that, as Woide says of one of the texts quoted above, "Quis non videt *coinquinatas* e Græco male esse conversum?" since it must be still true that of the two corresponding Greek verses, *Cant.* μη μιαναντες τας χειρας, and *Laud.* μη μολυνοντες τας χειρας υμων, one of them at least must be a version. It is in passages chiefly which have been interpolated, or which at least have not been generally ad-

¹²⁷ Woide *Notitia Codicis Alexandrini*, p. 161—164. edit. Spohn.

mitted into MSS., and thus have not received the same degree of recension with the general text, that we can most readily detect a Latin original. Let us take, for example, the famous passage concerning the Adulteress, *John* viii. 1—12. As this passage was omitted in many MSS., it did not undergo the same portion of recension as the regular text, and hence the greater diversity of its readings. Griesbach, in his edition of the New Testament, has printed the passage as it occurs in the Vulgate Greek text, in the *Codex Beza*, and in different MSS. All these appear to be different versions from the Latin¹²⁸. And since the passage, as I have remarked, was neglected or designedly left out by many transcribers, and was not *pruned* as it were to *uniformity*, we find in it a greater diversity of text. There is a remark made by Father Simon in speaking of the *Codex Beza* which may bear, perhaps, a little upon the present subject. He observes that this ancient MS. is so different from other Greek copies, and our Vulgate, especially in the *Acts of the Apostles*, that one would say that it is a different book¹²⁹. He then proceeds

¹²⁸ For example, it is said of Jesus, *John* viii. 2, and early in the morning he CAME again into the Temple. This in the Vulgate Greek is παρ-
εγενετο· in the *Cod. Beza* it is παραγινεται· in other Codices ηλθει·
The original word had been venit, as in the Latin Vulgate; and hence by
one interpreter it is taken in the Present, and by another in the Preter-
ite, while different interpreters use different Greek words. *Codd.* 64. 69.
have παραλθεν.

Hardouin has the following note on verse 3, *In adulterio deprehen-*
sam: “Græce, εν μοιχεια κατειλημμενην. *Cantabrigiensis*, επι αμαρτια
γυναικα ειλημμενην, in peccato mulierem captam. Alius, επι αμαρτια κα-
ταληφθισαν, in peccato deprehensam. Sic in tota hac narratione incre-
dibiles sunt Græcorum Codicum varietates.” *Comment.* p. 286. The
same writer has the following remark on *Acts* x. 47, *Sicut et nos*, Græce
καθως και ημεις· “In *Cantabr.* MS. ωσπερ και ημεις· in *Alexandr.* ως και
ημεις. Suum quisque finxit ex Latino Codicem pro arbitrio.” *Ibid.* p. 369.

¹²⁹ “Cet ancien manuscrit est si différent des autres Exemplaires
Grecs, et de nostre Vulgate, principalement dans les Actes des Apôtres,
qu'on diroit que ce seroit un autre livre. . . Il y a à la vérité quelque
chose de surprenant en cela; mais c'est un fait qui saute aux yeux; et
bien qu'on ne puisse pas apporter les véritables raisons de cette grande

to make a remark which in some degree, perhaps, may furnish a solution to this difficulty. The coincidence of the MSS. of our modern Greek Vulgate may partly, perhaps, be attributed to the "critiques qui ont rétabli ces livres;" and the aberrations of the *Codex Beza*, owing to the antiquity of its Latin archetype, may be owing to its having suffered fewer of these critical prunings. The text of this MS., as described by Dr. Mill, has a striking resemblance to the fluctuating text of Tertullian at the close of the second century, before the text had undergone its various critical recensions¹³⁰. Nor is it wonderful (if there be any probability in the above supposition) that the diversity of the *Codex Beza* from other MSS. should be greatest in the Acts of the Apostles. According to Chrysostom, there were many in his time who were ignorant of the very existence of this book; and he states that he was mainly prompted to undertake his homilies on it that so rich a treasure might not lie in darkness¹³¹. At the time, therefore, when the archetype of the *Codex Beza* was written, this Book of Acts, from the comparative neglect which it had met with, might not have undergone its recensions; and hence, perhaps, the eccentricity of its text in that manuscript¹³².

alteration qui a été dans les livres du Nouveau Testament dès les premiers siècles du Christianisme, elle ne laisse pas d'être constante. L'Eglise Grecque, et la Latine ont eu leurs critiques qui ont rétabli ces livres avec le plus d'exactitude qu'il leur a été possible." Simon, *Hist. Critiq. des Versions du N. T.* p. 64.

¹³⁰ See *supra*, p. 328.

¹³¹ Chrysost. *Homil. i. in Act. Apost.* πολλοῖς τῷ το βιβλίον, καὶ ὅτι ἐστίν, ὑπαρξικόν ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ γραψάς αὐτο καὶ συνθεῖς, &c. "Complures sunt quibus hic liber adeo ignotus est, ut non solum ambigant de auctore a quo conscriptus sit, verum ne id quidem cognitum habeant, an omnino extet hæc rerum ab Apostolis gestarum historia. Atque hac potissimum de causa coactus sum negotium hoc suscipere, ut ignorantes allicerem, neque sinerem tam insignem thesaurum in tenebris abditum latere." *Interp.* D. Erasmi.

¹³² As the *Cambridge MS.*, or *Codex Beza*, is usually considered as the most ancient [*supra*, p. 373]. and certainly is the most singular MS.

Upon the whole, we have seen in this Disquisition, that the hypothesis of a Latin original would account for what has been urged as an objection to the authenticity of our Canonical Books—the neglect of them by the Greek writers till towards the close of the second century. We have seen how Greek copies might be derived from and supplant Latin ones; and various circumstances which tended to give the Greek a great superiority over the Latin text. We have seen, notwithstanding, that, whether owing to some dim tradition, or more probably to internal evidence, the most eminent editors of the Greek New Testament, previous to Wetstein, represent even the Latin Vulgate as possessing a value equal and often superior to the Vulgate Greek. It has been further shown that Wetstein and Matthaci, at the very time that they wish to recall the respect of critics from the Latin to copies purely Greek, confirm in some measure the hypothesis of a Latin original by *accusing the most ancient and venerable Manuscripts of Latinizing*. Finally, it has appeared that in the answers of Woide, and Griesbach, and Michaelis, to this charge, their arguments, whatever force they may have against the notion of alterations from the Latin during the middle ages (and they seem not to me to have much), would only prove that the Latian dye had been infused *at or near the fountain-head*, and gradually diminished as the current descended. The same conclusion seems to be deducible from Griesbach's celebrated system of different families or classes, or recensions of the MSS. of the New Testament, a subject which we shall examine in the subsequent Disquisition.

of the *N. T.*, I have determined to make its antiquity, &c. a subject of discussion in the Appendix. *Appendix*, Note F.

DISQUISITION VI.

Application of the Hypothesis of a Latin Original to an Elucidation of Griesbach's Theory of different Families or Recensions of the New Testament.—Application of the same Hypothesis to an Explanation of various other Phenomena of the New Testament, in addition to those already enumerated.—The Work concludes with a Statement of the Advantages which should seem to accrue to our Faith by the Establishment of the Hypothesis which, in this and the preceding Disquisitions, is submitted to the Verdict of the Learned.

.... FACIES NON OMNIBUS UNA,
NEC DIVERSA TAMEN, QUALEM DECET ESSE SORORUM. Ovid.

I SHALL now, in this concluding Disquisition, proceed to treat of the exceedingly obscure subject of the different *Families* or *Recensions* (as they have been called) of the Greek MSS. of the New Testament. Before, however, entering upon this subject, it may not be improper, by way of preface, to make a few observations relative to the rarity of MSS., and the probability that, long after the first composition of many works, one or a very few MSS. of those works have been the parents of all the others.

In a former part of this Treatise it has been remarked (p. 326) that, previous to the invention of printing, manuscripts were exceedingly scarce and dear; and that (notwithstanding the cheapness of paper in modern times) the same takes place, in a considerable degree, even at this day in countries where printing is not practised. "The best Arabian historian of Nubia (says Burckhardt) is Ibn Selym el Assouany, but I never saw his book either in Syria or Egypt."

"This work of Ibn Selym (he again tells us) I have in vain searched for in Egypt. Its title is well known: at Assouan, and in Derr in Nubia, I found that some people knew it by name, but I never could find any body that had seen it." The same writer, speaking of the travels of Batouta, whom he calls "perhaps the greatest land traveller who ever wrote his Travels," says "He published his Travels after the year 755, A.H. They consist of a large quarto volume, which is so scarce in Egypt that I never saw it; but I know that a copy exists in Cairo, though I was not able to discover who was the owner¹."

Although it is not to be supposed that MSS. were so rare in Greece and Italy as in these semi-barbarous countries (though the Mahometans can very generally read and write); yet even in the most flourishing æra of those once enlightened regions, it is probable that manuscripts were more rare than is usually supposed. However this may be, it is certain that they were almost wholly annihilated in the West, during the convulsions of the Roman Empire. "We have a letter from Pope Paul I. (says Tiraboschi) written to King Pepin in the year 757. In this he gives him notice, that he sends him whatever books he has been able to collect. *Direximus etiam Excellentie vestre &c. libros quantos reperire potuimus*. Who would not believe (says Tiraboschi) that he should here see an ample catalogue of books, a present worthy of a Pope who sends, and of a king of France to whom he presented them? And yet, after all, lo! the extent of this vast treasure, *Antiphonale et Responsale, insimul Grammaticam Aristotelis* (a book not extant, but perhaps instead of *Grammaticam* we should read *Logicam* or *Dialecticam*), *Dionysii Areopagite Libros, Geometriam, Orthographiam, Grammaticam, omnes*

¹ Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, pp. 132, 522, 534. London, 4to, 1819. Speaking of Masoudy he says, "The great work of that historian called *Akhbar e' Zaman*, which I suspect is one of the richest treasures of Arabian literature, is not extant in Egypt." *Ibid.* p. 527.

Græco eloquio scriptores. Such and so little could be the extent of the pontifical munificence²."

It is on this circumstance, of the remarkable scarcity of books during the middle ages, that Hardouin rests one of the main pillars of his hypothesis, that the greater number of writings attributed to the ancients were forgeries of later times; whereas the only conclusion to be drawn from it is, that our present copies are derived in many cases from a single manuscript. The following is a specimen of his mode of reasoning upon this subject: "The books which Stephen Tampier, Bishop of Paris, bequeathed to his church in the year 1279 are as follows, nor were there any others, as we find in the Necrology of the Parisian church, apud Du Bois, p. 402, 'Item dedit libros episcopatu Parisiensi et Episcopis successuris ad officium ecclesiæ pertinentes; videlicet, duo *Missalia*; *Evangelium* et *Epistolas* in duobus voluminibus; tria *Gradualia*, *Ordinarium Episcopale*; item unum *Collectarium*; item unum *Troperium*; item unum *Breviarium* grossæ litteræ ad usum Parisiensem; item unum *Breviarium* in duobus voluminibus coopertum corio viridi; item unum *Breviarium* parvum; item duo *Ordinaria* de Ordinario servitii. Item emit *Bibliam* postillatam in duobus voluminibus, quam emit pretio ducentarum librarum ad opus Cancellarii et Cancellariæ Parisiensis.' These are all, adds Hardouin: there is no Augustin, no Jerome, Ambrose, Chrysostom, or Gregory; no master of sentences, nor similar fictitious writers masked under great names to the ruin of our holy religion. Is it to be supposed (continues he) that a Bishop of Paris would not have been in possession of such distinguished writers, if they had been extant in that age, especially as more than a century before that period they were possessed and diligently quoted by Petrus Lombardus, if we might credit it, likewise a Bishop of Paris³?"

² Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letterat. Italian.* vol. III. lib. ii. cap. i. § 13. p. 102. 4to. Modena 1787.

³ See Harduini *Prolegomena*, p. 207 *et seqq.* 8vo, London 1766, where

A variety of documents similar to those here quoted, and written in different countries, attest the scarcity of MSS. in the West. Nor even in the East was learning without its vicissitudes. "After the fall of Paganism (says Gibbon), the loss of Syria and Egypt, and the extinction of the schools of Alexandria and Athens, the studies of the Greeks insensibly retired to some regular monasteries; and, above all, to the royal college of Constantinople, which was burnt in the reign of Leo the Isaurian. A library of thirty-six thousand five hundred volumes was open to their inquiries, and they could show an ancient MS. of Homer on a roll of parchment one hundred and twenty feet in length, the intestines, as it was fabled, of a prodigious serpent. But the seventh and eighth centuries were a period of discord and darkness; the library was burnt—the college was abolished. The Iconoclasts are represented as the foes of antiquity; and a savage ignorance

other facts of the same kind are quoted. "But we are not left to conjecture (says Dr. M'Crie) or to general inferences concerning the state of the Monastic Libraries. We have the catalogues of two libraries, the one of a monastery, the other of a collegiate church, which may be deemed fair specimens of the condition of the remainder in the respective ages to which they belonged. The former is the catalogue of the library of the Culdean Monastery at Lochleven in the 12th century. It consisted of *seventeen* books, all of them necessarily in manuscript. Among these were a *Pastorale*, *Graduale*, and *Missale*, (books common to all monasteries, and without which their religious services could not be performed,) the text of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, an Exposition of Genesis, a collection of sentences, and an interpretation of sayings. The rest seem to have consisted of some of the writings of Prosper, and perhaps of Origen and Jerome. [Jamieson's *Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees*, p. 376—8.]...From the 12th to the 16th century the monastic libraries did not improve. The catalogue of the library at Stirling exhibits the true state of learning at the beginning of the last-mentioned period. It contained indeed a copy of the Gospels and Epistles in manuscript, most probably in Latin; the remainder of its contents was purely monkish. These were, four *Missals*, two *Psalters*, four *Antiphonics*, three *Breviaries*, two *Legends*, four *Graduals*, and ten *Processionals*." [Dalyell's *Fragments of Scottish History*, p. 77.] M'Crie, *Life of John Knox*, vol. i. p. 439. Edin. 1813.

and contempt of letters has disgraced the princes of the Heracleian and Isaurian dynasties."

"In the ninth century (proceeds Gibbon) we trace the first dawnings of the restoration of science⁴." Now, in the course of the long period of discord and darkness above mentioned, how many works must have utterly perished, how many may have been saved from oblivion by a single MS., which thus became the parent of every copy of that work, and communicated to its progeny all its own peculiarities and imperfections! Even of the works which were undertaken and accomplished, in consequence of the restoration of learning at Constantinople, (and by persons the most distinguished,) few vestiges remain. "The Emperor Basil, (says Mr. Gibbon,) who lamented the defects of his own education, entrusted to the care of Photius his son and successor Leo the philosopher; and the reign of that prince, and of his son Constantine Porphyrogenitus, forms one of the most prosperous æras of the Byzantine literature." Among the literary undertakings executed or patronized by these emperors, Mr. Gibbon mentions that "the History of Greece and Rome was digested into *fifty-three* heads or titles, of which *two* only (of embassies and of virtues and vices) *have escaped the injuries of time*." Of the writings, indeed, of Photius himself, many yet remain to instruct and amuse the modern scholar; but a reference to the History of his *Lexicon* will show that some of them may have made a very narrow escape⁵. Mr. Blomfield, in his Review of the London edition of Stephens' Greek *Thesaurus*, besides mentioning that "The *Lexicon* of Hesychius was first printed by Aldus in 1514, from the only MS. known to exist," &c. says: "We come now to the celebrated *Lexicon* of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, which the author himself entitled *Λεξικὸν συναγωγῆς*. Of this there are

⁴ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. chap. LIII. *ad fin.* with his notes. See also *Quarterly Review*, vol. xvi. p. 328.

⁵ See *Edin. Review*, vol. xxi. p. 330. and the short Memoir of Porson prefixed to the collection of his *Tracts* by Pr. Kidd.

various MSS. in different libraries on the continent, *all of which* are transcripts one or more degrees removed from a very ancient copy on parchment in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. . . It is unfortunately mutilated ; there being an hiatus from *Ἀδιακριτος* to *Ἐπωνυμοι*, and another from *Φορητως* to *Ψιλευς*, besides smaller *lacunæ*⁶. In the same Review he remarks, as above stated, that the Lexicon of Hesychius "was first printed by Aldus in 1514 from *the only manuscript known to exist*, which was written about the year 1400. The edition was superintended by Marcus Musurus, who liberally interpolated the original with his own additions and corrections."

This mention of Mr. Blomfield, and quotation from the *Quarterly Review*, puts me in mind that in a critique in the *Edinburgh Review* on his edition of the *Prometheus Vinc-tus* of Æschylus there are some valuable remarks which bear upon the present subject: "After all, however, (says the critic,) as we stated on a former occasion, the accumulation of MSS. does not contribute in so great a degree as might be supposed to the amendment of our author's text. All the MSS. of Æschylus which have yet been examined are transcribed, mediately or immediately, from the same copy, which appears to have survived alone the general wreck of ancient literature. The concurrence, therefore, of fifty or five hundred MSS. of Æschylus in the same lection, implies no more than that in the ninth or tenth century such a reading was discovered in a single Manuscript. If that MS. now existed, and could be verified, perhaps its numerous progeny might all be safely disposed of to the makers of sky-rockets, after the example of the Biblical Manuscripts of the university of Alcalá. Of the incorrectness of the original MS. of Æschylus no other proof is requisite than the agreement of its descendants in so many palpably erroneous readings. If we open the *Prometheus*, we find a striking instance as early as

⁶ *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxii. p. 308. See also *Edin. Review*, vol. xxi. pp. 329, 332.

the sixth line, which in the edition of Aldus stands as follows: *Αδαμαντιναις πεδησιν εν αρρηκτοις πετραις*. The same reading is exhibited by all the MSS. with no material variation. The true lection, *Αδαμαντινων δεσμων εν αρρηκτοις πεδαις*, would have been lost for ever if it had not been preserved by the Scholiast on Aristophanes, and his transcriber Suidas, on whose authority Canter first admitted it into the text⁷.

The conquest of Constantinople in 1204 by the Crusaders; the triple fire in that city; and the domination of the La-

⁷ *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xvii. p. 219. Of the single MS. of Athenæus, see *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 183; of Æschylus, vol. xv. p. 153, I may here remark, in passing, that I suspect that in the very second line of the first play of Euripides, the *Hecuba*, (which has been more than any other the subject of editorial care and critical remark,) a corruption occurs which has hitherto escaped observation. Porson in his *Prælectio in Euripidem* writes as follows: "Non equidem diffiteor, prima Polydori verba plena esse majestatis et gravitatis tragicæ:

Ἦκω νεκρῶν κενθμῶνα, καὶ σκοτοῦ πυλάς

Λίπων, ἐν Αἰδῆς χωρὶς ἠκίσται θείων

Πολυδώρος, Ἐκάβης παῖς.

Hos versus respexit Tragicus Romanus nescio quis, forsan Ennius, quem Cicero in *Tusculanis Disput.* citavit: *Adsum atque advenio ex Acherunte vix via alta atque ardua, Per speluncas saxi structas asperis, pendentibus, Maximis, ubi rigida constat crassa caligo inferum.* Ridicule, ut solet, in ludicrum sensum detorsit Aristophanes, cujus locum, servavit Athenæus:

Ἦκω Θεαρίωνος ἀρτοπωλίου

Λίπων, ἐν ἐστὶ κρήσανων ἰδωλῶ.

Adsum, relicta Thearionis pistoria taberna, Ubi sunt furnorum sedes. Thearion pistor erat, Socratis et Aristophanis tempore celeberrimus." Porsoni *Adversaria*, p. 16=15. Lipsiæ. Now I honestly confess that, in spite of Porson's panegyric, the words of Polydorus as given above, seem to me nonsense. Casaubon translates them thus: '*Venio ad mortuorum habitaculum, tenebrarum portas relinquens: nam Orcus sine Diis extractus est.*' [*Exercit.* &c. p. 289.] The version ed. Heidelbergæ, 1597, is, with an improvement of the sense,

Venio defunctorum latebra, et caliginis portis

Relictis (ubi Pluto in sedibus collocatus est seorsim a diis)

Polydorus, Hecubæ filius.

I venture, by the hints afforded by the Latin tragic, and the Greek comic writer, to read the second line thus:

tins during sixty years, form another era fatal to the monuments of learning. "Of the writings of antiquity (says Mr. Gibbon speaking of this event) many that still existed in the twelfth century are now lost. But the pilgrims were not so solicitous to save or transport the volumes of an unknown tongue: the perishable substance of paper or parchment can only be preserved by the multiplicity of copies; *the literature of the Greeks had almost centered in the metropolis*; and, without computing the extent of our loss, we may drop a tear over the libraries that have perished in the triple fire of Constantinople." The same eloquent Historian, in mentioning some general consequences of the Crusades, observes that "the correspondence of Constantinople and Italy diffused the knowledge of the Latin tongue; and several of the Fathers and classics were at length honoured with a Greek version^s." In consequence of the destruction of libraries,

Λιπών, ἰν' Ἀχέρων ἐστίν, ὥκιστα τ' θείων [or θείων].

Venio (defunctorum latebra, et caliginis portis

Relictis, ubi Acheron est) et celerime curro.

The *Adsum atque advenio* of Ennius correspond with the *Venio, et celerime curro*, and this is confirmed by what Polydorus says at v. 30.

— νυν δ' ὑπὲρ μητρος Φιλῆς

'Εκκλῆς, αἶσσω—

— *Nunc vero, propter matrem charam*

Hecubam, cum impetu feror.

As to ἰν' Ἀχέρων ἐστίν perhaps the "*ex Acherunte*" of the Latin imitator; the *disjecta membra* of the true reading in A...χωρις [the final Σ and Ν are a hundred times changed in MSS.: so in *Alcx. MS.* we have, *Acts viii. l. μέγαν* for *μεγας*, xix. 26. *πεισαν* for *πεισας*, and perhaps at v. 32 of this very play we ought to read *αἰωρεμένοΝ* instead of *αἰωρεμένοΣ*]; and lastly, the *Λιπών, ἰν' ἐστὶ κρείττωνων*, &c. of the parodist strongly confirm the conjecture that the original was *INAXEPWNECTIN ubi ADEST Acheron*, and not ἰν' ἈΔΗΣ χωρις, as in the old editions, changed in Porson's quotation to *Αἰδης*.

^s Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. lx. *ad fin.* vol. xi. pp. 242, 288.
"A short and superficial account of these versions from Latin into Greek is given by Huet (*De Interp. et de Claris Interpretibus*, p. 131—135). Maximus Planudes, a monk of Constantinople (A.D. 1327—1353), has translated Cæsar's *Commentaries*; the *Somnium Scipionis*, the *Meta-*

occasioned by the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, and after their sixty years domination, many works would revive only in a single Manuscript; nor is it improbable that, in some instances, this Parent might, like the *Aldine Simplicius*, be a Latin-Greek.

At the time of the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, A.D. 1453, although it was accompanied with far less ruin than its capture by the crusaders, "one hundred and twenty thousand Manuscripts are said to have disappeared⁹." We may form some estimate of what happened in former times, from the scanty relics after this event. In the Patriarchate of Constantinople about fifty MSS. remained, and in the rest of the city not above a hundred and thirty¹⁰. "After many an eager wish (says Mr. Hobhouse) directed towards the Seraglio library, and a thousand conjectures as to its supposed contents, all doubt appears to be lost in the certainty that, as far back as the year 1688, there was not a single Greek Manuscript in that repository. The partial dispersion of the Seraglio library took place at the deposition of Mahomet the Fourth, and shortly after that period M. Gi-

morphoses and *Heroides* of Ovid, &c. (Fabric. *Bib. Græc.* tom. x. p. 533.)" *Ibid.* note. Montfaucon says, "A multis retro sæculis non pauca Augustini opera Græce versa fuere." *Palæogr. Græc.* p. 327. Other versions from Latin to Greek are mentioned by him in the same work, pp. 72, 83, 347. In his *Diarium Italicum*, p. 14, he mentions "*Boetii Græce versi codices non pauci*," and at p. 364, "*Codex bomb. Dialogi S. Gregorii Papæ, Græce versi*," and "*Codex bomb. recens S. Thomas contra Gentes, Græce ex Latino*."

⁹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. chap. LXVIII. vol. xii. p. 238.

¹⁰ See this, and the individuals to whom they belonged, in Montfaucon, *Palæographia Græca*, p. xx. A view is there given of the *Bibliotheca Orientales post captam Constantinopolim*, and the list of manuscripts is exceedingly scanty. The scarcity of MSS. even before the capture of Constantinople, and the indifference of the Greeks for the classics, may be inferred from the following passage of a letter of Aurispa: "*Regi Græcorum nonnulli malevoli me sæpissime accusarant, quod urbem illam libris expoliasset Sacris, Gentilibus enim non tam grande crimen videbatur*." *Epist. ad Ambrosium Travers*, ep. liii. p. 1027.

rardin, ambassador from France to the Porte, by the assistance of an Italian renegado and the Jesuit Besnier, purchased fifteen MSS. in Greek and one in Latin, which he transmitted to France in the year 1688, and which are now in the Imperial Library at Paris. The selection was made by Besnier out of two hundred books which composed the collection¹¹. "... The monasteries (proceeds Mr. Hobhouse) have reasonably been supposed the receptacles of these hidden treasures. Yet the Abbé Fourmont in 1730 in vain explored Nea Moni in Chios, and Mega Spelion in Arcadia; and no greater success attended the researches of Mons. Biornstapol in the libraries of Meteora. Mr. Villoison in 1785 visited the monks of Amorgos and Patmos, and his report will scarcely justify the eager expectations at present entertained respecting the literary wealth of the latter community¹²." Nor is this scarcity of MSS. in the Monasteries of the East to be attributed altogether to the injuries of time,

¹¹ Hobhouse, *Journey through Albania*, &c. vol. ii. p. 582. The words of M. Girardin in his second epistle to the Marq. de Louvois, minister of Louis XIV. (dated 15th Sept. 1687) are as follows: "Je me suis, Monsieur, exactement informé de ce qui concerne celle [la Bibliothèque] du Grand Seigneur, et je puis vous assurer qu'elle est sans ordre, et sans catalogue. Les MSS. Grecs ne consistoient qu'en 200 volumes, ou environ; et le Pere Besnier, apres les avoir examinés, n'a trouvé que ceux dont j'ai pris la liberté de vous envoyer le Memoire, qui meritassent d'en être tirés pour la Bibliothèque de Sa Majesté. Tous les autres, mal conditionnés et qui ne contiennent que des auteurs imprimés depuis long temps, ont néanmoins été vendus sur le pied de 100 livres chacun; ainsi il n'en reste plus de cette langue dans le Serrail." *Ibid.* p. 1105. from *Notice des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Imperial*, tom. viii. pp. 12, 13. &c. 1810. Mr. Hobhouse subjoins a list of the names, &c. of the MSS. selected by Besnier, which are chiefly modern, and those which are most ancient are of little value.

¹² Hobhouse, *ibid.* p. 583. and the report of Villoison in the *Notice des MSS. de la Bibl. Imper.* tom. viii. p. 30. Col. Leake also in his *Researches in Greece*, Pref. p. vii. viii. remarks, that there appears no very flattering prospect of making any important acquisitions of Greek MSS. in that country.

and neglect; as appears both from the scanty enumeration of Montfaucon, [*Palæograph.* xx. xxi.] and from the circumstance that, at a very early period, the Greek monks and clergy were obliged to have recourse to the West for a supply even of copies of the Greek Fathers, which they could not otherwise obtain. "Ante annos xx. (says Scaliger in a letter written 19th May 1602) cum Meletius Syriga πρωτοσυγκελλος Σιλβεστρου πατριαρχου Αλεξανδρειας adhuc esset, Reginæ Navarræ pyxidem instructam gemmis cum epistola Græca misit ut Basilii, Chrysostomi, Nazianzeni, exemplaria, quæ aliunde nancisci non poterat sibi mitteret¹³."

It may appear from the above hasty sketch, that both in the East and in the West the escape of many MSS. has been *so as by fire*, and that a single copy at a very late period has often been the archetype of all the others¹⁴. This filiation of the transcripts is indicated sometimes by their having the same chasms with the parent copy, sometimes by other imperfections or peculiarities. In the Laurentian Library (*Plut.* XLIX.) is a *Codex* of Cicero's Epistles, which is considered as the archetype of every copy now extant. This *Codex* was copied by Petrarch at a time when by some accident certain leaves were transposed, and of fourteen *Codices* now in the same *Pluteum* with the archetype no less than nine have this transposition¹⁵.

¹³ ap. Harduini *Proleg.* p. 85.

¹⁴ The editions of Catullus are all derived from a single MS. taken from France to Italy, in the fifteenth century, by *Plumatius*, a physician of Verona, enigmatically designated in an epigram of Guarino of Verona, by a conundrum of the two French words *Plumes* and *Hatées*.

¹⁵ Bandini *Catalog. Codd. Latin. Biblioth. Mediceæ Laurentianæ*, tom. ii. p. 464. Lagomarsini speaks thus of some *Codices* of Cicero's Epistles: "Quibus tamen ego codicibus—non tantum tribuo, quantum uni illi, omnium quotquot ubique terrarum, idem Epistolarum corpus continentes extant, vetustissimo (et ex quo cæteros omnes, qui usquam sunt, tanquam e fonte ac capite manasse et Angelus Politianus et Petrus Victorius memorie prodiderunt) qui Florentiæ in Mediceo-Laurentianæ Bibliothecæ XLIX adservatur, numero IX, extra notatus." *Ad Pog-*

But it may be contended, that copies of *Scripture* would be so diffused that it is not likely that, after their first descent, the family could be reduced to one or a few individuals. It should seem, however, that this may actually have happened, and that in some instances a deluge has taken place, which has made a single MS., like Noah, become the progenitor of all future generations. A single MS. of the Law of Moses seems to have existed and to have been considered as a discovery in the days of Josiah¹⁶. It seems evident also, that subsequently to this period all our extant copies, at least of some Books of Scripture, have been derived from a single manuscript. It is generally agreed by commentators, that our present copy of Jeremiah is disjointed and unconnected. Mr. Blayney in his translation of Jeremiah has adopted a new arrangement from the twentieth to the forty-sixth chapter. His order is chap. 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 35, 36, 45, 24, 29, &c.¹⁷. In the opinion of Grabe, one manuscript of the Septuagint ill bound gave rise to so many dislocations or transpositions in the last chapters of Exodus¹⁸.

giani Epist. i. 189. ap. *Porson's Tracts*, p. 294. See also Bandini *Cat. Codd.* tom. ii. p. 466. also iii. p. 86. See also *ibid.* p. 13 of the Codex of Celsus, "unde ceteri omnes codices manarunt." Montfaucon, mentioning a *Cod. Reg.* of the Evangelical Demonstration of Eusebius, says, "Ex quo alii omnes exscripti, ut inde liquidum est, quod cum Regius sit initio mutilus, alii omnes perinde mutili ab eadem voce incipiunt." *Diqr. Italic.* p. 1. See also what Tyrwhitt says of the *Codices* of Æsop's Fables. *De Babrio*, p. clxxvi, clxxix. of Furia's edition of Æsop, &c.

¹⁶ *2 Kings* xxii. 8. *2 Chron.* xxxiv. 14. Its contents seem to have been hitherto quite unknown to the King.

¹⁷ See Blayney on *Jeremiah*, &c. 4to, 1784. "Permutationum hujusmodi multa occurrunt exempla: sic in Libro *Job*, inter xlii. 6, et xlii. 7. poni debent, monentibus Kennicott et Heath, quæ habentur xl. 1—14. Aliam notat transpositionem in *Ex.* xxx. 1—10: ut et in *Job* xxxi. 38, 39, 40, quorum situs sequi debet *Job* xxxi. 25. Similem vide transpositionem in 1 *Paral.* ix. 2—17, ubi tota hæc clausula deprompta videtur ex *Nch.* xi. 2—19." Barrett, *Evang. sec. Matth. ex Codice Rescripto*, p. 32. See also Usher's *Syntagma*, p. 11.

¹⁸ See Grabe, *Dissertatio de variis Vitiis LXX. Interp.* pp. 8, 11, 12. Oxonii 1710.

At *Philipp.* i. 16, 17, Griesbach has, in deference to several MSS. in capital letters, supported by the Vulgate and some other versions, transposed the 17th and 18th verses; and it is not improbable, even from this circumstance, that the numerous other Greek MSS. of this Epistle had their origin in a *single Codex* of a modern date. "The fifth verse of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew (says Michaelis) in one MS. only, namely, the *Cantabrigiensis*, is placed before the fourth: the same inversion is observed in the Latin translation, and in the three Fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Eusebius, who cannot be accused of a partiality for that version. It may be asked whether their authority is not equivalent to that of all other manuscripts.¹⁹" Not only this, but it might furnish a subject of investigation, whether all these other MSS. of Matthew had not their origin in a single comparatively modern archetype.

As the more frequently a work is transcribed the more room is given both for voluntary and involuntary corruptions, hence the respect which is justly paid to ancient manuscripts. If A and B were manuscripts of the same value in the third century, and a hundred transcripts were taken, either immediately or mediately, from A, the evidence of B is still as good as that of A and that of all its adherents; and if A be lost, it is considerably better than that of the whole hundred.

This example shows that, in determining the evidence for a reading, something more must be taken into account than the mere number of manuscripts which witness in its favour. The value of the testimony of an individual manuscript depends much on its antiquity, and on the care and accuracy with which it appears to have been written. If, indeed, copies were taken with *perfect accuracy*, their antiquity would be of comparatively little value; but this, if practicable, appears from our best manuscripts never to have been practised by transcribers, and hence antiquity has always been considered as a presumption in favour of a manuscript,

¹⁹ Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 369.

since, by being less frequently transcribed, it has been less exposed either to voluntary or involuntary corruptions.

Let us now suppose, for the sake of illustration, that, in the beginning of the third century, *two independent Greek versions* of equal merit had been made of one of the now lost *Decades* of Livy. Let these have existed in two different primigenial manuscripts A and B. Now, as I have already remarked, the value of B being equal to that of A, it will be also equal in value to that of A and all the transcripts taken from it, or copies derived from such transcripts; and of those individual transcripts each will be valuable in proportion to its antiquity, and to the accuracy with which it has been transcribed.

Another circumstance will also take place. In the manuscripts which are derived from A and B, though differences will exist, according to the care or negligence with which the different transcripts have been taken from them, (or copies made from them and their copies in the succession of ages,) still there will be in A¹, A², A³, &c. and B¹, B², B³, &c. a certain affinity or family likeness. Each of the progeny of B will still have a greater resemblance to B and his descendants than it bears to A and his descendants, and the whole class will constitute as it were one family. In like manner the progeny of A will have a family resemblance, and each of them will more nearly resemble A and his family than B or any of his descendants.

It follows also from this, that the evidence of a great number of manuscripts of the same family may be balanced by that of half the number if belonging to a different family. If the family of B, for example, consist of an hundred, and all of them read $\Theta\Xi$ in a particular passage; and the family of A consist of fifty, and read $\Theta\epsilon\theta\Xi$, the evidence of the fifty, nay even perhaps of five of the family, is just as good as that of the hundred. What shall we do, then, provided the internal evidence be equal, and the one reading is as suitable to the context as the other? Let us suppose the existence of a third family or class of manuscripts derived

from C, *an independent version*, nearly coeval with A and B, and even of less intrinsic value than either, but whose descendants form a third separate characteristic class. We should then examine whether the manuscripts of this family read $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ or $\omicron\varsigma$, and we should thus have an evidence of two to one in favour of the particular reading.

It appears from these remarks, that supposing there exists such a filiation as is above stated in the manuscripts of the New Testament, it is of the utmost consequence to class them according to the family to which they belong, since the evidence of three manuscripts of the family of A derives more weight and authority from the evidence of three of the family of B, than from fifty others of the same family with itself. This idea of classes of manuscripts of the New Testament, which seems first to have occurred to Bengel, was more fully developed by Semler, and was finally expanded with various modifications and much ability by Griesbach, who, instead of *familia*, by which the affinity of certain classes of manuscripts was expressed by Bengel, employs, in imitation of Semler, the word *recensio*, or edition. Griesbach contends that already in the beginning of the third century there existed *two recensions*, of which the colour and dress was different. To the one text, which has an affinity with the Coptic version, he gives the name of *Alexandrian*: to the other, which agrees with the old Italic, of the *Western* edition. The latter of these editions is characterized by preserving those barbarisms and solecisms, which gave no offence to ears to which Greek was not familiar; but which in the Alexandrian recension were rendered more polite. On the other hand, the *Western* edition is represented by Griesbach as by no means scrupulous in supplying any seeming deficiency from parallel passages, or in omitting what seemed obscure or repugnant to the context.

A *third recension*, with which our commonly received text more nearly corresponds than with either the Alexandrian or the Western, is distinguished by Griesbach with the name of the *Constantinopolitan*, or, as we shall term it, the *Byzan-*

tine edition. It agrees, according to Griesbach, with the former in being studious of the purity of its Greek to a greater degree than the Alexandrian itself; and it corresponds with the Western in admitting glosses into its text. It is less ancient than either, and of a mixed nature. With this recension the quotations of those Fathers appear to agree who wrote at Constantinople, and in the neighbouring provinces, towards the end of the fourth and two succeeding centuries. The greater number of our MSS. follow the Byzantine recension, which is that also of our Vulgate text, which was derived from such manuscripts by the earliest editors of the New Testament²⁰.

But although such a variety of recensions existed, according to Griesbach, and is very discernible at an early period, we are not to expect in our existing MSS. such characteristic differences in all their purity. The famous *Vatican MS.* observes, in the first and greater part of Matthew's Gospel, a recension different from what it adopts in the others, a circumstance which might be owing to its copying from manuscripts of different Gospels, or making up what was mutilated in one MS. of the Gospels from another. Griesbach tells us that the *Alexandrian MS.* follows three different editions, the Byzantine in the Gospels, the Western edition in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, which form the middle portion of this MS., and the Alexandrian in the Epistles of Paul²¹. The transcriber, accordingly, as MSS. contain-

²⁰ See Griesbach, *N. T. Prolegom.* Sect. III. p. lxxv. *et seq.*

²¹ See *supra*, p. 326. Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* vol. i. p. ix. "In *Evangelii* exhibet [*Cod. Alex.*] recensionem Constantinopolitanam seu Asiaticam, recentiorem multisque nullius pretii lectionibus refertam; in *Epistolis* vero *Paulinis* repræsentat Alexandrinam recensionem, illa longe vetustior et præstantior; in *Actis* denique et *Epistolis Catholicis* textum sequitur, passim ad Occidentalem recensionem, Latinæ versionis simillimam conformatum." Hardouin mentions a Latin MS. in which something similar had taken place: "MS. Codicem Latinum Evangeliorum (says he) asservat Bibliotheca nostra Parisiensis. Evangelium Matthæi plane simile est *Cantabrigiensi*, reliqua meram Vulgatam exhibent." *Comment.* p. 7.

ing the whole New Testament were very rare, seems to have copied the three parts of the Greek New Testament from three different manuscripts of three different editions. In the same way, a translator might have MSS. of different editions, which he consulted in forming his version; and this may account for the old Syriac version belonging to no particular recension, but forming, as it were, an eclectic translation. Occasionally a MS. of one country, where a particular recension prevailed, might be carried to a different country, and a manuscript modified from the two might be written. In the process of copying, mistakes inseparable from this task would be committed; and glosses, omissions, and alterations would take place. Hence, to recur to my original illustration, it is probable that among the descendants of A and B, not a single individual can now be found which in every feature and lineament perfectly resembles its first parent²².

Such is Griesbach's famous *theory of recensions*, and which, either itself or with modifications merely nominal, seems to be generally embraced by biblical critics. Towards the commencement of his critical career, this distinguished critic appears to have flattered himself that he might be able to elucidate the origin of the recensions of the New Testament; but his confidence on the subject appears gradually to have declined, and at length utterly to have expired²³. "As to

²² Griesbach, *N. T. Proleg.* Sect. iii. p. lxxix. *Symb. Crit.* p. cxxi. vol. i.

²³ "Primas hujus Theoriæ lineas duxi in *Curis meis in Historiam Textus Epistolarum Paulinarum Græci* quarum specimen prius nuper Ienæ 1774 prodiit, posterius *mox sequetur*." Griesb. *Præf. N. T.* ed. 1777. In the Preface to the first vol. of his *Symb. Crit.* published 1785, he thus writes [p. xiv.]: "Sed ingenue fateor, deesse mihi *adhuc* subsidia nonnulla, quibus carere non potest, qui discrimina non solum ac indolem, sed, quod difficilius est, historiam etiam, origines ac vicissitudines *Recensionum veterum omnium* ita declarare vult, ut asserta sua peritis arbitris probaturum se esse sperare haud immerito queat." In his latest declaration on the subject, he says: "Origo variarum textus Novi Test. Recensionum, deficientibus documentis satis vetustis ac testimoniis, *historicè* declarari nequit, &c." *N. T. Proleg.* p. lxxv.

the origin (he tells us) of the various recensions of the text of the New Testament, this cannot be pointed out historically from a want of documents and testimonies sufficiently ancient, nor is this a place to supply the defect by conjectures. It is manifest, however (he proceeds), that at least in the beginning of the third century two different recensions existed, as appears from a collation of the texts cited by Origen with those quoted by Tertullian and Cyprian. The latter (adds Griesbach) furnish a Greek text *totally different in its dress and colour* [textum ponunt, TOTO SUO HABITU, UNIVERSOQUE COLORE DIVERSUM,] from that made use of by Origen, and before him by Clement of Alexandria²⁴.

I have already remarked that, in the deference of one class of editors of the New Testament for Latin copies, and in the accusations of others of them that the most ancient and venerable Greek manuscripts Latinize, we have additional presumptions, to those furnished by internal evidence, that the Vulgate Greek text *may* be a translation or re-translation from the Latin. The doctrine of *Recensions*, above stated, seems also a confirmation of this hypothesis. For I confess it appears to me inexplicable that there should be two or three recensions, *totally different in habit and colour*, of the same original untranslated work. If (to resume a preceding illustration) A and B and C were three independent Greek translations of a decade of Livy, these would furnish *three*

²⁴ "Extitisse autem incunte saltim tertio seculo *duas* jam recensiones, e collatione locorum Novi Test. ab Origene Græce laudatorum, cum allegationibus Tertullianeis et Cyprianicis, manifestum fit. Hæ enim Græcum textum ponunt, *toto suo habitu, universoque colore diversum* ab eo, quem Origenes, et ante hunc jam Clemens Alexandrinus usurpavit." Griesbach, *Proleg.* p. lxxv. "Nec ullum inficias iturum speramus documentum, maximam fuisse S. Novi Fœderis textus, Græcorum exemplarium, jam inde a Seculo III. discrepantiam, hancque spectasse, non ut nonnulli minus recte affirmare solent, meras tantum minutias grammaticales, et leviores litterarum, vocumque nullius momenti permutaciones, sed *universum etiam textus Græci tenorem et indolem*, cum tot monumentorum vetustissimorum, totque Patrum testimoniis nitatur." Ilwïd. *Libell. Critic. de Indole Cod. Lambecii*, p. vii. Havniæ 1785.

different recensions, and give rise to different families, as takes place in the manuscripts of the New Testament. But it is, or at least seems to be, utterly impossible that this could happen with an untranslated original. Various readings there would indeed be, according to the accuracy or negligence with which it was transcribed; but still, to all intents and purposes, the various copies would in habit and colour be the same. In like manner, if there was an original Greek Epistle of Paul to the Romans or Corinthians (and if some of our copies at least are not re-translations), why should there have been a *Græco-Latin* edition of it—an *Alexandrian* or purer Greek copy, and a *Constantinopolitan*, or, so far as language is concerned, still improved Greek? The existence of the most ancient, or *Græco-Latin* edition, seems difficult to be accounted for except upon the hypothesis that it had been first servilely translated from the Latin in the mode of Aquila (a mode to which Jerome himself thought proper in great measure to conform), and that the Greek of this edition (unless the versions were independent) subsequently received improvement, first at Alexandria, and afterwards at Constantinople, but gradually became less faithful in proportion as it deviated from its primitive ruggedness.

It appears, in fact, to me to be evident, that a difference of recensions, *totally different in colour and habit*, must necessarily imply translation; in which case the original, if preserved, may itself form one recension, and its various versions would form different ones. Let us recur for an example to the *Aldine Simplicius*. I formerly [p. 334] quoted a passage from Peyron, in which he states that the Greek translator of Simplicius, although possessed of a MS. of Aristotle *De Cælo*, sometimes translates passages of this very work of Aristotle from the Latin of W. de Möerbeka, rather than give himself the trouble of consulting the original. "Exemplum sit (says Peyron) ex fol. 137. b. Veneti, ubi hæc leguntur Aristotelis *De Cælo* :

" ἡ περὶ φύσεως ἐπιστήμη σχεδὸν ἢ πλείστη τυγχάνει περὶ σω-
μματα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τούτων οὐσα παῖθαι καὶ κινήσεις.

quæ sic fol. 2. Græculus textum Aristotelis exscribens Commentarioque præponens apposite ad Codices referebat.

ἡ περὶ φύσεως ἐπιστήμη σχεδὸν ἡ πλείστη φαίνεται περὶ τε σω-
ματα καὶ μεγέθη, καὶ τὰ τούτων οὐσα πάθη καὶ τὰς κινήσεις.

Si causam quæras varietatum lectionis, ex Möerbeka habebis, qui pag. 194 converterat

*quæ de naturâ scientia fere plurima existit circa corpora et magnitudines horum existentes passionες et motus*²⁵." Here then are two different Greek recensions; and if we take the version of John Argyropolus, the only one which I have at present an opportunity of consulting, we shall have two *Latin* ones. *Scientia naturalis fere plurima circa corpora, magnitudines, atque horum affectus, motusve . . . versari videtur*²⁶.

A still more appropriate example of the origin of recensions, arising from a diversity of versions from the Latin, may be given from an interpolation in the Greek New Testament itself. In his two first editions of the New Testament, Erasmus omitted the famous verse, 1 John v. 7, concerning the three heavenly witnesses, but inserted it in his later editions on the authority of a *Codex Britannicus*. This *Cod. Brit.* is supposed to be the *Cod. Montfortianus* or *Dublinensis*, one proof of which is, that the text of the third edition of Erasmus, printed in 1522, agrees *verbatim* in this interpolated passage with the Dublin MS., while it differs from all other editions, except such as were copied from itself.

²⁵ Peyron, *Empedoclis et Parmenidis Fragmenta*, p. 18. In the extract given from Moerbeka's version of Simplicius *De Cælo et Mundo*, by M. Jourdain (from Sorbonne, No. 1775), the text runs thus: *Quæ de naturâ scientia fere plurima videtur circa corpora, et magnitudines, et horum existens passionες et motus*. A copy (St. Victor, No. 30,) differs from this only in reading *existentes*. Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote*, pp. 456. 458. 8vo. Paris 1819. This text has been followed by the *Græculus*. Peyron could not procure the first edition of W. de Moerbeka's version, Venice, fol. MDXL. but only that of MDLXIII. which had perhaps undergone some changes.

²⁶ Aristotelis *Opér.* vol. ii. p. 167. Francofurti 1593.

Nor does it differ only from the usual text, but (as Michaelis observes) "is written in such Greek as manifestly betrays a translation from the Latin ²⁷." I shall transcribe the inter-

²⁷ Michaelis, *Introduction*, &c. vol. ii. p. 286. See also on this subject the notes of his learned translator, iii. 755—762; and Griesbach's *Appendix* to the second vol. of his edition of the New Testament, p. 687 *et seq.* In his late *Vindication* of this verse, the Bishop of St. David's rests chiefly on the "internal evidence," on the "mode of thinking," and the "scope and context of the passage." It appears to me that the introduction of verse 7, even according to the Bishop's own view, completely embarrasses the argument. John (v. 6) having mentioned *spirit, water, and blood*, affirms that these *three* witnesses concur in testifying *one* thing. It would have been not only foreign from, but hostile to, his purpose, could he have said these *three* witnesses are in effect but *one* witness. It would be as if, in a court of justice, one brought in successively three veiled persons to give evidence in a point where at least two distinct witnesses were required; and when the third had given evidence, his introducer should cry out to the Jury, "Gentlemen, these *three* witnesses are in fact the same person." "*It is written in your law*," says Jesus, (*John* viii. 17, 18,) *that the testimony of two men is true. I am one that bear witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me.*" Here then are *two distinct witnesses*, and the whole scope of the argument requires this. Let us now hear the Bishop of St. David's: "The subject of this passage being the *evidences* of Christ's incarnation, and the *testimony* which was borne to it by the Spirit, St. John asserts that this testimony is of the strongest and most indisputable kind: first, by its union with *two other* testimonies; and then, by the superiority of *divine* testimony over human. By the Levitical Law, the testimony of *one* witness was not held to be true (*John* viii. 13. 17). For 'in the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established.' (2 *Cor.* xiii. 1.) To the testimony of the Spirit, the Apostle adds the testimony of the Father and the Son. If then the Spirit is declared to be truth, because it was not alone (*John* viii. 16), 'for there are *three* that bear record,' it could not be said to 'bear record' *because* it is the truth. The bearing of the record depended on the will of God; belief in the record depended on its truth; *its truth* (humanly speaking) on the union of *two* or *three* witnesses. The Spirit therefore did not bear witness because it was truth; but it is *here* declared to be truth, or a true witness, because it was *ONE* of *THREE* witnesses." *Vindication*, p. 22. It appears that, according to the Bishop's own view, the scope of John's argument necessarily required the *distinctness* of the

polated words as they exist in the three celebrated editions of the New Testament,

Cod. Montfort. & Edit. Erasmi tertia, anni 1522.

εν τῷ ουρανῷ, πατήρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ.

"Here (says Michaelis, ii. 286) the article is omitted before the words expressive of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, because there is no article in the Latin, and it occurred not to the translator, that the usual Greek was ὁ πατήρ, ὁ λόγος, τὸ πνεῦμα. He has also ἐν τῇ γῇ, which is false Greek for ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, because he found in the Latin *in terrâ*."

Editio Stephani tertia, anni 1550.

εν τῷ ουρανῷ, ὁ πατήρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ.

Here Stephens, or rather, as Dr. Marsh observes, Erasmus himself, in his two last editions, has modelled the verse "into better Greek by the insertion of the article." Still, however, we have the Latinism ἐν τῇ γῇ. It has been proved irrefragably by several critics, that the Complutensian editors translated also the above verse from the Latin, and interpolated it into their Greek text. "And it is no more than justice (says Porson) to allow that they at least did their work like workmen. They made good Greek of their Latin—a task to which the translator of the Lateran Decrees and the writer of the Dublin MS. were unequal²⁸." This Complutensian text is as follows :

Editio Complutensis, anni 1514.

εν τῷ ουρανῷ, ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

In the above text, translated from Latin into Greek, we

three witnesses; and to suppose that he should, in the same breath, declare that they are but *one*, would be to represent him as equally absurd (humanly speaking) as the introducer of the three veiled witnesses. If, to avoid this, we suppose that John meant, not unity of *Essence*, but of *testimony*, the argument necessarily leads us to Tritheism.

²⁸ Porson, *Letters to Travis*, p. 51.

have a specimen of three different recensions arising from three different versions from the Latin ; or, at least, from two immediate versions from that language, and an improvement upon one of them by modelling it into better Greek. This improvement is produced, in the first place, by an insertion of the articles. I formerly [p. 297] endeavoured to account for the non-existence of the *dual number* in the Greek Scriptures, from the circumstance of its non-existence in the Latin, whence our Vulgate Greek copies may have been translated ; and, in like manner, as the articles are wanting in the Latin language, there is usually a deficiency in this respect in every literal Greek version from the Latin. Thus, as we have seen above, we have in the Dublin MS., and in the edition of Erasmus which was derived from it, *πατηρ* and *λογος* and *πνευμα* without any article²⁹. It is stated by Erasmus in one of his Apologies, in speaking of his first edition, “ In calce *Apocalypsis* in exemplari, quod tum nobis erat *unicum*, nam is liber apud Græcos rarus est inventu, deerat *unus atque alter versus*. Eos nos addidimus secuti *Latinos Codices*.” Wetstein, who quotes this passage, remarks, “ Accuratus tamen omnia rimanti satis constat, non, ut Erasmus scribit, *perpauca* fuisse, quæ ipse ex Latinis utcunque et festinanter Græce reddidit, sed a vers. 16 ad finem libri sex integros versus. In istis enim omnibus Erasmi editio abit a Codicibus MSS. et ita quidem, ut Græca ipsius non obscurum sit ex Latinis fuisse conversa. Hinc enim profecta est perpetua illa omissio articulorum vers. 16, *ριζα* pro *ἡ ριζα*; *λαμπρος* pro *ὁ λαμπρος*; vers. 18, *προφητειας βιβλιου* pro *της προφητειας του βιβλιου*, *εν βιβλιω* pro *εν τω βιβλιω* bis; vers. 19, *βιβλου*

²⁹ “ Cæterum Dublinensis Codex, utpote seculo demum xv. aut xvi. scriptus, recentissimus est, ac manifesto e Latina Vulgata interpolatus. Prodit hoc non solum Articulus sexies in nominandis sex testibus perperam neglectus sed,” &c. Griesbach, *Appendix ad N. T.* p. 688. Even should we suppose that, contrary to all appearances, the Dublin MS. was written in the twelfth or thirteenth century, nothing was more easy than to extract a leaf or two, and insert a *fac-simile* one with the disputed verse.

pro του βιβλίου; ζωης pro της ζωης; πολεως ἀγίας pro της πολεως της ἀγίας³⁰."

This feature of a Latin origin is very obvious in our Elzevir Greek Testament. We might begin, for example, with the very first verse of Matthew, Βιβλος γενεσεως Ιησου Χριστου υιου Δαβιδ υιου Αβρααμ. As Mr. Middleton, however, himself remarks [*G. A.* p. 164] that "throughout the whole of this genealogy there is an use of the article, which is wholly foreign from the Greek practice, and which in some degree favours the historical account of the Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel," let us pass to that of Mark. The very first verse of this Evangelist runs as follows, Αρχη του ευαγγελιου Ιησου Χριστου, υιου του Θεου. This is 'better than that of Matthew; yet surely there is still a great deficiency of ar-

³⁰ Wetstein, *N. T.* vol. i. p. 126. The *perpauca*, in the above quotation, refers to an assertion of Erasmus cited in the same page: "*perpauca*...ne hiaret lacuna ex nostris Latinis supplevimus Græca." I would here remark, that if Erasmus, who was but an indifferent Greek scholar, thus ventured in a scarcity of MSS. to form a Greek from a Latin text, is it inconceivable that a Greek of Crete or Cyprus, who could more easily obtain a Latin than a Greek *Apocalypse*, should have translated the whole book into Greek, as Erasmus translated some verses of it? Griesbach remarks, that Erasmus translated these six verses: "satis vitiose, neque tamen errores in vertendo admissos postea correxit omnes, sed nonnullos in posterioribus editionibus retinuit, qui hodiernum in vulgaribus libris comparent atque sedulo propagantur." *N. T. Proleg.* vol. i. p. xxiii. Twells, in his vindication of the authenticity of the *Apocalypse*, mentioning the famous Critique of Dionysius of Alexandria [ap. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vii. c. 25], on its diction remarks: "We do not pretend to assert that the language of the *Revelations* is pure Greek; tho' I verily think it is much worse at present than it was when Dionysius passed this censure upon it.....So Dionysius has, beyond measure, extoll'd that of St. John's Gospel and canonical Epistle, which has its faults likewise." Twells' *Crit. Examin.* Part III. p. 113. In fact, it is singular that Dionysius could have said of our Vulgate Greek text of John's Gospel, that it is free from solecisms, and is pure Greek; and that John seems to have been supernaturally gifted with a good style. His Greek copy, surely, was more classical than our common one.

ticles. If not before *Ἀρχῇ*, we should expect an article before *Ἰησοῦ* or *Χριστοῦ*, and before *υἱοῦ*. Nor is this all; but in the *Vatican* and *Cambridge MSS.* the article *τοῦ* is also wanting before *Θεοῦ*; and may probably have been supplied in the others, as the three heavenly witnesses have been supplied with articles in the edition of Stephens. The same anarthrous style exists throughout the chapter; which, notwithstanding the probable supply of articles in modern MSS., still seems to read in this, as well as in some other respects, more like Latin than Greek. Thus, ver. 29, we are told that Jesus and his disciples came *εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος καὶ Ἀνδρέου, μετὰ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάννου*. In short, like the verse above quoted from the Montfort MS., the chapter, or rather the Gospel, has, even in respect of the article, the marks of being a version from the Latin. Nor is this indicated merely by its *absence*, where it might have been expected in original Greek composition, but sometimes by its *presence*, where it seems incongruous. I formerly [p. 210] quoted a saying of St. Evremond, in which, though the words are English, the use of the article in a manner never used by an Englishman, proves evidently that it was conceived in French. In a letter also written in English to Paul Jones, by Kosciusko, the Polish patriot, dated Varsaw, 15th Feb. 1790 (in which he expresses his wish that he saw him fighting against oppression) he thus expresses himself, "I would see you to fight against the oppression and tyranny³¹." This single short sentence, of which all the words are English, is still not English; nor is the superfluous use or the suppression of the article in Greek, less fatal to purity and clearness than in English composition. There is, however, a great license and irregularity in this respect in the best MSS. of the New Testament. Mr. Mid-

³¹ *Scots Magazine*, p. 20. August, 1817. See *supra*, p. 210. In a letter of Queen Henrietta M. (wife of Charles I.) to Sir Ed. Nicholas, she writes thus: "Maistre Nicholas, I send you the names of the Lords that I thinke fit to be send for. You must to advertice the bishops to be heer." ap. Evelyn's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. P. II. p. 33.

dleton [G. A. p. 282], for example, has the following note on *Mark* xiv. 10, ὁ Ἰουδᾶς ὁ Ἰσκαριωτῆς εἰς τῶν δώδεκα. "The first Article in a great many MSS., including A. B. C. D., is wanting, and Griesbach prefixes to it the mark of *probable* spuriousness . . . The second Article also is absent from a few MSS. and probably should have been omitted in all . . . The *Vat.* 1209 alone prefixes ' to εἰς, which is *altogether without meaning*." As to the *Codex Beza*, Mr. Middleton remarks [p. 228] that in its variations from other MSS. in the insertion or omission of the Article, it "sets criticism at defiance." The following also is an observation which he makes on the subject of the *Alexandrian MS.*, in a note on *Acts* viii. 5, εἰς πολλὴν τῆς Σαμαρείας. "A. 31. 40. have the article before πολλιν. I have frequently observed (proceeds he, p. 398) that in cases like the present, in which the Article may be inserted or omitted indifferently, the *Alex. MS.* usually prefers the insertion, and is sometimes unsupported by any other. These various readings appear to me to have been the corrections of a copyist, who was not acquainted with the license allowed after prepositions; and such a copyist could hardly have been a native Greek. This remark, unimportant as it may seem, may not be wholly useless to those who would trace this celebrated MS. to its origin. The prevailing opinion had always been that it was written in Egypt, till Wetstein in his *Proleg.* contended that it came from Mount Athos. See Woide's *Pref.* sect. ii. § 11. In that case, however, the writer would, I think, have been better acquainted with the language³²."

³² See *supra*, p. 382. And yet of this ignorantly or negligently written manuscript [see Spohn in his edition of Woide's *Not. Cod. Alex.* p. 183—231] the very *dots* have been considered as of equal consequence as if they had been engraven in a tablet of adamant by the hand of an angel. The reader cannot be ignorant of the controversy about the appearance or non-appearance of the dot in this MS., at 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. See Wetstein, *Proleg.* vol. i. p. 19—22. Woide, *Not. Cod. Alex.* ed. Spohn, p. 172—181. Griesbach, *Symbolæ Criticæ*, vol. i. p. ix. *et sqq.* A similar example here follows. Mr. G. Sharp, in his remarks on *Jude* 4,

Such are the remarks of this learned and orthodox writer, with respect to the *irregular insertion, and omission of the Article* in the *three supposed most venerable MSS. of the New Testament*; and surely this circumstance might have prevented himself, and should prevent others, from endeavouring to rear a huge superstructure on so sandy a foundation as its presence or absence. I allude here more particularly, and merely as a philologist, to the discussions be-

και ΤΟΝ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΝ ΘΕΟΝ &c. says (p. 54): "I made a transcript of this text, several years ago, from the *Alex. MS.* which I copied, or rather drew letter by letter, in size and shape as exactly as the eye could discern. In this transcript the word ΘΕΟΝ is omitted, as in the MS.; but I did not at that time perceive that there was any point or mark after the word ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΝ and I was therefore much surprised afterwards in comparing the said transcript with the elegant edition of my late very worthy and respectable friend the late Dr. Woide ...to find that he had inserted a point in his new edition after the word ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΝ. I was very confident that I could not discern any such point when I examined the MS....I therefore took the first opportunity afterwards of going once more to examine the MS.; and, on a more close inspection, I perceived indeed the *faint* mark which occasioned Dr. Woide's insertion of the period in his edition; but being afterwards assisted by the worthy librarian the Rev. Mr. Harper in a still more attentive and accurate examination of the mark *with a magnifying glass*, I was satisfied that it had not been intended for a period, but only for a short *line of connexion*, because it is nearly three times as long as it is broad."

Now, how absurd was all this! since Mr. Sharp proceeds to say: "A point in that place after ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΝ (in the middle of the sentence, between the accusative noun and verb) is utterly inconsistent with grammar and common sense; and though the word ΘΕΟΝ has been omitted in the *Alex. MS.*, perhaps for the same reason that some men would wish to prove the insertion of the point after ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΝ," &c. *Remarks on the Uses of the Definite Article*, by Granville Sharp. London 1803. Now if, according to Mr. Sharp, the word ΘΕΟΝ was wickedly or negligently omitted in the above text in the *Alex. MS.*, was it of any consequence whether such a transcriber put a dot, or not, after ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΝ, or whether it was three times as long as broad, or three times as broad as long? Mr. Sharp, though an excellent man, was too much in the habit of looking at texts of Scripture "with a magnifying glass."

tween the excellent G. Sharp, and his opponents, with respect to the use of the Article in the New Testament. It is worthy of remark that the aid of the Article seems first to have been called in by the Roman Catholics to support the tenet of Transubstantiation. Mr. Middleton (in his *Treatise on the Greek Article*, p. 258) has the following note on *Matt.* xxvi. 26. *τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα μου*: "It may amuse (says he) the reader to be informed that the Article in this place was once supposed to prove the doctrine of Transubstantiation, 'quasi Articulus vim habeat propositionem contrahendi ad proprium sensum, et tropicum non permittat.' This is indeed most ridiculous." It is so; but not more ridiculous, *philologically considered*, than some of the conclusions of Mr. Middleton himself and of Mr. Sharp. The same words *Luke* xxii. 19. *τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα μου*, being translated by Mr. Wakefield in the wonted manner, he remarks: "The original is more emphatic and striking, *This is this body of mine*, laying his hand, probably, at the same time upon his breast." This is ridiculously representing our Lord somewhat in the light of a child beginning to speak, and to name things, pointing to them, and saying "This is my hand," &c.: but we see at least that Mr. Wakefield attributed considerable force to the Article, and indeed the passage furnishes a very plausible philological argument for the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

The next class of Scripture critics, who appealed to the Article in proof of their conclusions, was the Socinians; and accordingly a sore complaint upon the subject is made by Bishop Pearson. "For now (says he) our Saviour's Deity must be tried by a kind of school-divinity, and the most fundamental doctrine maintained as such, ever since the Apostles' times, by the whole Catholic church, must be examined, censured and condemned by δ , η , $\tau\omicron$ ³³." But lo! the vicissitude of things! 'O 'H, *TO*, which had been summoned by Socinus as three earthly witnesses against our Lord's Divinity, are transformed by Mr. Sharp into three heavenly

³³ Pearson, *Exp. of the Creed*, Article II. p. 150. fol. Lond. 1715.

witnesses in its favour. "What strange uncertainties are these (exclaimed Bishop Pearson) to build the denial of so important an article as Christ's Divinity upon!" and the very same, philologically speaking, may be said *mutatis mutandis*³⁴.

"We must not then (concludes Bishop Pearson) think to decide this controversie by the Articles of which the sacred pen-men were not curious, and the transcribers have been very careless; nor is there so great uncertainty of the ancient MSS. in any thing as in the words and Articles of *Κυριος* and *Θεος*. The vulgar edition, *Rev.* i. 8, hath *λεγει ο Κυριος* only, the Complutensis *λεγει Κυριος ο Θεος*, Plantine *λεγει ο Κυριος ο Θεος*." Thus this learned prelate; and on the same subject of the Article, which has been the occasion of so

³⁴ Pearson, *ut supra*. Yet greater uncertainties, than even these, as we have seen in a late note (p. 417), have been resorted to as a foundation. It is ludicrous, or perhaps melancholy, that Bishop Pearson, conscious as he was of its weakness, should, in this very work, employ the Article to prop up the argument that Almighty God is the Father of Jesus in a different manner from that in which he is our Father. "We must look upon God (says he) as in a more peculiar manner the Father of that Son. *I ascend unto my Father and your Father* [*προς τον πατερα μου και πατερα υμων*], saith our Saviour; the same of both, but in a different manner, denoted by the Article prefixed before the one, and not the other." *Ibid.* p. 30. I find no fault with the Bishop's doctrine in itself, nor even with the above argument, though weak, if honestly employed. Mr. Middleton, in his *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, says of our Lord's using, in speaking of himself, the phrase *Ο υιος ΤΟΥ ανθρωπου*, "For myself I scruple not to aver, that I consider this single phrase, so employed, as an irrefragable proof of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ!" p. 354. Surely the doctrines of Christianity are neither to be confuted nor confirmed by the Articles of a language in which he did not teach, and of which "the sacred penmen were not curious." Elsewhere Mr. M. objects to the necessity of the Article, 1 *Tim.* ii. 5, before *ανθρωπος Ιησους Χριστος*, remarking: "Nor could Christ be called *κατ' εξοχην*, the man, not possessing the human nature in a pre-eminent degree." p. 562. Nay, the question of our Lord's divinity has sometimes been supposed almost to depend upon a dot. See Wetstein, *Proleg.* p. 19 *sqq.*

much controversy, I shall beg leave to make two quotations. "On consulting different MSS. of the same Greek prose writer (says Mr. Middleton, *G. A.* p. 107,) we find on this very subject of the Article, especially where proper names and the names of attributes occur, more disagreement than on any other point whatever. Exactly in proportion as the writer of prose is free from restraint, so also is his transcriber and editor: and where the principle had been little examined, or at least where no principle had been generally admitted, it was to be expected that critics would sometimes venture on readings, the legitimacy of which it was not easy to controvert. It is even supposed that the Article was not unfrequently written over proper names by the teachers of Greek, in order to assist the learner, and thus improperly gained admittance into the text³⁵."

The other quotation to which I alluded, is taken from an able and elaborate critique of Middleton on the Greek Article in the *Monthly Review*; and I here cite it as (when taken into account with the passages just referred to) accounting, perhaps, in a considerable degree, for the occasionally redundant use of the Article in the New Testament. The critic is contrasting some of the uses of the Article as employed in Greek and in English; and, having given some examples, proceeds as follows: "In many of these forms, however, the Greeks are no more compelled to insert their Article than we are to insert our definite Article. In such phrases as *Fear of the Lord, the dead of night, &c.* they might

³⁵ "Valckenaer (adds Mr. Middleton in a note), *ad Phæn.* v. 147, has said that this sometimes has happened even to the poets: 'Articulus scilicet à poetis neglectus, ubi videbatur in usu communi requiri, versibus poetarum in puerorum commodum à literatoribus superscribi solebat, atque hinc sæpenumero sedem non suam occupat.' And Rudolph (*Comm. Soc. Phil. Lips.* vol. iv. Part. 1. p. 80,) remarks: 'Homerum certè sexcentis Articulis auctiorem haberemus, nisi metrum obstitisset, quominus in textum reciperetur, ubi Grammatici eum addendum in Scholiis putarunt: ac in ipso Platone tanta est etiam in Articulis addendis inconstantia, ac passim in omittendis constantia, ut sæpius nihi a Grammaticis additus, quam a Librariis omissus videatur.'"

employ the nouns *Fear* and *Night* without the Article just as we do : but they chouse to do otherwise ; and they have a reason for the choice in their language which does not exist in ours. Their adjectives have different terminations, according to the different genders of the substantives to which they are united, which is not the case with us. In consequence, a person would often be at a loss to know how to apply the adjective properly till he had learned by habit the gender of the substantive. Now the acquisition of this necessary and habitual knowledge is very much facilitated by using their nouns on all occasions with the Article, which they therefore constantly do, unless they have some particular reason for the contrary : for though it is not the proper business of the Article to discriminate the gender of nouns, and though it was not invented for that purpose, as Apollonius has clearly shown in (we think) one of the best chapters in his book [*lib. i. cap. 5.*], yet it is capable of being rendered very useful in that way, as is testified by the practice of lexicographers and grammarians, who so uniformly employ it for the purpose. This seems to be the reason why the Greeks say, ὁ υἱός, ΤΟΤ ἀνθρώπου, τὸ κέντρον ΤΟΤ θανάτου, ὁ ἀνθρώπος ΤΗΣ ἀμαρτίας, &c. while we say, *The son of man, the sting of death, the man of sin, &c.* ; and this, too, appears to us to be a fertile source of that frequency with which the Greeks insert their Articles in other instances where no regimen prevails, and which has made those who do not see the reason for its insertion call it an *otiosum flabellum*. The Article distinguishes the gender when no rule derived from termination, or any other source, will so distinguish it ; and, which is better than any rule, it distinguishes it habitually, it is a rule incessantly repeated³⁶."

The above quotations may perhaps serve the purpose of throwing some degree of light on a phenomenon in the New Testament which I shall here mention. It has long appeared to me that, 'in the greater number of cases in the New Testament where the Article appears redundant, the words to

³⁶ *Monthly Review*, N. S. vol. lxii. p. 161.

which it is prefixed are such as differ in gender from their corresponding words in Latin. Hence they were either inserted by grammarians for the use of the Latins analogous to the instructions mentioned above [p. 384] in the *Boernerian MS.*, or, what is still more probable, may in such cases have been prefixed by the translators for the purpose of fixing, by habit, the gender of the substantive in a language different from that from which they translated; and in which, without such a precaution, they might by a kind of sympathy with the original language [*supra* p. 271] have been led to make frequent mistakes. I state this merely as a hypothesis to be verified; and shall here set down some examples for that purpose, affixing to the word in the Greek text the corresponding word in the Latin Vulgate, and the page of Middleton's Treatise on the Greek Article where the passage is the subject of remark and sometimes of discussion.

GREEK TEXT.	VULGATE.		MIDDLETON.
εις το ορος	<i>in montem</i>	Mat. v. 1.	p. 184.
εις το πλοιον	<i>in naviculum</i>	— xiii. 2.	218, &c.
ως το φως	<i>sicut [nix] lux</i>	— xvii. 2.	238.
εις το πυρ	<i>in ignem</i>	— xvii. 15.	258.
ως τα παιδια	<i>sicut parvuli</i>	— xviii. 3.	239.
εν τη φατνη	<i>in præsepio</i>	Luke ii. 7.	306.
εις την κοιτην	<i>in cubili</i>	— xi. 7.	323.
το πνευματι	<i>Spiritu</i>	Acts xx. 22.	417, &c
του νομου	<i>Legis</i>	Rom. ii. 13.	438.
η αμαρτια	<i>peccatum</i>	— v. 21.	448.
ο επαινος	<i>laus</i>	1 Cor. iv. 5.	469.
η κεφαλη	<i>caput</i>	— xi. 3.	476.
του οικου	<i>domus</i>	Heb. iii. 3.	590.
ο ορκος	<i>juramentum</i>	— vi. 16.	594.
ο θανατος	<i>Mors</i>	Rev. vi. 8.	662.
αι επτα βρονται	<i>septem tonitrua</i>	— x. 3.	663.
του Αετου	<i>Aquila</i>	— xii. 14.	668.
εις την λιμνην	<i>in stagnum</i>	— xix. 20.	674.
το υδωρ	<i>aquam</i>	— xxii. 17.	676.

Allied to this use of the Article (when the Greek word is

of a different gender from its corresponding Latin one) is that where the Latin word is of the common gender; in which case, also, it appears to me that the Article is sometimes inserted where one should not expect it, in order, perhaps, also to determine the gender :

τῷ Ἱερεὶ	<i>Sacerdoti</i>	Mat. viii. 4.	p. 194.
ἀπο τῶν ἀνθρώπων	<i>ab hominibus</i>	— x. 17.	203.
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου	<i>hominis</i>	— x. 36.	205, &c.
ὁ προφῆτης	<i>[propheta] Fates</i>	John i. 21.	343.
τὴν ἡμέραν	<i>diem</i>	Heb. x. 25.	605.

I am the more induced to imagine, that there may be something in the above remarks,—that in many cases where the Article is omitted where one is led to expect it, the gender in Greek is the same as in Latin. Mr. Middleton [p. 628] has the following note on 2 *Peter* iii. 10. οἱ οὐρανοί : “ Many MSS. want οἱ, and I think rightly : the Article is wanting before στοιχεῖα and γῆ, which naturally require it as much as does οὐρανοί.” It is to be remarked, however, that *cælum* is a neuter word making *hī cālī*, which is an anomaly; whereas στοιχεῖα and γῆ correspond to *elementa* and *terra*. The same writer remarks [p. 492] on 1 *Cor.* xv. 41. Ἀλλῇ δοξᾷ ἡλίου, καὶ ἀλλῇ δοξᾷ σελήνης &c., that ἡλίου and σελήνης “ want the Article by part I. chap. iii. sect. iii. § 7. and δοξᾷ by § 1.” To me they seem to want it because the corresponding Latin words *solis*, *lunæ*, and *claritas* or *gloria* (from which perhaps they were translated), have the same gender with themselves. Again, on 2 *Pet.* ii. 5. Mr. Middleton [p. 626] remarks : “ v. 5. ἀρχαίου κόσμου.” The English usage, and that probably of most nations, would lead us to expect ΤΟΥ ἀρχαίου κόσμου : yet no MS. has the Article. How are we to explain the omission ?” It appears to me to be explicable on the hypothesis above stated, that as the gender of κόσμος and *mundus* is the same, the translator thought it unnecessary to mark it³⁷. Once more, Mr. Mid-

³⁷ Since this was written I have observed the following note of Hardouin : “ *Rom.* iii. 6. *Quomodo judicabit Deus hunc mundum.* Græce, πως

dleton [p. 668] remarks on *Rev.* xii. 14. *δυο πτερυγες του αετου του μεγαλου*: "Here it may be asked, why *TOT* αετου *TOT* μεγαλου, or else why not *AI* δυο πτερυγες? The latter difficulty indeed is removed, if we admit the reading of a few MSS. which have *αι*, but what is to become of the former?" Now we read in the Latin Vulgate *ala dua aquila magna*, and, in translating into Greek, *πτερυγες* may have been left without the Article, as being of the same gender with *ala*, while it may have been prefixed to *αετου*, as differing in gender from *aquila*.

There are, indeed, a few cases of redundant or apparently redundant Article, where the genders are the same in the Vulgate Greek and in the Latin. In such cases, however, the Latin word may have differed from that in our Vulgate; and if the above remarks be well founded, they may be of use in sometimes guiding us to the primigenial Latin word. Thus *1 Cor.* vi. 16. where we have *τη πορνη*, and in the Vulgate *meretrici*, perhaps the Latin had been *scorto*. *1 Cor.* xvi. 24. *η αγαπη μου*; Vulg. *charitas*, perhaps *amor*; and in the difficult case [Middleton, p. 345] *ο διδασκαλος*, *John* iii. 10. perhaps the Latin was *antistes*.

I have entered into the preceding somewhat prolix discussion, on the use of the definite Article in the Greek New Testament, partly on account of its connexion with my subject, partly because it has been a topic of philological, and I wish I could not add of theological, controversy. Whatever may be thought of some of the preceding views, (and, like all my other remarks, they are offered not as conclusions but queries,) it may appear, at least, that from the irregularity of the Article in the most respected MSS. no superstructure of much consequence can be founded upon it. Of this irregularity some examples have been given: and, as a further

κρινει ο Θεος τον κοσμον, omitta voce *hunc*; quam alibi præterea quindécies iidem libri Græci expungunt, ubi cum *mundi* nomine jungitur." *Comment.* p. 440. Perhaps the *hunc* had been considered by the translator merely as a mark of gender, like the Greek Article.

specimen, let us return to the first chapter of Mark, from which we diverged into the above digression. I shall here, then, set down some various readings with regard to the omission or addition of the Article to proper and other nouns in the first chapter of Mark's Gospel, confining myself to those MSS. which are written in capitals, and adopting the notation of Griesbach :

verse	1. υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ	Vulg.	— τοῦ B. D.
	2. ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ	D.	+ τῷ ἡσυχίᾳ B. L.
	6. Ἰωάννης	Vulg.	+ ὁ Ἰωάννης K. L. P.
	9. Ἰησοῦς	Vulg.	+ ὁ Ἰησοῦς D.
	13. οἱ Ἀγγέλοι	Vulg.	— οἱ A.
	14. τὸν Ἰωάννην	Vulg.	— τὸν A. F. S.
	— ὁ Ἰησοῦς	Vulg.	— ὁ A. F.
	36. ὁ Σίμων	Vulg.	— ὁ B. L.

Such is the irregularity with which the Article is employed or omitted in the different MSS. of the New Testament³⁸. In general, for reasons mentioned above, there is a propensity rather to admit than omit it; and yet, as also remarked above, the Gospel of Mark is anarthrous possibly from its first nakedness in this respect as a literal version from the Latin. It is remarked by Mr. Middleton, that the style of the Apostle Paul is very anarthrous; and the same writer observes, that he cannot but remark "that the style of St. Peter is even more anarthrous than that of St. Paul, a circumstance (says he) which is not at all at variance with the vehemence of his character³⁹."

³⁸ Griesbach (in his *Comment. Critic.*) has the following remarks on *Mark* xvi. 1. "Sexaginta pæne codices ante Ἰακώβου silentio prætereunt ἡ τε...at versu præcedentis capituli quadragesimo habemus Μαρία ἡ τε Ἰακώβου, ubi tamen cum alii codices, tum etiam plures eorum librorum, qui hoc nostro loco vel τε vel ἡ τε omittunt, similiter ἡ τε induxerunt. Videntur ergo Librarii pro suo libitu hujusmodi voculas mox adposuisse, mox neglexisse." Part. II. p. 194.

³⁹ Middleton, *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, pp. 437, 448, 627. Before leaving the subject of the Article, I shall add one specimen of the capricious remarks of this learned writer on the subject. "*Mark* xv. 43,

In looking over this first chapter of Mark, for the purpose of selecting the above examples relative to the Article, a chapter which has been taken as it were at a venture, I observe that we may find specimens of almost each of the phenomena which seem to infer a Latin origin. I shall here subjoin these, as at once an elucidation and perhaps a proof of my hypothesis on the subject; since, as the chapter was not chosen on purpose, its analysis may serve to show the number of such phenomena, and also what may be effected in accounting for and simplifying the various readings in the other chapters of the New Testament. The reader is requested to consult the edition of Griesbach.

1. At verse 16, instead of *εν τη θαλασσῇ*, several MSS. read *εις την θαλασσην*. The original probably had been *in mare*, and thus it is translated by one in the ablative [dative], and by another in the accusative. I have already [p. 257] made some remarks on the Prepositions of the New Testament, and shall take this opportunity of adding a few observations on the subject. Nothing more strongly bespeaks a version than a new and harsh use of the prepositions; and this is one of the great features of what has been termed the

Ιωσηφ ὁ ἀπο Αριμαθαιας. Bengel (in *Gnom.*) observes, ‘*Articulus ostendit hoc Josephi cognomen esse factum: Matthæus Articulum non ponit, quia ante Marcum scripsit.*’ I think (proceeds Mr. M.) that there is something in this remark, and that it is capable of being extended,” p. 285. He then goes on to infer the order in which Mark wrote, from his above use of the Article, by which (according to Mr. M.) he presumes Joseph of Arimathea to have acquired notoriety. Let us now turn to his note on *John* iii. 21, where we read as follows: “*καὶ Ἰησοῦ βαπτισθέντος.* Markland (qp. Bowyer) conjectures *τῷ Ἰησοῦ*.”...“It may be observed, however, (says Mr. M.) that it is not in the manner of the sacred historians to impute celebrity to Christ, or to assume that he is known to the reader: on the contrary, they all at the beginning of their narratives tell us who is the subject of their story,” p. 311. Surely, however, without any undue assumption, they might have presumed that Jesus had acquired as much celebrity as Joseph of Arimathea; nor could Mark have supposed that a single individual at Rome could have heard of the latter, who did not know something of the history of Christ.

Hellenistic style. In the sixth of the Letters attributed to Queen Mary Stuart, we read thus : " OF the place and the time I remitte myself to you. I will . . . fayle in na thing OF my part." This evidently bespeaks a version *DU lieu* &c. *DE ma part*. In letter eighth we find this phrase : " FOLLOWING the misfortunes &c. ; a version from the French *SUIVANT les malheurs*, ACCORDING TO the misfortunes⁴⁰." In the ancient English Testament referred to above [p. 126], and which is often resorted to by Mr. Tooke in his *Diversions of Purley*, though most unsafely, as a " well of English undefilde," we find a very strange phraseology in respect of the prepositions. Thus *Mat.* xxi. 32. " Ye bileuyde not TO hym ; but pupplicants and Hooris bileuiden TO him." This is occasioned by servility to the Latin Vulgate, *non credidistis EI* ; *publicani autem, et meretrices crediderunt EI*. Again, *Acts* xxvi. 3 : I gesse me blessid AT thee (says Paul to King Agrippa) whanne I am to defendynge me this day, moost thee wytyng alle thingis that ben AT Iewis. From the Vulgate, *astimo me beatum APUD te cum sim defensurus me hodie, maxime te sciente omnia, et quæ APUD Judæos, &c.*⁴¹ Even in our present version, we find occasionally a contorted phraseology in respect of the preposition, originating in its servility. Thus it is said of Herod, *Luke* ix. 7 : " He was perplexed, because that it was said OF some that John was risen from the dead, and OF some that Elias had appeared, and OF others that one of the old prophets was risen again." The *OF some* is the *ὑπο τινων* of the Greek text. At *Acts* xv. 4. we read thus : " And when they were come to Jerusalem they were received OF the church . . . and they declared all things that God had done WITH them." Here again we have the *ὑπο της εκκλησιας* and *μετ' αυτων* of the Greek original. Nothing in short, as I have remarked above, is so demonstrative of a version

⁴⁰ Lettæ's, 6. & 8. ap. Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 214, &c.

⁴¹ The English verses may be found, *Divers. of Purley*, vol. ii. pp. 148, 511. I have added the passages from the Latin Vulgate to show their origin.

as a new and harsh use of the prepositions; and this unwonted use of the prepositions is one of the great features of the Hellenistic style. In the New Testament this Hellenistic sense of the prepositions can be most easily accounted for by supposing the Greek text in the majority of MSS. a version from the Latin. Valckenaer remarks, that "the præpositions *εις* and *εν* are often in these books used each for the other⁴²;" nor is this wonderful, as each is a version of the Latin *in*. I formerly remarked [p. 238] that the chime of a preposition in the Latin original seems occasionally to have suggested the Greek preposition in the version, and to have induced the translator to give it a new sense, similar in signification to its Latin prototype, of which it is the echo. Of this I have, in the place here referred to, given some examples; and I shall here add another as a specimen of what I mean. The Apostle writing to the Thessalonians says, 2 *Thess.* ii. 1, *Rogamus autem vos, fratres, PER adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi . . . ut non cito moveamini*, &c. This is in Greek *ΠΕΡ της παρουσίας* &c. which, though an echo of the Latin, is not *PER adventum*, but *DE adventu*⁴³. In this first chapter of Mark, ver. 8, we find the phrase *αυτος δε βαπτισει υμας ΕΝ πνευματι αγιω*, and I would take this opportunity of remarking, that the preposition *εν* seems frequently, in the New Testament, to be used merely as a sign of case, to distinguish the ablative from the dative. For example, the Apostle had said, 1 *Cor.* iv. 21, "*Shall I come unto you with a rod?*" [*BACULO*], and the translator, in order to show that *baculo* was to be read not in the dative, but the ablative, has translated *ΕΝ ραβδω* shall I come unto you *in a rod?*⁴⁴. Sometimes there appears to

⁴² See *supra*, p. 282.

⁴³ Our English translators have followed the Vulgate. *We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ*, &c. and this is the common interpretation by commentators. See *Poli Synops. in loc.* A few however prefer *concerning the coming*, &c.

⁴⁴ We find also erroneously in the Latin Vulgate, *Quid vultis? IN VIRGA veniam ad vos?*

me that a mistake has been committed by the Greek interpreter in distinguishing between the cases. Thus, for example, the Apostle says, *Rom. xvi. 12*, "Salute Persis, who hath laboured much to or for the Lord" [*Domino*]. This is in the Greek, and it appears to me erroneously, *IN the Lord*, *EN Κυρίῳ*.

2. Let us now return to our text (the first chapter of Mark in the edition of Griesbach) ; and the next remark which I would offer is, that in the *Codex Beza*, which, as we have seen [p. 373], is usually represented as the most ancient MS. of the Gospels, we find, verse 26, πνευμα made masculine. Instead of the πνευμα το ακαθαρτον . . . σπαρξααν and κραξαν as in the Vulgate Greek, we find in this venerable MS. σπαρξαας and κραξας. It seems impossible to account for this, except upon a supposition of a version from the Latin, in which the gender of the word *Spiritus* was retained.

3. We are told, verse 27, that when the unclean spirit was cast out they were all amazed, insomuch that they questioned among themselves saying, λεγοντας. Here, instead of the λεγοντας of the Vulgate text, A C, &c. read λεγοντες. Now what is the cause of this difference ? Obviously that the original had been *dicentes* as in the Latin Vulgate ; and that this had by one translator been supposed in the nominative, and by another in the accusative. In like manner, chap. vi. 1, we find in the common text ηλθεν, while B C L read ερχεται, and why ? because *venit* is both present and preterite. Many examples of the like kind occur, and some of them [p. 282] have been formerly given.

4. In his apology for the Græco-Latin manuscripts, against the charge of having been altered from the Latin, Michaelis remarks, as we have seen above [p. 370], "that he would not be understood to assert that the Greek text has in no case been altered from the Latin." He instances *Rom. i. 32*, "where, after the word expressive of επιγοντες, the Latin version hab in almost all copies *intellegerunt*, for which different Greek MSS., even such as are of high antiquity, have the following different readings : ουκ ενοησαν, ουκ εγνωσαν, ου

συνηκαν. This variety (adds he) betrays a translation from the Latin." Of such synonymous words we have some specimens in the first chapter of Mark. For example, verse 16, instead of ἀμφιβληστρον as in the Vulgate text, or ἀμφιβληστρα as in some MSS., we have δικτυα in D. Instead of κραξαν as in the text verse 26, or κραξας as in D, we have φωνησαν in B L and in Origen. At verse 38 we have three various readings, ἐξεληλυθα, ἐληλυθα, ἐξηλθον. As such a change of synonymous words, however, occurs in a greater or less degree in the various readings of all writings, I shall not insist upon such in this chapter as are simply synonymous⁴⁵. There is an example, however, occurs in it which, though in some respects analogous, is of a different kind, and merits some attention. We are told, verse 41, that a leper having implored to be made clean, *Jesus, MOVED WITH COMPASSION* (σπλαγχνισθεις), put forth his hand and touched him. In Cod. D. instead of σπλαγχνισθεις, we read οργισθεις *iratus*, which is also the reading of *Codd. Vercell. and Corb. 2.* How shall we account for so great a diversity? Is it not probable that the original had been *commotus*, and that by one translator this had been taken in the sense of sorrow, and by another of anger?

5. There is one phenomenon which constantly takes place when different versions are made of a work, and when a rise is thus given to a variety of recensions. This is, that transcribers, who have more than one such version before them, and not knowing in some cases which is to be preferred, give them both; or they place one of them in the margin which is afterwards taken into the text. The same double text is sometimes occasioned by the doubts of translators themselves, who hesitate with respect to the meaning of a passage.

⁴⁵ See a large list of such synonyms in the *Alexandrian MS.* collected by Spohn, in his edition of *Woidii Notitia Cod. Alex.* p. 221—224. Hardouin has the following note on *John xi. 5.* "*Diligebat.* Græce ἀγαπα. In *Cantabrig.* ἐφιλει. Suum quisque sibi concinnabat MS. Codicem Græcum, ut lubebat." *Comment.* p. 297.

In the *Cod. Boerner.*, for example, formerly mentioned [p. 384], we read as follows, at *Rom.* iv. 20: ου διεκρίθη τη απιστία αλλ' εδυναμωθη, *non hesitavit, aut æstimavit, aut dubitavit diffidentia; sed confortatus est, aut potentatus est.* Such a conjunction of readings as the above is said to be common in the Ethiopic version. For example, Origen having recommended the reading *Βηθαβαθα*, *John* i. 28, in preference to *Βηθανια*, this version unites them both. In like manner, *Mark* xv. 8, some Greek MSS. reading *αναβας*, and others *αναβοησας*, the Ethiopic version reads *αναβας και αναβοησας*—*quarum rerum penes viros Æthiopica lingua consultos arbitrium esto!*

Of such an agglomeration of readings presented to the choice of the reader with an η or και, we have numerous examples in the New Testament; and as they are less numerous in proportion to the antiquity of the MS., this seems to prove that our Elzevir Greek text is in some instances a compilation from different versions. Of this we shall afterwards see some examples. The Apostle, *Rom.* xi. 9, writes thus in our Vulgate Greek, *Και Δαβιδ λεγει, Γενηθητω η τραπεζα αυτων εις παγίδα, ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΘΗΡΑΝ, και εις σκανδαλον, &c.* This is a quotation from *Psalms* lxi. 22, and Grotius makes this remark upon the passage: "Paulus (ut solent qui memoriter aliquid citant) sensum bene expressit, et verba pleraque, non tamen scrupulose . . . post *παγίδα* addidit *και εις θηραν*⁴⁶." Now this addition, which is warranted neither by the Hebrew nor the Septuagint, is merely an agglomeration of versions, one of which had read *εις παγίδα*, and the other *εις θηραν*, and the Apostle is blamed for the ignorance of his transcribers. At *Heb.* viii. 12, we read thus: *οτι ιλεως εσομαι ταις αδικιαις αυτων, και των αμαρτιων αυτων, ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΟΜΙΩΝ ΑΤΤΩΝ ου μη μνησθω επι.* Here the *και των ανομιων αυτων* is merely a different version of *και των αμαρτιων αυτων* inserted into the text. It is to be found neither in the Hebrew nor Septuagint, nor in the *Vatican MS.*, nor in the Vulgate nor Coptic version.

⁴⁶ ap. Poli *Synops.* in *loc.*

I have chosen the example of Texts quoted from the Old Testament, as specimens of the agglomerations of versions, because we can easily distinguish in them what is superadded to the original. Such agglomerations are frequent in the Septuagint; nor is this surprising when we consider the great variety of Greek versions of the Old Testament⁴⁷. It is difficult, however, unless we have recourse to a similar hypothesis, to account for the frequency of this phenomenon in the New Testament. Let us recur to our text, the first chapter of Mark. We are told at verse 40 that there came a leper to Jesus, παρακαλων αυτον και γονυπετων αυτον. This last phrase, και γονυπετων αυτον, is wanting in B. D. and the Italic Latin Versions. This seems to show that having been used in one Greek version, while παρακαλων was used in another, for the same Latin phrase, they have been agglomerated in our Elzevir text. Various such agglomerations are to be found in the Gospels. Thus *Mark* viii. 15. ὁρατε, βλεπετε, the first of which synonyms is wanting in D. and the Italic. *Mark* xi. 28. εν ποια εξουσια ταυτα ποιεις; ΚΑΙ ΤΙΣ ΣΟΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΞΟΥ-

⁴⁷ "Inde est (says Salmasius speaking on this subject) quod multis locis ejus versionis, quæ hodie nobis pro genuina των Septuaginta Interpretum datur, duæ simul ejusdem rei sententiæ verbis variantes exhibentur. Quod non aliunde potuit proficisci quam ex duabus illis Editionibus ab Origene mixtis, cujus vitii illustre exemplum dedimus in libro de Trapezitico sænore ex xxii. Deuteronomii, ubi sic legitur: *εκ εσται πορνη απο θυγατερων Ισραηλ, και εκ εσται πορνευων απο των υιων Ισραηλ*. Deinde subjungitur statim, *εκ εσται τελειφορος απο θυγατερων Ισραηλ, και εκ εσται τελεισκομενος απο των υιων Ισραηλ*. Quæ idem omnino sonant, sed aliis verbis, cum præcedenti complexu. Ut inde liqueat, posteriora hæc verba esse ex altera versione. Utra dicemus ex his Septuaginta esse Interpretum, priora an posteriora?" Salmasius *De Hellenistica*, p. 245. See also Grabe, *Diss. de variis Vitiis LXX. Interp.* p. 29. &c. Flaminio Nobili had made the same remark. See ap. Usher, *Syntagma*, p. 96. And Usher, speaking of the Complutensian edition of the LXX. says, "Et plurimis certe in locis, tum in hac, tum in Venetâ, et eam secutis Germanicis editionibus, ejusdem sententiæ duplex occurrit interpretatio." *Ibid.* He refers as proofs to several examples adduced by Nobili, the most remarkable of which is that quoted above. The others are less so than some to be now adduced from the New Testament.

σιαν ταυτην εδωκεν, ινα ταυτα ποιης; who does not see that this is an agglomeration of versions united by *KAI* (or in B. L. &c. by *'H*) and accordingly only one of these phrases is found in D. *Luke* xxi. 15. *αντειπειν η αντιστηναι*: Here the first of these words from coalesced versions is wanting in D, the Syriac and Italic. Such an agglomeration is sometimes even perceptible through the medium of our version. Thus *Luke* xii. 11. *And when they bring you unto the synagogues, and unto magistrates and powers, take ye no thought HOW or WHAT THING ye shall answer or what ye shall say*. Here we have, both in the *πως Η τι* and in the *απολογησησθε* and *ειπητε*, an agglomeration; and several other specimens may be found in the same chapter. Let us consult for examples verses 14, 18, 38, 41, and 47. In *Acts* iii. 12. it is related that Peter and John having cured a lame man, and all the people marvelling, Peter says, *Why do ye look so earnestly on us as though, ιδια δυναμει η ευσεβεια, we had made this man to walk?* Instead of the *ευσεβεια* we have in the Syriac *εξουσια*, and this also is the reading of the Vulgate, *nostra virtute aut potestate*; whereas in some of the other Latin versions it is *virtute aut pietate*. Whence has arisen all this diversity? The original had been *quasi propria virtute*, and in one version *virtute* had been translated *δυναμει*, in another *εξουσια*, and in a third, taken in a moral sense, *ευσεβεια*⁴⁸.

And if such an agglomeration of versions is to be found frequently even in the *Gospels*, and *Book of Acts*, much more may they be expected in the *Epistles*, where, the style being more difficult, there was greater variety of version. Even in the short quotations of the Apostle there are frequent tautological insertions, arising from a coalition of recensions;

⁴⁸ In *Acts* xxiii. 8. we read that the Sadducees say, *μη ειναι αναστασιν, μηδε αγγελου, μητε πνευμα. Φαρισαιοι δε ομολογουσι τα αμφοτερα*, *that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess BOTH*. As the *resurrection* is one of the terms, it seems probable that *μηδε αγγελου*, and *μητε πνευμα*, are an agglomeration of two recensions, otherwise it would have been said *but the Pharisees confess ALL THREE*.

and in fact such a tautology, arising perhaps from this cause, is one great feature of the Apostle's style. This is apparent even in our version, 1 Tim. vi. 9. *But they that will be rich full into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition.*—Philipp. iv. 9. *Those things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, do*⁴⁹. Such agglomerations of synonyms, of which the Apostolic Epistles are full, appear to me to have had their origin in a coalition of versions, and resemble the *Cod. Boern.* Rom. iv. 20. Οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐδυναμώθη, *non hæsitavit aut æstimavit aut dubitavit diffidentia, sed confortatus est aut potentatus est*⁵⁰.

To return to the first chapter of Mark, which I fixed on at random without any previous collation with others, we have seen that in itself it furnishes specimens of different classes of phenomena, all of which seem to lead to the inference that our Elzevir text is a version from the Latin. I might notice other peculiarities in words and phrases in the chapter, which should seem to conduct to the same conclusion; but those already given may suffice. One thing, however, I think it proper to remark, and this is, that, by supposing a Latin original we should, so far from rendering the text uncertain, greatly diminish the number of various readings. Griesbach

⁴⁹ Ἄ και ἐμαθεῖτε, και παρἐλάθετε, και ηκούσατε, και ἰδετε, &c. *Phil.* iv. 9. One of the examples of duplicate recension given by F. Nobili and Usher from the *Sept.* is *Deut.* vii. 15. ὡς ἔωρακα; καὶ ὅσα ἐγνων. *Synt.* p. 96. which is simple compared with the above. At 1 Tim. iv. 10. we have in the text κοπιῶμεν και ονειδίζομεθα, and in the margin αγωνιζομεθα, as a various reading for the latter. I suspect the word which occasioned the whole was *enitmur*, translated κοπιῶμεν = αγωνιζομεθα, and Gricized ονειδίζομεθα in three different recensions.

⁵⁰ See *supra*, pp. 384, 431. *I exhort therefore* (says Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 1.) *that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions... be made for all men.* “Δησεις, προσευχας, ευτευξεις, una eademque res (says Camero) diversis nominibus significatur. Neque tamen hæc vocabulorum, eandem rem significantium, accumulatio pro tautologia est habenda,” &c. *In l. r.* For what is it to be held?—or what better definition of tautology could be given than “vocabulorum, eandem rem significantium, accumulatio?”

in his enumeration of those in this chapter has, I think, no less than ninety-nine references from the text, some of which references contain various diversities of reading. I shall venture to assert that this chapter may be edited in Latin with the various readings reduced to a tenth part, and greatly more fixed and certain and clear than in Griesbach's Greek text.

It was the great object of Dr. Bentley, as was above remarked, [p. 363] to restore, by the medium of the Latin Vulgate, the ancient Greek Exemplar. Had he reversed his plan, and endeavoured in the first place, by means of the Greek recensions, and the Vulgate, with other Latin versions, to restore the primigenial Latin, "or parent of our Elzevir Greek text, he would better have consulted the interests of sacred literature. Some of his remarks, however, are very valuable. Thus, for example, when accused by Dr. Middleton of exalting the Vulgate above the original, he thus writes, "Our master [Bentley] so far from raising the Vulgate above the original, is very sure that the author of it has translated the Greek wrong in hundreds of places. But he's as useful to our master's purpose when he's wrong as when he's right. If he translates *παρακαλῶ* by *exhortor* when he should do it by *consolor*, he still shews he read *παρακαλῶ* in his Greek copy, which is all our master wants of him⁵¹." On this passage I would beg leave to make two remarks. In the first place, we are told by Dr. Bentley that the author of the Vulgate "has translated the Greek wrong in hundreds of places." Now, though I have before remarked [p. 95], I would here repeat once more, that if the Latin church, so pre-eminent in dignity, acquiesced in such a version, abounding besides in barbarisms, it cannot surely be an objection to our hypothesis that, according to it, the members of the Greek church acquiesced in barbarous versions from the Latin. If even the Latins, who were a race of translators, and much of whose literature was Greek, acquiesced in a version from this language often unfaithful, and sometimes barbarous, can it be

⁵¹ *Full Answer*, &c. p. 27.

surprising that the Greeks, who were wretched linguists and translators, acquiesced in such versions as those of Aquila, the Septuagint, and our Elzevir Greek Testament?

The other portion of the quotation from Bentley is also exceedingly worthy of the reader's attention. "But he's as useful says he (speaking of the Vulgate Translator), to our master's purpose when he's wrong as when he's right. If he translates παρακαλῶ by *exhortor*, when he should do it by *consolor*, he still shews that he read παρακαλῶ in his Greek copy, which is all our master wants of him." In fact, I may go still further, and affirm conversely, that the servile method adopted by the translator (or translators) of our Elzevir Greek Testament, even in cases where he is wrong, is more useful, by enabling us to restore the original, than the most able and elegant version would have been. An able Hebrew scholar might, from the translation of Arias Montanus, almost restore the Hebrew original, a thing which would be utterly impossible from the version of Castalio. Dr. Campbell, in order to ridicule the method of Arias Montanus, has given us a specimen of its nature, from which I shall extract a sentence. "Finding (says he) some cattle in my corn, *ego rogavi unum qui stabat per, si ille novit cujus illa erant. Sed ille vertit unam viam a me et fecit non ita multum ut vindicare saluum, ad redire mihi ullam responsionem*. I asked one who stood by if he knew whose they were; but he turned away from me, and did not so much as vouchsafe to return me any answer⁵²." Now it is to be remarked, that from the above version we discover not merely the original, but the *ipsissima verba* of the original, which the purest possible Latin version would not enable us to accomplish. In like manner, should we find in a Latin version of a French book that it was said of any one *pollet ingenio*, it would be impossible to tell the exact words of the original; but if it was said in the style of Arias Montanus, *Ille habet pulchrum ictum de spiritu*, we

⁵² Campbell, *Prelim. Dissert.* Diss. x. P. ii. vol. ii. p. 161.

should be certain that the *ipsissima verba* of the original were *Il a beau-coup d'esprit*⁵³.

In a critique, in the *Monthly Review*, of Bridgman's translation of *a Greek work on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, the reviewer remarks that, in addition to ignorance of Greek, the translator has failed "by an injudicious adherence to the idiom of the Greek," and by "his adoption of the technical and scientific phrases of the original, numbers of which are fairly written into English, to the great consternation of all plain and sober-minded British readers."

⁵³ "Veteres interpretationes (says Abp. Usher) quæ verbum e verbo reddunt (quod Græci κατὰ πόδα dicunt) antiquorum exemplarium vicem obtinere, et ad textus originalis vitia sananda prudenter adhiberi posse, inter alios peritissimos criticos, ita nos edocuit Jacobus Billius, 'cum Græcum aliquem authorem in manus sumo, eumque multis mendis deformatum esse comperio, δεύτερος, ut dici solet, hic mihi πλὴς esse solet, ut si editione Græca vetustiore, ac verbum verbo studiose reddentem interpretationem alicunde nancisci queam, hanc consulam. Nam quæ ejusmodi est, *eam pluribus etiam Græcis exemplaribus antepono; ut quæ persæpe ex uno, eodemque, non satis emendato libro transcripta sint.*' Quæ etiam Antonium Contium et Ludovicum Charondam causa movit ut, seposita elegantiore Gregorii Haloandri versione, rudiorum veteris vulgaris Interpretis translationem, Græco *Novellarum* Justiniani textui appositam publicandam putarent." *Prol. in Ignat. ap. Cleric. Patr. Apost.* vol. ii. P. ii. p. 232. In the *Codex Bezae*, p. 523, ed. Kipling, we read *Et factum est dum aporiarentur*, as a version of *καὶ γένητο ἐν τῇ ἀπορείᾳ αὐτὰς*, and p. 401, *nequæ ana duas tunicas habere*, for *μητε ἀνα δύο χιτῶνας εἶναι*, which from their very barbarity point out the original. The author of a Syriac version of the *Apocalypse* has translated ch. viii. 13. *ἐν μισθρανῆματι* [as if compounded of *μισός*, *ὔρα* and *αἷμα*] "through the midst of the bloody tail," instead of "through the midst of heaven," upon which Ridley remarks, "Et utcumque sit ridiculum, verbum in *Apocalypsi* vertisse per *medio caudæ quæ habet sanguinem*, at ex hoc corrigere possimus Erasmi codices qui legunt *μισθρανῆματι*. Ridere quidem licet, germanam vero formam originis tenemus." *De Syriac. N. F. Vers. Indole*, p. 40. The Ethiopic version translates 1 Cor. xii. 28. *καὶ ὅς μιν ἐθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ*, *God hath set an EAR in the church*, which nonsense proves that the verse was translated from the Greek, and that the original was *ὅς*, more evidently, perhaps, than the most accurate version could have done.

Of this version some specimens are given, B. v. c. 1. *ad fin.* ουδεν γαρ αλλο εστιν ἡ αρχη, η προς αλλους των αρετων κοινωνια, *the Magistracy is nothing else than the communication of the virtues to others.* "This indeed (says the reviewer) is a perfectly literal translation; and, like most other literal translations, it totally disguises the original. The sense is, that *the Magistracy is nothing else than the exercise of the virtues for the common benefit of others*: αρετων κοινωνια signifies the making our virtues a common or public good. This is very different from the import of the English phrase, *the communication of the virtues to others*, which is not true; and, indeed, not very intelligible when predicated of the Magistracy." All this may be true; but Mr. Bridgman's faulty version, considered as a medium for recovering the Greek copy, would enable us to restore the original, which the other would not. Again, the Greek author speaking of a certain end says, τι τελος, ου φρονησις αληθης υποληψις εστι, which Bridgman translates *a certain end, of which Prudence is the true hypolepsis*—"another instance (says the reviewer) of the blessings of a literal translation." He himself gives *a certain end, of which end Prudence forms the just and true estimate.* Yes! but were that an object here, how much more certainly would Mr. B.'s version lead us to a *hypolepsis* of the original text!⁵⁴

It appears, from the above remarks, that the more servile and literal a version is, the greater facilities does it afford for a restoration of the original; and that, for this purpose, such a translation is often as useful when wrong as when right. If we again refer to the *Aldine Simplicius*, we shall be astonished with what exactness the closely literal and barbarous Latin version of W. de Möerbeka has (owing to this very closeness and barbarity) enabled the Greek translator to restore the original of Simplicius. Let us take, for example, the beginning of the third book, as it exists in the Aldine edition of the Greek version of W. de Möerbeka,

⁵⁴ See *Monthly Review*, N. S. vol. lxii. p. 41 *et seqq.*

compared with the Greek text of Simplicius himself in the *Cod. Taurin.*

Editio Veneta, fol. 137.

Ουδεν ισως κωλυει και νυν
μνημονευσαι περι τε της
ολης πραγματειας σκοπε
οτι εστι περι των απλων εν
τω κοσμω σωματα, των
απο των αρχων πρωτον
συντιθεμενων. πεντε δε ουτων
τετων, ως εκ των απλων
κινησεων δεδεικται, δηλονοτι
τε κυκλω κινεμενα, και
των τεσσαρων υπο σεληνην, &c.

Cod. Taurinensis, fol. 341.

Ουδεν ισως κωλυει και νυν
υπομνησαι περι τε της
ολης πραγματειας σκοπε
οτι περι των απλων εστιν εν
τω κοσμω σωματα, των
πρωτων απο των αρχων
συνκειμενων. πεντε δε ουτων
τετων, ως εκ των απλων
εδεχθη κινησεων, τε τε
κυκλοφορητικα, και
των υπο σεληνην τεσσαρων, &c.

It appears, from the above example, how infinitely useful a barbarous literal version, like that of W. de Möerbeka, is in restoring an original⁵⁵. In fact, the above two Greek

⁵⁵ M. Jourdain thus describes these versions of Aristotle by W. de Möerbeka, &c. "Ce sont de pures versions littérales où le mot Latin couvre le mot Grec, de même que les pièces de l'échiquier s'appliquent sur les cases. L'expression originale est rarement rendue par celle qui lui correspond; la contexture de la phrase est Grecque beaucoup plus que Latine. Enfin la plupart des termes techniques sont transcrits, et non traduits, quoiqu'ils eussent pu l'être avec justesse." *Recherches*, &c. p. 21. Leo Aretin, *supra* p. 247, contrasting the old version of Boetius with that of W. de Möerbeka, says, "Nunquam ille [Boetius] architectonicam, nunquam eutrapeliam, nunquam bomolchos, et nunquam agricolas, quorum vocabula in Latino habemus Græce reliquisset." ap. Jourdain, p. 512. Roger Bacon thus speaks of W. de Möerbeka: "Et Wilhelmus iste Flemingus ut notum est omnibus Parisiis Litteratis, nullam novit scientiam in lingua Græca de qua præsumit, et ideo omnia transfert falsa, et corrumpit sapientiam Latinorum." *Op. Maj. in Jobb Praef.* ap. Jourdain *Recherches*, p. 68. In defence, however, of the translator, it must be recollected that his Greek copy might sometimes be imperfect, and that no other in the great scarcity of MSS. could be obtained. "Sciat etiam (says he on one occasion) qui hoc opus inspexerit, Exemplar Græcum valde fuisse corruptum, et in multis locis nullum subjectum potui ex littera trahere; feci tamen quod potui; melius erat sic corruptum habere, quam nihil." ap. Jourdain, p. 72. See also Mehus, *Vita Ambros. Camald.* p. ccxviii.

texts, which may represent two different recensions, differ perhaps not so much from one another as the three different recensions of the New Testament differ from one another. Such a difference of text in the early Greek copies (totally different according to Griesbach in habit and colour, *textum toto suo habitu, universoque colore diversum*;) could only have arisen, one should think, from one or more of them being versions. Even upon the supposition that they were versions, or re-translations from the Latin, it is surprising, considering the servility of early scriptural versions, that their diversity should have been so great. "I freely own (says Jerome in speaking of translation) that in translating Greek books, except in the Holy Scriptures, where *even the order of words is mystery*, I do not express word by word but sense by sense⁵⁶." The same writer remarks in his Commentary on the Ephesians: "I know the adding of the preposition *con* in the words *cohæredes*, *concorporales*, and *comparticipes*, make but an odd figure in the Latin tongue: yet because that preposition is in the Greek, and because in the Divine writings every word, syllable, tittle, and point, are full of senses, we choose, therefore, rather to forgo the composition and structure of the words than to weaken the meaning⁵⁷." It was from these sentiments of Jerome, in which that Father was not singular, that Dr. Bentley tells us, in his Proposals for printing a new edition of the Greek Testament, he "took the hint that if the oldest copies of the original Greek and Hieron's Latin were examined and com-

⁵⁶ "Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor, me in interpretatione Græcorum, absque Scripturis Sanctis, *ubi et verborum ordo et mysterium est*, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu." Hieron. ad Pammachium *Oper.* vol. ii. p. 121. II.

⁵⁷ "Scio appositionem conjunctionis ejus per quam dicitur, *cohæredes*, et *concorporales*, et *comparticipes*, indecoram facere in Latino Sermonē sententiam. Sed quia ita habetur in Græco; et singulī sermones, syllabæ apices, puncta, in Divinis Scripturis plena sunt sensibus, propterea magis volumus in compositione structuraque verborum, quam intelligentia periclitari." Hieron. in *Epist. ad Ephesios*, cap. iii.

pared together, perhaps they would be still found to agree both in words and order of words; and upon making the essay he has succeeded in his conjecture beyond his expectation or even his hopes."

Owing to the great plasticity of the Greek language, it is still more easy to divine an original Latin text from a servile Greek, than an original Greek text from a servile Latin version. There is moreover a peculiarity in our Elzevir Greek text, which, in addition to its servility, wonderfully facilitates the divination of its Latin original; and which not merely renders it as useful for this purpose when wrong as when right; but even the very mistakes of the translator are more valuable, in this view, than his most perfect conception of the text would have been. This is, if I may so express myself, the influence of *echo* in the selection of Greek words. Upon this subject I shall dilate at some length, as it may furnish a clue by which some person possessed of sufficient sagacity, learning, and leisure, may, by the Divine blessing, elicit a text much more nearly perhaps approaching the Apostolical than our common copies. The translator does not appear to have been a native Greek⁵⁸, and accordingly is di-

⁵⁸ I have, *supra*, p. 100, endeavoured to show the plausibility of a conjecture that several of the ancient translations of Books of Scripture were made by Jews or Syrians. The translators of Greek works into Arabic were neither Greeks nor Arabians. According to M. Langlès, *supra*, p. 332, all these Arabic versions from the Greek were made through the medium of the Syriac. M. Jourdain is of a different opinion. "En nous en tenant (says he) aux témoignages historiques, aux textes de Hadji Kalfa, et de Léon l'Africain, on voit que parmi les versions Arabes quelques-unes furent faites du Syriaque, le plus grand nombre du texte Grec même. Comment croire en effet que les Nestoriens ignorassent cette dernière langue, qu'elle fût inconnue des fils de Monça, d'Alkindi," &c. Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques sur l'Age*, &c. p. 87.

In Spain, the mode of translating from the Arabic was generally to have a Jew who translated from the Arabic into the vulgar tongue, and the version thus written or dictated was translated into Latin by the reputed interpreter. Thus in a prologue to the *Liber Avicennæ de Animo*, *translatuſ de Arabico in Latinum a Dominico Archidiacono*, Joannes Aven-

rected in his choice of Greek words by the Latin text; sometimes, as we have seen, converting the Latin words themselves into Greek ones; and in all cases choosing, among synonymous Greek words, that one which has been suggested to him by its having the most striking resemblance and greatest affinity in sound to the Latin one. Let us consider, for example, the similitude employed by our Lord when he was censured for performing a cure on the sabbath-day. *What man* (says Jesus, *Mat. xii. 11—13.*) *shall there be among you that shall have one sheep, and if it shall fall* τοῖς σαββάσιν εἰς βοθρὸν, οὐχὶ κρατήσῃ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐγείρῃ; ποσῶ οὖν διαφείρῃ ἀνθρώπος προβάτου; ὥστε ἐξέσται τοῖς σαββάσι καλῶς ποιεῖν. Τότε λέγει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· Ἐκτεῖνον τὴν χεῖρα σου, καὶ ἐξέτεινε. All this to my ear has rather the echo of Latin than of Greek, and re-conducts the reader to its Latin archetype. Let us now consult the Vulgate, *et si ceciderit hæc Sabbatis in foveam, nonne tenebit et levabit eam? quanto magis melior est homo ovæ? itaque licet Sabbatis benefacere. Tunc ait homini extende manum tuam et extendit.* This Latin is evidently not that text from which the Elzevir Greek was derived. The τοῖς σαββάσιν shows, indeed, that the original had been *Sabbatis*, as the Romans used this word in the plural. The βοθρὸν had been suggested by *fodinam* in the Latin archetype. The ἐγείρῃ of the Greek text (which properly means to awaken from sleep) points to *eriget*, and διαφείρῃ to *differt*. The καλῶς ποιεῖν of the Greek text leads back to *benefacere*, with which indeed the Vulgate coincides, as also in *εκτεῖνον τὴν χεῖρα σου καὶ ἐξέτεινε*, which is the very echo of *extende ma-*

dehut Israëlita writes thus to the Bishop of Toledo: "Hunc igitur librum vobis præcipientibus, et me singula verba vulgariter proferente, et Dominico Archiacono singula in Latinum convertente, ex Arabico translatus," &c. Jourdain, pp. [102, 115, 144, 505.] Roger Bacon says of the famous Michael Scot, "Michael Scotus, ignarus quidem et verborum et rerum, fere omnia quæ sub nomine ejus prodierunt ab Andrea [Aven-
dar?] quodam Judæo mutuatus est." Compare *ibid.* pp. 141. and 118. It appears, indeed, that it was not necessary to be a conjurer in order to translate from Arabic.

num tuam et extendit. The original Latin therefore ran nearly as follows, *et si ceciderit hæc Sabbatis in fodinam, nonne tenebit et eriget eam? quanto autem differt homo* &c. It is thus, if I mistake not, that we may often detect readings which not only argue a Latin original, but that the Latin words of that original were converted, with a slight change, into Greek ones. I formerly [p. 250] mentioned the errors of NOMINUM for HOMINUM, of VERITAS for VIRTUS, &c. in our Elzevir text, and the list of mistakes there given might have been greatly enlarged. At *Luke* ii. 15, we find in our Elzevir text *οἱ ἀνθρώποι, οἱ ποιμένες*. In some venerable MSS. and versions *οἱ ἀνθρώποι* are wanting, and arose probably from some confusion of the Greek ΠΟΙΜΕΝΕΣ with the Latin HOMINES, which latter word was translated into Greek; and thus we have the agglomeration *οἱ ἀνθρώποι* and *οἱ ποιμένες*. A confusion of a similar kind appears to have taken place at *Rom.* xiii. 12. *Let us put on the ARMOUR [όπλα] of light.* Here instead of 'ΟΠΛΑ, some of the most venerable MSS. read *εργα*, of which the original had been OPERA; and I can only account for this diversity by some confusion having been created between 'ΟΠΛΑ and OPERA⁵⁹. In like manner there is a divided text, *John* xi. 31, *λεγοντες* and *δοξαντες*, from *dicentes* in one of the recensions being changed into a Greek word nearly resembling it in sound and appearance. At *Rev.* ii. 26, *He that keepeth my WORKS unto the end*, Grotius, approved of by Schleusner, thinks that ΕΡΓΑ is placed for λογους VERBA⁶⁰. It appears to me, indeed, that it is only by

⁵⁹ Of the confusion of *r* and *l*, see *supra*, p. 106. "When *λ* comes before a consonant, in words of Hellenic origin, the modern Greeks often convert it into *ρ*, as *ἀδερφος* for *ἀδελφος*... The sound and writing of *κλ* and *κρ* are often used indifferently. On the other hand, the *ρ* of Hellenic words is sometimes, but not so often, converted into *λ* in Romaic, as in *πλῶρη, πρῶν*, from Hellenic *πρωρα*." &c. Leake, *Researches*, p. 5.

⁶⁰ Schleusner, EPTON, No. 14. We find in the *Iliad.* i. 294,

ὅς δὲ σοὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὑπείξομαι ὅττι κεν εἴποις.

Homer, according to Bentley, never says *εργον ειπειν*, but always *επος ειπειν*, and he wishes to substitute *τι επος υποειξομαι*. See *Edin. Review*, vol. ii. p. 327.

the influence of some similarity in sound and appearance with corresponding Latin words, that we can account for many of the unusual words and unusual significations of words in the New Testament. The word ῥημα, for example, which among the Greek writers signifies merely *verbum*, is used also in the New Testament for *rem*, not as it seems to me for the reason usually given, but from the influence of the Latin *rem*⁶¹. Valckenaer remarks that ξηρα is used for *terra* in the New Testament, a use of the word unknown to the ancient Greeks, but to be ascribed to the Hebrew; a thing, says he, which H. Vitranga does not deny⁶². Whether Vitranga denies it, or not, does not much signify; but it seems to me no Hebraism, but merely the Latin word *terra* a little disguised. This is constantly the case in the New Testament; and without seeking about for specimens, I shall confine myself to the terrestrial topic now before me. We see here ξηρα *terra*; βοθυνον is *fodinam*; σπηλαιον is *spelunca*. Our Lord, *Mat.* viii. 20, speaks of the foxes having φωλεους, which means properly the *den of a serpent*; but the original of our Elzevir text had been *foreas*. "The usage of ψωμιον (says a writer in the *Quart. Review*, vol. xi. 466) in the sense of *bread* is by no means modern, as Mr. Leake supposes. It bears no other sense in the New Testament." Whether this proves it to be "by no means modern" I leave to others; but I would suggest that ψωμιον may have acquired the sense of *panem*, from its resemblance to that word. In short, the very

⁶¹ ῥημα *verbum* in *N. T.* etiam *rem* denotat, ut *Luc.* i. 37. Act. x. 37. quia רִמָּה, eadem passim denotat. Leusden *De Hebraismis Nov. Test.* ap. Rhenferd *Syntagma*, p. 432. Valckenaer in a note on *Luke* ii. 15. remarks, το ῥημα] "Hebraica eadem vox et *verbum* et *rem* significat. Hinc Judæi Hellenistæ voci ῥημα apud Græcos *verbum* significanti, rei etiam notionem contribuerunt, quæ hic locum invenit." *Scholæ*, vol. i. 77.

⁶² "Terra opposite ad mare Scriptoribus *N. T.* dicitur ἡ ξηρα, ut *Matth.* xxiii. 15. Is usus Græcis veteribus ignotus ex Hebraismo repetendus est, quod non negat H. Vitranga ad Vorst." V. *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 584. ξηρα is Romaic for *terra*. The use of the word αγρος in the various senses of the Latin *ager* is very frequent also in the *N. T.*

ergo of the Latins is in the Elzevir Greek Testament converted into *Agayē*⁶³; and every thing seems to prove that this Greek text was all along suggested by the Latin⁶⁴.

This formation of a Greek upon a Latin text is still more remarkable in the Epistles than the Gospels, and seems in some instances to be the true key to those Epistles. Let us take for example *Rom. xi. 1*, which in our common version (formed in this instance on a text resembling the Elzevir) is as follows, *I say then hath God cast away his people? God forbid! . . . God hath not cast away his people which he FORE-KNEW*. This to me is utter darkness. The Greek is οὐκ ΑΠΩΣΑΤΟ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὃν ΠΡΟΕΓΝΩ, *Non repulit Deus plebem suam quam præcivit*. [Vulg.], which to my optics is equally obscure. But let us translate it into Latin, echoing (so to speak) with the Greek, *Non seposuit Deus populum suum quem progenuit*, and we see the beauty and tenderness of the phrase. The Apostle goes on to quote Isaiah and David on the subject of the fall of the Jews, verses 8 and 9, *And David saith, Let their table be made a snare &c.*, after which the Apostle says *Λεγω οὐν μὴ ΕΠΤΑΙΣΑΝ ἵνα πεσῶσι &c.* *Dico ergo, Numquid sic offenderunt ut caderent? absit!* [Vulg.] *I say then have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid!*—To me utter darkness! especially as in the next line

⁶³ See *supra*, p. 237.

⁶⁴ For example, our Lord compares the kingdom of heaven “unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind, which when it was full they drew to shore, and sat down and gathered the good into vessels, but cast the BAD away.” *Mat. xiii. 48.* τὰ δὲ ΣΑΙΠΑ ἐξω ἐβάλον. On this Price remarks: “Σαπρὰ intellige ἰχθυδία nullius ob exiguitatem rei.” *in loc.* If this be its genuine sense, it is probable that *parvos* in the original suggested the word Σαπρὰ, which properly means *putrid*. Μοσχός (says Mede) Hellenists *BOS* est *Ezek. i. 10. Exod. xxxiv. 19. Num. viii. 17.* et alibi quadragies, p. 544. Why this but from the affinity of the Latin with the Greek word, as M and B were often interchanged? See *supra*, p. 228. So φῶς, for the fire, from *focus*, *Mark xiv. 54.* In the various readings on *Mark xv. 28*, we have νεκρῶν as a various reading of ἀνομῶν, from some confusion probably of the latter with the Latin *inanimus*.

their fall is taken for granted. But let us convert *ἐπτασαν* into *appeteabant*, its Latin echo, and something distinct is gained. The passages which Paul had been quoting from the ancient prophets seemed imprecatory against the Jews; and accordingly, after having quoted them, he goes on thus, *I say then did they [Isaiah and David] wish that they should fall? God forbid*⁶⁵!

By the method which has in the preceding pages been un-

⁶⁵ Such mistakes in our Greek Vulgate (if they be mistakes) as those here mentioned, are chiefly, as might be expected, to be found in the *Epistles*. In the *Gospels* I have observed few phrases, though there are many words which seem to be mistranslations. Of these phrases which seem to me to be thus misconceived, I shall give one example. Our Lord, speaking of John, says in the Latin Vulgate, *Mat. xi. 12. A diebus autem Joannis Baptistæ usque nunc, regnum cælorum vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud*. Commentators contend and have contradictory opinions respecting the sense of this passage. By the *Violentes* or *Βίαιοι*, Whitby, Schleusner, &c. understand the *ardently pious*, while Wetstein says, *Intelligo igitur publicanos et milites*. Mr. Middleton, who accedes to this opinion, says, "Michaelis understands the place as I do, provided, he adds, that no mistake has been committed by the Greek translator of Matthew's Hebrew original." *Greek Article*, p. 211. It appears to me probable, that in the original Latin translation of Matthew's Hebrew, the passage ran thus: *regno cælorum via patetur, et volentes*, &c. The terminations *um* and *o*, as *regnum* and *regno*, are a hundred times confounded in MSS. In one of Maffei's ancient Papyri, we have *relectum est*, written by one of the witnesses, *ῥελεκτο ἐστ*, and by four *relictum est*. *Istor. Diplom.* p. 166. *supra*, p. 291. From a like Iotacism *patetur* has been read *patitur*, and this probably affected the whole phrase, and gave rise to the present unintelligible Greek translation, and the corruption of the Latin Vulgate.

In the book of *Acts* more corruptions occur than in the *Gospels*. Some of these I have pointed out, and shall here add one. Perhaps *Acts xxiv. 22*, should be read thus: *And when Felix heard these things, he deferred them, and said, Having more perfect knowledge of the PREVIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES, when Lysias the chief captain shall come down, &c.* *prævia* has been translated *πρὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ*, and thus rendered unintelligible. See our English version. It is only where the Vulgate Greek text is absolutely unintelligible, that I should venture conjectures similar to the above.

folded to the reader, it appears to me not impossible to recover a text approximating far more nearly to the original than the Elzevir Greek text. Michaelis speaking of the valuable work of Bianchini says, that an editor "would deserve the thanks of the public who would publish in a less sumptuous manner the Latin text of the four manuscripts" of the Gospels which he published⁶⁶; and the like may be said of the portion of Sabatier's work which contains the New Testament. Or rather it were to be wished that a Latin Testament, on the model of Griesbach's Greek one, should be published, with various readings from MSS. and even occasionally from the most literal modern Latin versions. This would greatly facilitate the restitution of the Latin text, from which our Elzevir Greek was derived. In divining this Latin text, it will be necessary to adhere as much as possible to the letter, which has been strictly adhered to by the Greek interpreter, whose Greek words seem often to have been suggested by the very sound of the Latin words before him. For example, *Matt. xiv. 22*, *εὐθὺς ηὐγαγασε* is thus differently translated *statim JUSSIT Brix. Verc., COMPULIT Vulg., COEGIT Cant.* This latter seems to be the primitive Latin; and it probably suggested, by an affinity of sound, the Greek verb employed by the translator.

As a specimen at once of the origin of recensions, and of the mode of discovering the primitive text, I would refer to a quotation in a preceding part of this work. In *Acts iv. 37*, we find [*supra* p. 386] an interpolation after the word *μία* in two ancient Greek manuscripts. Cyprian had read in his Latin copy *neq. fuit inter illos discrimen ullum*⁶⁷. This, in the *Codex Bezae*, has been translated with a kind of echo of the original, *καὶ οὐκ ἦν διακρισις ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδεμία*. In *Cod. E.* or *Laud. ζ*, we have *καὶ οὐκ ἦν χωρισμός ἐν αὐτοῖς τις*. Here now we have two recensions, and it would be very easy to form from these elements a third, as for example *καὶ χωρισμός οὐκ*

⁶⁶ Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 110.

⁶⁷ See *supra*, p. 386. Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 270.

ην εν αυτοις. Let us now observe the Latin versions. We have in the *Cod. Beza*, "et non erat *accusatio* in eis ulla." In the *Cod. Laud.* "et non erat *separatio* in eis ulla." Here now we have two Latin versions from the Greek; and as both *accusatio* and *separatio* are easier words than *discrimen*, the primigenial word vanishes from MSS., and is to be found only in Cyprian. But the *διακρισις* of the *Cod. Beza*, suggested by the Latin *discrimen*, suggests in turn the latter as its archetype—which is the word most suitable to the place—the word which gave rise to the different Greek recensions by which it was supplanted,—and which Greek recensions gave rise, in turn, to new Latin versions;.

In fact, so strong has been the influence of echo in the interpretation and transcription of the New Testament, that it accounts for a number of various readings hitherto inexplicable. Let us take, for example, *Rom. xiii. 5*, which passage, as Michaelis remarks, is written in three different ways: "1. The common reading is *διο αναγκη υποτασσεσθαι*: 2. Four *Codices Latinizantes* have *διο υποτασσεσθε*, a reading followed by Irenæus, Hilary, and the Gothic version: 3. The *Editio Complutensis* has *διο αναγκη υποτασσεσθε*, with which the Vulgate agrees, where we find *ideo necessitate subditi estote*, which might be given in better Latin *ideo necessitati parete*⁶⁸."

Michaelis writes about and about this passage, without being able to expiscate the true reading, though he makes the following declaration, which should seem to imply that he thought the *Epistle to the Romans* may originally have been written in Latin: "It is true (says he) that the majority of MSS., as well as the Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic, are in favour of the common reading [*διο αναγκη υποτασσεσθαι*]; but as the mistake was easily committed, I am rather inclined to abide by the authority of the Latin version, and four ancient Latinizing MSS., in regard to a reading in the *Epistle to the Romans*."

In fact, it appears to me that the archetype of our Elzevir

⁶⁸ Michaelis, *Introd.* vol. i. pp. 278, 290, 503.

text had been *ideo subditi estote*, which is rightly translated in the Græco-Latin MSS. *διο ὑποτασσεσθε*. As *m* and *n*, however, were often left out in writing,—a practice which was continued long after the invention of printing,—or from some resemblance in sound, *ideo subditi estote* was read *ideo subditi necessitate*. Hence the absurd Greek reading *διο αναγκη υποτασσεσθε*, and from this again the interpolation in the Vulgate *ideo necessitate subditi estote*, “which might be given (says Michaelis) in better Latin *ideo necessitati parete*.” This *better Latin* of Michaelis blows the sand over every tract which might lead us to the original; and is another proof that the more literal, nay the more barbarous, a version is, the greater is its utility in the discovery of the text from which it was derived.

Another passage exceedingly famous, and which has occasioned much critical discussion, is 1 *John* iv. 3, where the common reading is *ὁ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα*. Instead of this Greek, the Vulgate merely reads *qui solvit Jesum*; and Socrates asserts that the reading of ancient MSS. was *ὁ λυεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν*. “I should like (says Porson) to have seen a few of these ancient MSS. For at present every Greek MS., every version except the Vulgate, most of the Greek Fathers (all according to Mr. Griesbach), and some, though few, of the Latins, agree in the common reading . . . however, if you chuse to defend Socrates, you will have the concurrence of that orthodox divine Mr. Gibbon. For my own part I think that his decision is very uncritical⁶⁹.” From the diversity of text Ernesti is driven to suppose with Hemsterhuis, that the Apostles may have published different editions of their writings; and that in one of John’s copies of his Epistles there might be *ὁ λυεῖ*, and in another *ὁ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ*, &c.⁷⁰.

⁶⁹ Porson; *Letters to Travis*, p. 388. Gibbon, *Decline*, &c. vol. iv. p. 540, or viii. 272. Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. viii. c. 32. See also Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 289, 509, who prefers *ὁ λυεῖ*, and is opposed by Marsh.

⁷⁰ “In cæteris in quibus nihil habet textus Græcus unde Latina lec-

It appears to me that some echo or misconception has given rise to the reading of *solvit*, which has occasioned such perplexity. Tertullian reads *QUI NEGAT Christum in carne tenuisse*, translating *μη ὁμολογεῖ* by *negat*. Another interpreter had read *μη ὁμολογεῖ non homo ligat*, changed afterwards to *solvit*, as Tertullian uses *negat* instead of *non consentit*. Or possibly he supposed that *εληλυθота* was a word formed from *λυω solvo*, and that the whole phrase *ὁ μη ὁμολογεῖ*, &c. was equivalent to *qui solvit Jesum*.

In the *Codex Beza*, after *Matt. xx. 28*, we find an interpolation which begins thus : *ὁμεις δε ζητετε εκ μικρου αυξησαι, και εκ μειζονος ΕΛΑΤΤΟΝειναι*, &c. *vos autem quæritis de minimo crescere, et de magno minui*, &c. This last injunction is at variance with the tenor of the passage, which is an advice to sit down in a low place at a feast, and still to be advanced higher. The reader will find various versions in Griesbach, and also the quite different reading *et de magnis majores esse*, which is true to the sense, but which still was not the arche-

tio nasci potuerit, et sunt tamen sensu bonæ, ut 1 *Jo. iv. 3*, *qui solvit Jesum*, *λυει* pro *μη ὁμολογεῖ*, fortasse aliquis suspicetur cum Hemsterhuisio, viros sanctos ipsos plura exempla sua manu scripsisse, et in aliis aliter quædam expressisse, salva sententia, saltem hactenus, ut esset utraque bona et vera : nam ejus generis exempla etiam in humanis scriptis quædam occurrunt. Quo constituto, utraque lectio *θειοπνευστος* esset." Ammon adds, in a note on this passage, "De Aristophane, Cicero, et Apollonio Rhodio constet illos bis edidisse *Nubes*, *Academica*, *Argonautica*. Idem de quibusdam libris *N. T.* suspicari ægre liceat, cum propter temporum illorum egestatem et inopiam, tum propter Apostolicam scribendi imperitiam." (*Gal. vi. 11.*) Ernesti himself adds, to the above conjecture, the following : "Sed ei conjecturæ fidem detrahit hoc, quod ea diversitas non est unius aut paucorum, sed omnium librorum." *Instit. Interpr. N. T.* p. 204. This notion of several originals not exactly corresponding was supported by Dr. Worthington in one of his *Boyle's Lectures*. See *Critic. Review*, vol. xxix. Lond. 1769. "Aliorum quoque Scriptorum duplicem editionem ad nos pervenisse, haud ignorant eruditi. De Maximi Tyrii *Dissertationibus* Jer. Marklandus id docuit Præfat. p. xxii. ed. Reisk. et passim in Commentario; de Apollonii Rhodii carmine, Dav. Ruhnkenius, *Epistolæ Criticæ*, ii. p. 190." Eichstädt, *Lucretius*, p. lxxx. Lipsiæ 1801. 8vo.

type of the Greek text of the *Codex Beza*. This appears to me to have been *vos autem quia rite de parvo augeri, et de majore ELATOS esse*, and that from ELATOS sprung EAATTON, which has perverted the meaning of the passage⁷¹.

In speaking of the *Codex Beza*, and of the perversion of a passage, it occurs to me that it may be proper for me to advert for a moment to the parable of the two Sons, *Matth.* xxi. 28, which in our version is as follows: *A certain man had two sons; and he came to the first, and said, Son, go work to-day in my vineyard. He answered and said, I will not: but afterward he repented, and went. And he came to the second, and said likewise. And he answered and said, I [go], sir: and went not. Whether of them twain did the will of his father? They say unto him, THE FIRST.* Instead of the first, as in the common text, the Old Italic read the last; and this was the reading of Augustin and Hilary, and is corroborated by several ancient versions. Jerome, however, affirms that in the true copies the reading was not *novissimus* but *primus*. In fact, it seems utterly preposterous that, as the story is related in the present text, the second son should be considered as performing the will of his father. On the other hand, the application, as the text now stands, seems forced and unnatural. It appears to me that the answer of the youngest (of which there are many various readings) must have stood thus in the archetype, "*Egone?*"... *et abiit. "Do you mean me?"... and he went*, which has been erroneously turned into Greek, *Εγω... και ουκ απηλθε*—thus by the separation of the enclitic from *εγω* converting it into a negative, and totally altering its meaning. In fact, that the elder son, by whom in parables the Jews are represented, was not the person who in preference performed his father's will, is obvious from the application made by our Saviour. *Jesus saith unto them... that the publicans and the harlots [the second son] go into the kingdom of God before you... and ye, when ye had seen it, [as the first son saw the second,]*

⁷¹ Cf the frequent interchange of Σ and Ν see *supra*, p. 399.

repented not afterward like him and followed his example⁷². Two famous MSS., the *Cod. Beza* and *Vatican*, preserve the genuine answer. Of these MSS. the former reads *εσχατος*, the latter *ὅστοςτος*, a circumstance which proves that one or both have been translated from the Latin. It is in such passages, as I formerly remarked [p. 388,] which have not received the same degree of recension with the general text, that we can most readily detect a Latin original⁷³.

Before leaving this part of my subject, I may remark that there is a passage in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, quoted by Tertullian, which has given no little trouble to biblical critics, and to explain the origin of which many abortive attempts have been made. This is *Ileb. vi. 5*, thus quoted by that Father: *Impossibile est enim, eos qui semel inluminati sunt, et donum cæleste gustaverunt, et participaverunt Spiritum Sanctum, et verbum Dei dulce gustaverunt OCCIDENTE JAM ÆVO cum exciderint, rursus revocari in penitentiam, &c.*⁷⁴ Instead of *occidente jam ævo*, we have in our Elzevir text *δυναμεις τε μελλοντος αιωνος*, and Mill, Semler, Griesbach,

⁷² Although Jerome prefers the present reading, he seems to admit that the other affords the plainest sense. "Sciendum est in veris Exemplaribus non haberi *novissimum* sed *primum*. Si autem *novissimum* voluerimus legere, manifesta est interpretatio, ut dicamus, intelligere quidem veritatem Judæos, sed tergiversari." Hieron. *Com. in Mat. xxi.*

⁷³ Of the necessity of consulting ancient MSS., when they can be obtained, we have a proof in a note of Saubert on this very passage. "Juvencus (says he) Poeta Christianus ac Presbyter, qui floruisse fertur circa annum Christi ccxxxx, nulla in antecedentibus facta mutatione ita locum recenset:

Dicite, quis potius genitoris jussa sequatur?

Illi collaudant *nati responsa prioris.*

Ita quidem hactenus editio vetus. At in antiquissimâ optimæque notæ membranâ (quam ego diu desideratam Juvenci novam editionem paraturus manibus jam tero) quæ ab impressis Codicibus magnopere plurimisque in locis discrepat, ita leguntur Juvenci verba manuscripta:

Illi collaudant *responsum posterioris.*"

Sauberti *Varia Lektionen*, p. 258.

⁷⁴ Tertullian, Lib. *De Pudicitia*, cap. 20, *Oper.* p. 582.

and Matthæi, all conjecture that the version of Tertullian was owing to some erasure or abbreviation or omission in the original Greek; but what that was they do not agree⁷⁵. Now, in the first place, it seems to me that the text of Tertullian makes very good sense; whereas no commentator whom I have consulted has been able to give the slightest probable meaning to the Greek text. *It is impossible* (says the Apostle in Tertullian's text) *for those who have been once enlightened and have tasted of the heavenly gift... if they fall away IN THE DECLINE OF LIFE* [occidente jam ævo] *again to be recalled to repentance &c.* This is good sense, and is agreeable to reason and to analogy; but what to make of *δυναμεις τε μελλοντος αιωνος* no commentator has yet been able to tell us, and I believe it would puzzle both Œdipus and the Sphinx. In fact, I suspect that the Latin original of our Elzevir text was *vires debilitante ævo*, which is equivalent to *occidente jam ævo*, and that this has been converted into Greek *δυναμεις δεμελλοντος αιωνος*⁷⁶. We have various similar specimens in our Elzevir Greek text. Thus,

⁷⁵ See Rosenmüller, *Hist. Interp. Lib. Sacr.* Part. II. p. 27; who refers to Mill, *Prolegom.* No. 626. Semler, *Dissert. de varia et incerta Libror. Tertull. Indole*, p. 253. Griesbach, *Hist. Textus Græci*, § 6. p. 73; and Matthæi, *N. T. ad h. l.* Rosenmüller himself says: "Verba Latina *occidente jam ævo* nullo modo respondent his Græcis *δυναμεις τε μελλοντος αιωνος*, unde verisimile est, translationis auctorem imperitum adhuc phrasium N. Testamenti, deceptum compendio litterarum Græcarum, sic reddidisse." *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ In some MSS. μ and β have a near resemblance. See *Alphab. Murbac.* ap. Montfaucon, *Palæogr. Græca*, p. 222. Griesbach remarks on *Matt.* i. 4, "Pro Αμιναδα 25 circiter Codices legunt Αμιναδαμ. Error ex permutatione litterarum β et μ , in Scriptura mediæ ævi minuscula simili fere ductu exaratarum." *Comment. Crit. in Text. Græc. N. T.* p. 9. Was the Latin word *debilitante*? = *δεμελλοντος*. "Chartæ vero Membranacæ (says Montfaucon) Græcè vocantur *Μεμβρανα*, *Μεμβρανον*, *Βεμβρανα*, *Βεμβρανον*, *Βεμβραϊνα*." *Palæogr. Græca*, p. 17. I may remark also that I have some doubts about the justness of the sense given by Interpreters and Commentators to the subsequent part of the verse, *ανασταυρωτας* &c. as we shall see in the following note.

Mark x. 21, our Lord thus addresses the rich young man : *Go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me, TAKING UP THE CROSS.* This last phrase, which in Greek is *αγας τον σταυρον*, is wanting in some of the best manuscripts, and is placed in a different part of the sentence by others. It is wanting, also, in the Italic, Vulgate, and Coptic. These circumstances prove that it is a marginal reading inserted into the text; and, in fact, I believe that *αγας τον σταυρον* is the Latin word *restauratum*. We find in the Vulgate *et habebis Thesaurum in calo*. Some one had in a Latin copy placed in the margin, or interlined, *restauratum*; and this, changed into *αγας τον σταυρον*, has been taken into different parts of the text⁷⁷. At *Matt.* vi. 6, *εν τω φανερω*

⁷⁷ At the conclusion of the preceding note I remarked that I have some doubts about the justness of the sense given by Interpreters &c. to the subsequent part of *Heb.* vi. 6, *ανασταυρυντας εαυτοις τον υιον τε Θεου και παραδειγματιζοντας*, *russum crucifigentes sibi metipsos filium Dei, et ostentui habentes*. Vulg. "*ανασταυρυντας* (says Valckenaer) plerique omnes interpretati sunt: *ut qui russum crucifigant*. Interpretationem istam, ab Auctoris mente minime sane alienum magna vi in *Exercitt. Phil.* oppugnavit Bossius, Veterum loca produccens in quibus το ανασταυρυν simpliciter notet *cruci suffigere*. Recte! sed nullus etiam locus dari potest in Scriptoribus antiquis, in quo hæc virtus *russum cruci affigendi* locum habere possit. Vel sic tamen Scriptori nostro licuit, sensu id postulante, verbo eam potestatem tribuere." Valckenaer, *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 500. I strongly suspect that the original had been *instaurantes*, converted into this improper word *ανασταυρυντας*, and that the sentiment of the Apostle was *RENEWING AGAIN in themselves the Son of God, and exhibiting him as an example*. So also when Paul, *1 Cor.* i. 17, says that he was sent to preach the Gospel, *not with wisdom of words, lest the CROSS [ὁ σταυρος] of Christ should be made of none effect*, I strongly suspect the original was *INSTAURATIO*; and so also when he speaks, *Philipp.* iii. 18, of the *enemies of the CROSS of Christ*. The custom of making the word in one language as like the other as possible, was so common, that Jerome makes the following remark on *Ephes.* i. 10: "*Pro recapitulare [ανακεφαλαιωσασθαι] in Latinis Codicibus scriptum est instaurare, et miror cur ipso verbo Græco non usi sint translators.*" Hieron. *in loc.*

is wanting in the *Vatican* and *Cambridge MSS.*, and in the Vulgate, Coptic, and Sahidic versions; and according to Augustin it was in his time wanting in the Greek copies. We read in the Latin Vulgate, *et Pater tuus, qui videt in abscondito, reddet tibi*. Some one had interlined or written on the margin of a Latin copy *cum favore* or *fanerato*, which had been Grecized into *εν τῷ φανερω* and taken into the text. At *Matt.* ix. 13, Griesbach has remanded *εις μετανοian* into the margin, whence I doubt not it originally came—some one having added *AD MUTATIONEM* to our Lord's declaration, *non enim veni vocare justos, sed peccatores*. It is not unlikely that *ειρη*, *Matt.* v. 22, which has occasioned so much controversy, was merely at first the Latin *ecce!* placed on the margin to call the reader's attention to a most important declaration. And, while on this text, I may remark, that when we read in Justin Martyr, that whosoever is enraged at his brother *ενοχος εστιν εις το ητη*, instead of the common text *ενοχος εστιν τη κρισει*, I cannot account for this but by supposing that the word *forum* has been read *focum*. In short, it appears to me that, so far as the New Testament is concerned (as things are now situated), it is the Latin language principally which furnishes

“—that golden key

That opes the palace of eternity.”

We have now, indeed, examined in succession the sentiments of the most eminent editors of the New Testament; and we have seen that, however hostile to one another, or however little they suspected such a consequence, they all seem to point towards the hypothesis of some early Latin archetype. In our preceding disquisition, we saw that the most ancient Greek MSS. of the New Testament were accused of Latinizing; and we have seen in this, that according to Griesbach, there existed even in the beginning of the third century two different recensions of the Greek New Testament *totally different in habit and colour*. Now I must once more affirm, what I before contended, that recensions *totally different in habit and colour* seem to imply translation, and that

it appears inconceivable how this could happen in the same original untranslated work⁷⁸.

But to take leave of the subject of recensions, I may remark that it were easy for me to adduce a variety of other phenomena which seem to imply that the Greek text of many of our MSS. is a version from the Latin. From a *Scholium*, for example, in a *Cod. C. Barbarini* we learn that the quotation from *Hosea* (*Matt.* ii. 18), while it differs from the Septuagint, agrees with Aquila. It is remarked in the same *Cod.* that the Apostles sometimes use the Septuagint, sometimes the *Koinē* or Vulgate, sometimes the *Hebraic* or Aquila, whose version obtained that name among the Greek Fathers⁷⁹. Now, as Aquila lived in the second century, it is evident that the Apostles could not have made use of his version. Upon this argument, however, which I merely mention in passing, I do not insist. I might remark, also, that Faustus the Manichean contended that the *very titles* of the Gospels, *κατὰ Ματθαίον*, according to *Matthew*, &c. are a proof that they were not written by the Evangelists themselves, but merely

⁷⁸ See *supra*, p. 409.

⁷⁹ See ap. Hody *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* pp. 246, 276; Usher, *Synagma*, pp. 26, 29. In *Matt.* xxiv. 15, the *βδελυγμα της ερημωσης*, there said to be spoken of by *Daniel the Prophet*, is to be found *Dan.* xii. 11, in our present Greek version, which is that of Theodotion. Dr. Macknight has the following note on 1 *Cor.* xv. 54: "Bishop Pearce, in his note on this verse, observes that the LXX. translation of *Isaiah* xxv. 8, here quoted, runs thus: *κατεπιεν ὁ θάνατος ισχυρας*, *Death having prevailed hath swallowed up*; but that in Theodotion's version the words are the same with the Apostle's." Of a like coincidence with Aquila, see Heins. *Exercitt. Sacr.* on 1 *Cor.* xiv. 21. Where the coincidence is merely in some synonymous word with that made use of by the LXX., or consists in a more accurate version from the Hebrew, it is explicable without transcription; but this cannot so easily be done where the sense is changed and agrees neither with the *Heb.* nor *Sept.*

Since the above was written, I find that the phrase *το βδελυγμα της ερημωσης* was also employed by the LXX. at *Daniel* xii. 11. See *Daniel secund. Septuaginta*, p. 98. edit. Segaar Traject. 1775.

a compilation from what the Evangelists had preached⁸⁰. This objection has puzzled some critics of no common eminence; and it seems to me that the easiest way of getting rid of it, and of many other objections much more forcible, is by supposing our Greek copies to be versions. If Matthew, as is now universally acknowledged, be a version, and is entitled *κατα Ματθαιον*, its being a translation is a good reason for this epigraph; but one cannot so well account for the same titles to the other Gospels unless they also were translations. Mill represents it as a curious peculiarity of the *Codex Leicestrensis* (which is considered by Michaelis to be a singular and valuable Manuscript) that its titles to the Gospels are *Εκ του κατα Μαρκον Ευαγγελιον· Εκ του κατα Λουκαν Ευαγγελιον· Ευαγγελιον εκ του κατα Ιωαννην*⁸¹. The most probable account of this seems to be that the transcriber considered the Gospels in this MS. (full according to Wetstein of Latinizing readings) as versions from the Latin. A like inference may perhaps be made from a *Codex Regius* 2862, written in 1168, at the end of which a note occurs in which the titles of the Gospels are given as in the Leicester Manuscript⁸².

⁸⁰ "Asseverantes se SECUNDUM EOS scripsisse." Faust. ap. August. lib. xxxii. 2. "Et SECUNDUM EOS scribere se profiterentur Evangelia." lib. xvii. 2. &c. "La seconde objection (snys Beausobre) est tirée des titres des Evangiles. Fauste prétend, que cette expression *Evangile SELON Matthieu, SELON Luc*, ne veut pas dire écrit par S. Matthieu, par S. Luc, mais recueilli de la Prédication de S. Matthieu, de S. Luc; de sorte que, si nous en croyons cet Hérétique, les titres seuls des Evangiles montrent, que S. Matthieu, que S. Luc, &c. n'en sont point les Auteurs. Il semble que M. Simon ait trouvé cette objection plus solide qu'elle n'est." Beausobre, *Hist. Critique de Maniché*, vol. i. p. 297. Simon, *Hist. Crit. du N. T. P.* i. p. 20, 21.

⁸¹ Mill, *Proleg.* No. 67, also 1505, 1506. Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 274. Wetstein, *Proleg.* p. 53, who represents the titles as *Εκ τῶ κατα Μαρκον Ευαγγελιῶ· Εκ τῶ κατα Λουκαν Ευαγγελιῶ· Εκ τῶ κατα Ιωαννην Ευαγγελιῶ*.

⁸² "In fine vero hæc nota habetur, quam non prætermittendam duxi-

I shall now close this Disquisition, and the present work, by an application of our hypothesis to a phenomenon in the Gospels which has occasioned much discussion among Biblical critics. As the discourses of our Blessed Saviour were delivered not in Greek, but in Syro-Chaldaic, it might have been expected that the Evangelists should have differed very greatly in giving these discourses in a different language. And yet we find that in many cases two of them, and sometimes all the three, agree not merely in relating the same things in the same manner, but they even correspond word for word, or at least their texts might pass for the same original, in which a variety of copies had produced a few trifling deviations. Nor is this all; but occasionally in parallel passages a word is used by the Evangelists which is neither common in itself, nor employed by them at any other time when it might have been adopted with the same propriety⁸³. Now this seems to demonstrate that there has been some connexion; for should we find a page of an author translated by two different persons so as to agree nearly verbally, we should scarcely hesitate to affirm that the one was a copy of the other; but our conviction would be complete, if in these versions a few strange and foreign words were used in the same places of each, though the passage might have been rendered in terms which were common and familiar.

Of this coincidence of the Greek texts of the Evangelists, compared with that of the same text in our English ver-

mus, Εκ τῆ κατὰ Ματθαίον Ευαγγελίου, εγγραφή 'Εβραϊστί ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ... Εκ τῆ κατὰ Μάρκον, εγγραφή 'Ρωμαϊστί ἐν 'Ρωμῇ.... Εκ τῆ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Ευαγγελίου εγγραφή 'Ελληνιστί, &c. [*Ex Evangelio secundum Matthæum, scriptum est Hebraice in Palæstina... Ex Evangelio secundum Marcum, scriptum est Latine Romæ... Ex Evangelio secundum Lucam scriptum est Græce, &c.*]” Wetstein, *Proleg.* p. 46. See also Montfaucon, *Palæograph. Græc.* pp. 61, 306; in which work, p. 308, a *fac-simile* is given of the MS.

⁸³ See numerous examples of this adduced by Dr. Marsh in *Michaelis*, vol. v. pp. 215, 221, 251, 257, 263, 275, 287, 291, 303.

sion, we may take the following specimen given by Dr. Marsh, v. p. 334.

<i>Greek expressions used both by St. Mark and by St. Luke.</i>	<i>Translations of them in St. Mark's Gospel. [xii. 38, 39.]</i>	<i>Translations of them in St. Luke's Gospel. [xx. 46.]</i>
των θελοντων	which love	which desire
περιπατειν	to go	to walk
εν στολαις	in long clothing	in long robes
ασπασμους	salutations	greetings
ενταις αγοραις	in the market-places	in the markets
και πρωτοκαθεδριας	and the chief seats	and the highest seats
και πρωτοκλισιας	and the uppermost rooms	and the chief rooms

“ In the compass of one short sentence (says Dr. Marsh) we have here not less than seven easy Greek expressions, all of which are differently rendered in two places of the same version. Is it credible, then, if our three first Gospels contained three independent translations of the same original, that they would resemble each other in the manner in which they do? The numerous and long examples of verbal coincidence, which have been produced in the preceding tables, are surely proofs to the contrary. In translating from Hebrew into Greek, there is still less probability of agreeing by mere accident than in translating from Greek into English, because the Greek language admits of much greater variety, both in the choice and in the position of words, than the English language.”

In order to account for this occasional verbal harmony among the Evangelists, different hypotheses have been adopted. Some, as Drs. Owen and Townson, suppose that they consulted, and in some instances transcribed, each other's writings⁸⁴; others, as Dr. Marsh, believe that they made use of

⁸⁴ Owen, *Observations on the Four Gospels*, 8vo, Lond. 1765. Town-

I know not what common Greek and Chaldee documents. This latter writer, in his *Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of our three first canonical Gospels*, gives an account of various hypotheses which have been formed to account for the verbal harmony of the Evangelists; and though his own hypothesis be exceedingly complicated, and I think unfounded, he has collected some very valuable materials, and made some valuable remarks⁸⁵. Of these, as above hinted, some relate to the use made by the Evangelists, in parallel passages, of singular words, or expressions, which they employ upon no other occasion. For example, he has the following note on *Matt.* xvi. 26, *Mark* viii. 36; "It is remarkable that St. Matthew and St. Mark here agree in using *ζημιωθῇ την ψυχην*, instead of *απολεσῇ την ψυχην*, though on other occasions they have so frequently used *απολλυμι* but never *ζημιωω*. And what renders it still more remarkable is, that, in the verse immediately preceding, St. Matthew has used *απολεσῇ την ψυχην*, and *there* St. Mark also has *απολεσῇ την ψυχην*⁸⁶."

Now, is there no simpler method of accounting for such verbal coincidences as those specified above, than by supposing that the Evangelists transcribed from each other, or made use of a common Greek document? Grotius makes a remark, in his Preface to Matthew, by an application and extension of which it appears to me that we may solve many of the above phenomena: "Sicut autem Marcus (says he) usus est Matthæi *Hebræo*, ni fallor, *codice*, ita Marci *libro Græco*

son, *Discourses on the Four Gospels*, 4to, 1778; and in vol. i. of the edition of his works by Churton, Lond. 1810. Dr. Marsh, in his *Dissertation on the Origin of our Three First Canonical Gospels*, ap. Michaelis, vol. v. p. 167 *et seq.*, mentions various hypotheses and their authors.

⁸⁵ "I have repeatedly attempted to elicit his [Porson's] opinion concerning Dr. Marsh's general hypothesis touching the origin of the three Gospels. He was uniformly an unbeliever in it. R. P[orson] accounted the verbal coincidences very differently." Kidd, *Porson's Tracts*, 300. I wish he had told us how Porson accounted for it.

⁸⁶ Marsh ap. Michaelis, vol. v. p. 233.

usus mihi videtur, quisquis is fuit Matthæi *Græcus Interpres*, nam quæ Marcus ex Matthæo desumpserat, idem hic iisdem prope verbis posuit." In short, the explanation of the matter seems to be this : The translator of our Elzevir text appears to have been a very indifferent Greek scholar, and accordingly, when one Gospel was translated from the Latin, would gladly avail himself of the assistance furnished by it in parallel passages in translating the other Gospels. Hence would arise the use of the same words and phrases. "What can be the reason (says Dr. Marsh) that St. Matthew and St. Mark, though they have in so many other places a very remarkable verbal agreement, never agree in a single sentence, throughout all those sections which occupy in St. Matthew's Gospel a different place from that which they occupy in St. Mark's⁸⁷?" For this a very natural reason may be assigned. The translator of Mark (or conversely) when the parallel passage in Matthew occupied the same place as in Mark, easily found it, and probably had it lying before him as he proceeded. But, if it was in a different part of the Gospel, he might perhaps not be able to find it in a complicated manuscript, or perhaps forget that it existed. We have seen that the translator of the *Aldine Simplicius*, though possessed of a MS. of Aristotle, *De Cælo*, chose rather occasionally to re-translate Aristotle from the Latin than to take the trouble to consult his MS.; and in the same way the Greek translators of Latin councils sometimes translate Scripture from the Latin text instead of consulting their Greek Scriptures⁸⁸. We now see, if I mistake not, a complete solution of Dr. Marsh's difficulty. The translator of Mark was very happy to avail himself of the Greek version of a parallel passage in Matthew, when it occupied the same place in both Gospels, and thus could not escape his notice; but, if its situation was different, he might either forget that it existed, or think perhaps.

⁸⁷ Marsh ap. Michaelis, vol. v. p. 336.

⁸⁸ See *supra*, pp. 334, 335.

that the difficulty of finding it more than compensated the aid which he was likely to derive from it.

I have now presented to the reader the facts on which my suspicion is founded that our Elzevir Greek Testament is a version from the Latin; and I await with deference the verdict of the learned, whether this suspicion be well founded, or whether it has its origin in a want of perspicacity, or imperfect erudition. In complying with the advice, or rather the exhortation, of the Apostle, *Try all things*, it may seem unnecessary to offer again any apology for my work. In every age of the church, however, it has happened that the attempt to throw light upon the Scriptures, by those critical methods which can alone perhaps be expected to elucidate them, has been treated with abuse and obloquy. Jerome complains that had he employed himself as many monks, not in study and in putting forth correct editions of the Scriptures, but in making baskets of rushes, and screens of palm-leaves, he would have escaped much rancour and calumny⁸⁹. Hence it is that men of talents have been driven from the study, or at least the critical elucidation, of the Sacred Scriptures, and the most contemptible Pagan author has been better elucidated than they. "To illustrate a billet doux (says Bishop Hare) or a drunken catch, to explain an obscene jest, to make an happy emendation on a passage that a modest man would blush at, will do you more credit, and

⁸⁹ "Si aut fiscellam junco texerem, aut palmarum folia complicarem, ut in sudore vultus mei comederem panem, et ventris opus sollicita mente pertractarem, nullus morderet, nemo reprehenderet. Nunc autem, quia, juxta sententiam Salvatoris, volo operari cibum qui non perit, et antiquam Divinorum voluminum viam sensibus virgultisque purgare, error mihi geminus infligitur; corrector vitiorum falsarius dicor, et errores non auferre sed serere." Hieron. *In Lib. Job. Præf. Oper.* vol. iii. p. 8.^G Jerome, however, had the advantage of being able to scold in return; and is not slow in bestowing upon his opponents the names of *blasphemous heretics, mid-day devils, grunting swine, mad dogs, and two-footed asses.*

be of greater service to you, than the most useful employment of your time upon the Scriptures⁹⁰."

In a former part of this work [p. 53] I have endeavoured shortly to expose the absurdity of arguing against facts by imaginary theological consequences. It is in general, indeed, by an outcry on the dangerous consequences of a hypothesis, that its theological confutation is attempted. The effect of such a work as this, says one, will be to weaken the authority of the New Testament Canon. Even were this true, the question with a critic is not what weakens or is supposed to weaken or strengthen the Canon, but what is matter of fact. It might strengthen the Canon, perhaps, if, instead of the writings of Epicureans and Atheists, the Apostolical autographs had been retrieved from the ashes of Herculaneum: but does it therefore follow that this has been the case? It is evident, that in matters of fact and criticism, the only answer to a book is to show that the historical or grammatical observations of its author are incorrect, or insufficient to warrant his conclusions. Let the designs of the writer of it be as good

⁹⁰ Hare, *Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Scriptures*, p. 99. Glasgow 1757. This is, if I may so term it, a tragicomic Essay [*flabile ludibrium*] of great excellence. Valckenæer has an Oration much resembling it, entitled *Oratio de Critica Emendatrice in Libris Sacris Novi F. a Literatoribus non adhibenda*. He remarks that, "quotquot, editis Commentariis, vel Observatis de Sacris Novi Fœderis libris bene mereri voluerunt, illis omnibus turpis Hæreseos aut impietatis plaga, vel a sui ævi hominibus, aut a posteritate fuit imposita." He mentions, as examples, Erasmus, Castalio, Drusius, Grotius; and observes, that when any critical attempt is made on the Scriptures, "undique velut ad monstrum aliquod expiandum concurritur, et in hominum, qui quidem istarum rerum sunt inscientes, in patulos hominum animos hæ voces insinuantur—res omnium consensu creditas petulânter in dubium vocari! integritatem Librorum Sacrorum violari! ipsa Religionis fundamenta attentari!"

"Resipiscite, o boni! Resipiscite—An itaque adeo infirmis columinibus Christiânæ Disciplinæ compages innititur, ut scalpello critico admoto, fundamenta Religionis possent everti aut quati." Valcken. *Oratio*, pp. 300, 301, ap. Hemsterhusii *Orationes &c.* Lugd. Bat. 1784.

or as bad as possible, or the imaginary consequences be what they may, the question is not whether the author be designing, but whether his book is uncritical?

But, in truth, those phantoms which have been so often conjured up to extinguish the torch of sacred criticism, and to harass and render unhappy those who bore it, have constantly disappeared as the light grew stronger. "I am forced (says Bentley) to confess with grief, that several well-meaning priests of greater zeal than knowledge, have often by their own false alarms and panic both frightened others of their own side, and given advantage to their enemies. What an uproar once was there, as if all were ruin'd and undone, when Capellus wrote one book against the antiquity of the Hebrew points, and another for various lections in the Hebrew text itself? and yet time and experience has cured them of those imaginary fears; and the great author in his grave has now that honour universally, which the few only of his own age paid him when alive."

"The case (continues Bentley) is and will be the same with your learned countryman Dr. Mill . . . For what is it that your Whitbyus so inveighs and exclaims at?—the Doctor's labours, says he, make the whole text precarious, and expose both the Reformation to the Papists, and Religion itself to the Atheists? God forbid! we'll still hope better things. For surely those various readings existed before in the several exemplars: Dr. Mill did not make and coin them; he only exhibited them to our view. If Religion therefore was true before, though such various readings were in being, it will be as true, and consequently as safe still, though every body sees them. *Depend on't, no truth, no matter of fact, fairly laid open, can ever subvert true Religion*⁹¹."

⁹¹ [Bentley] *Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free-thinking, by Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, p. 92. Lond. 1737. Mr. Jones classes Father Simon with Spinoza; and the excellent Mr. Evelyn, in a Letter to Bishop Fell, represents the *Histoire Critique* as ruinous to "the cause of God and of our Church." He candidly owns, indeed, that "it must be ac-

To mention a case still more analogous to the hypothesis in the present work,—what a striking example have we had of an array of fancied consequences, in opposition to fact and testimony, in the case of the Gospel of Matthew! The very same persons who tell us that Matthew wrote a Gospel, assert that it was written in Hebrew; nor have we stronger evidence for the one than for the other. “I own indeed (says the learned Jeremiah Jones) that all antiquity hath affirmed this; I cannot find that so much as any one of the ancients did believe this Gospel originally wrote in Greek. Papias, Irenæus, Origen, Jerome, Austin, Eusebius, Theophylact and several others, do all agree to assure us that this Gospel was originally wrote in Hebrew⁹².” Why then reject their testi-

knowledge that it is a masterpiece in its kind, that the man is well studied in the Oriental tongues, and has carried on his project with a spirit and address not ordinarie amongst critics.” *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 219. As to the “cause of God,” I cannot suppose it can be hurt by any thing; and as to that of the Church, to suppose that it can be affected by the most searching criticism or skill in the Oriental tongues, may be zeal, but it is not prudence.

⁹² Jones’s *Vindication of the Former Part of St. Matthew’s Gospel*, p. 182. Lond. 1719. Mr. Jones says in this work: “It seems to me very evident, the common Jews did not at all understand Greek.” p. 234. Yet in the very next page, speaking of the vast number of Jews who embraced Christianity, he says: “We read, *Acts*. xxi. 20, of many (μυριαδες) *ten thousands of Jews that believ’d and receiv’d the doctrines of Christ*. There can be no reasonable doubt but that great additions were made to their number continually, both at Jerusalem and other parts of Judæa. And now can it be supposed (continues he) that so many thousand converts should be left so long without those inspir’d Books which contain’d the foundation of their religion? Here, and here only, they could have a particular, exact, and authentic account of the doctrines of that religion which they had embraced; and is it not likely they would endeavour to get these books translated into their own language? Either the Apostles or themselves certainly would take care to have a version made.” Now can any thing be more absurd than to suppose that the Apostles would first write in what Josephus calls αλλοδαπην ἡμιν καὶ ξηνην διαλεκτὴν συνηθειαν [*supra*, p. 15], and then cause it to be translated for the myriads of impatient Jews!

mony, or why garble it? Two things are asserted by the Fathers—that Matthew wrote a Gospel, and that he wrote it in Hebrew. These rest upon the same evidence, and must stand or fall together; since nothing can be more arbitrary, as Dr. Campbell justly remarks, “where the evidence is the same, and exposed to the same objections, to admit the one without hesitation, and to reject the other⁹³.” “But (says Mr. Jones) our present Greek copy of St. Matthew is not a translation out of Hebrew, *because the supposing it to be so makes its authority very precarious and uncertain*. For all we know to the contrary, it may be a very false and corrupt translation. It may be done by a person no-way qualified for such a work: and does not this now make its authority dubious and uncertain. . . The Papists (continues Mr. Jones) who are always endeavouring to lessen the authority of the Scriptures, that so they might make them depend upon their Church for their authority, were well aware of this; and hence I think there is not above one or two of them, but have fallen in with the *common error of the Fathers*. . . I would only add further (continues he) on this head, that not only the Papists, but the Jews and other enemies of Christianity will be very likely to improve this assertion to the dishonour of this Gospel⁹⁴.” Such is the kind of argument with which books of theological controversy, and even criticism, are filled; where, instead of

⁹³ *Preface to Matthew's Gospel*, p. 14.

⁹⁴ *A Vindication* &c. p. 200—202. “Si auctoritas Græci textus Evangelii secundum Matthæum (says Casaubon) pendet ab Hebraico textu, quum Hebræa dudum perierint neque usquam extent hodie (sunt qui scribant, reperiri in uno e collegiis illustris Academiæ Cantabrigiæ, sed id nos, re diligenter inquisita, falsum esse comperimus), sequitur necessario, nullum hodie ejus Evangelii debere esse pondus, nullam auctoritatem... Adde quod hæc sententia fidem Catholicæ Ecclesiæ facit pendere (nefas dictu) ab Hæreticorum fide.” Casaub. *Exercitt. ad Baron. Annal.* xxxiv. p. 485. Yet now writers the most orthodox agree that our Greek Matthew is a version, without any such dreadful consequences. Thus Middleton: “The writer, or rather translator of St. Matthew's Gospel.” *Greek Article*, p. 208, &c. &c. He seems also to think that it was translated after the time of Theodoton. p. 249.

entering into the merits of a hypothesis, or showing it to be false or contradictory to some known truth, its confutation is attempted by a fearful array of imaginary consequences. Imaginary, indeed, they have ever proved; since no man who has the conviction that Christianity is true, can be alarmed at the most ample examination and most free discussion. Inquiry is to truth what friction is to the diamond, it proves its hardness and improves its lustre.

But to return. The Gospel of Matthew is now, I believe, admitted by all well-informed men to be a translation; and yet these very persons quote it with the same respect as the other Gospels. The like has happened with that multitude of ancient and modern divines, who, as we formerly remarked [p. 63], contend that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written originally in Hebrew, and that we have now only a translation of it. Yet they, and even those who like Luther and Calvin cannot be induced to believe it an epistle of Paul, quote the Epistle with equal respect as that third party, who suppose it to have been written originally, and as it now exists, in Greek by Paul himself⁹⁵. In fact, it may be said that our whole religion rests upon translation. Of him, as I before remarked [p. 11], who spake as never man spake, we have not, I think, above twelve words in the original as he spake them.

In every view of the matter, therefore, the words of our Blessed Lord himself, and often those of his Apostles, are translations. We are told in the *Book of Acts* (xxi. 40), that Paul made an address to the people in Hebrew; and yet it is given us only in Greek. There is nothing sacred, therefore,

⁹⁵ "On a reproché plusieurs fois aux Lutheriens (says F. Simon, speaking of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*), que leur Patriarche avoit rejeté cette Epître, ne croyant pas qu'elle fut d'aucun Apôtre... Calvin a mis au devant de ses Commentaires sur cette Epître un discours où il dit: '*De ma part, je ne puis croire que Saint Paul en soit l'Auteur.*' *Hist. Crit. du N. T.* ch. xvi. p. 184. '*Ego ut Paulum agnoscam auctorem adduci nequeo. Ipsa docendi ratio et stylus, alium quam Paulum esse satis testantur.*' Calvin. *Arg. Com. in Ep. ad Heb.*

in the mere words or language, or doubtless that of Jesus himself would have been preserved. And should we grant the assertion that every word of the Greek New Testament was originally inspired by the Holy Spirit, yet, amidst a hundred and fifty thousand various readings, *which is the word used by the Holy Spirit*; and is not in every case (if we abandon the common rules of criticism) a new inspiration necessary for its discovery? "The notion (says one of the most zealous defenders of our Vulgate Greek text) of a literal identity between the present copies of the inspired text, and the original edition which was published by the Sacred Writers, is a vulgar error, which finds as little foundation in reason, as justification in fact. It would require no labour of deduction to prove that notion unreasonable which presupposes that every person who undertakes to copy the Sacred Writings should be withheld from wilful or inadvertent error by preternatural power, were it not demonstrably refuted by the publication of one hundred and fifty thousand various readings, which have been collected against the authorized text⁹⁶." I would exclaim then with Erasmus; "Let me be shown the word dictated by the Holy Spirit, and I will embrace it with the utmost reverence, I will reject all variations from it." I would exclaim with him that "Matthew does not mistake. No one corrects what he delivered. Our affair is with translators, and scribes, and falsaries⁹⁷."

In offering to the reader the preceding observations, on the propriety of trying a critical hypothesis by *critical evidence*, and not by *supposed theological consequences*, I have not been actuated by any selfish motive; since, as I have more than once hinted, and as may appear, perhaps, from

⁹⁶ Nolan, *Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate*. Pref. p. vii.

⁹⁷ "Ostendat nobis suo digito Deus, quæ sit illa Lectio quam dictavit Spiritus Sanctus, et hanc unam amplexi, quicquid ab hac variat rejiciemus..... Non lapsus est Matthæus, nemo corrigit quod ille tradidit. Cum Interpretibus, cum Scribis, cum depravatoribus nobis res est." Erasmus ap. Wetstein, *Proleg.* vol. i. pp. 91. 100.

the subsequent remarks, the establishment of the hypothesis developed in the preceding Disquisitions would, perhaps, be productive of considerable theological advantages.

1. In the first place (not to resume what was formerly stated, p. 324, that it accounts for the silence of Greek writers respecting the four Gospels and Epistles till nearly the close of the second century⁹⁸) by supposing our Vulgate Greek text a version from the Latin, we should, instead of rendering the text more fluctuating, render it infinitely more fixed. By a discovery of their origin, the great majority of the various

⁹⁸ How greatly useful, even in this point of view, the hypothesis would prove, may appear by referring to an article in vol. xxv. of the *Quarterly Review*, entitled *Apocryphal New Testament*. The author of that article, in order to meet the doctrine of Dodwell with regard to the late collection of the Canon (now rendered incontrovertible by Semler, Griesbach, &c.) finds it necessary to go back to the opinions of Grabe, Mosheim, &c. and writes as if no such book as Marsh's *Michaelis* were in existence. The sentiments of Mosheim in matters connected with Biblical criticism (though a very learned and judicious writer) are now merely entitled to a similar deference to those of Macquer in Chemistry; and to appeal from Griesbach to Grabe, is like appealing from Sir H. Davy to the Hon. R. Boyle. Even the learned Bishop Pearson objects to a relation of Hincmarus: "Whereas Hincmarus says there was but one letter changed, no such mutation can of OΣ make ΘEOΣ." *On the Creed*, p. 128; thus manifesting an ignorance of one of the most common abbreviations, ΘΣ. The writer of the article himself admits, that "until a comparatively recent period, little attention, it would seem, had been directed to the Canon of Scripture. Jones, in the very outset of his excellent work, observes, that before his day, that is the beginning of the last century, 'learned men had scarcely discussed the subject at all.' The Lightfoots, the Modes, the Bulls, and the Poles, had not directed their unwearied diligence expressly into this channel." *Q. R.* vol. xxv. 349. Far be it from me to speak with disrespect of our English divines. Many of them were burning and shining lights, diffusing at once warmth and radiance. With few exceptions, however, they were rather Theologians than Biblical critics; and perhaps I do not hazard too much in affirming that, in the science of *Biblical criticism*, strictly so called, the single works of Father Simon contain hints of greater value than all the united writings of our English divines, from Hooker to Horsley inclusive.

readings will melt into one another, and their number be prodigiously diminished. Assuming in a former part of this work [p. 427 *et seq.*] the first chapter of Mark as a subject of analysis, we have seen how many phenomena demonstrative of a Latin origin seem to exist in that single chapter, and that this hypothesis, so far from rendering the text unsettled, tends to fix it, by accounting for, and thus greatly abridging, the number of variations. We have seen also, that the more literal and barbarous a version is, the greater facilities does it afford for the restoration of the original; and that, even the very mistakes of such an interpreter, when arising from a slavish adherence to words suggested by the original, and resembling them in sound, are sometimes more useful than a just and elegant version of the original would have been. Far, therefore, from unsettling the text of the New Testament by our hypothesis, we should render it more fixed and definite than before; while a short, simple, and critical mode of illustration would take place of those gigantic commentaries, which, instead of reposing their unwieldy bulk in the library, might be of some little use by descending into the kitchen⁹⁹.

⁹⁹ As a single specimen how much the discovery of the origin of various readings tends to melt them into one, and to simplify a text, I would refer to a conjecture which I have made above [p. 249], that the name of the sorcerer Βαρισης, *Acts* xiii. 6, arose from a corruption of *Perses* or *Perseus*. By turning to Griesbach's *N. T.* we find that in one ancient MS. there is added after Βαρισης + ὁ μεθερμηνευεται Ελυμας. In another there is added + *quod interpretatur Paratus* [Parthus]. The Persians were named *Elamites* by the Syrians, and *Parthians* by the Romans. Schlcusner, under Ελαμιτης, quoting Hesychius, says, *Hesych.* Ελαμιται Πάρθοι, h. e. Πέρσαι. We now see how natural *Perseus* = *Elymaus* = *Parthus*. Let us now descend from ver. 6 to 8, where we read in our Vulgate Greek text, Ελυμας ὁ μαγος (ὅτι γὰρ μεθερμηνευεται το ονομα αυτου) &c. But the sorcerer Elymas (for so is his name by interpretation); i. e. Βαρισης or *Perseus*, in other words, *Elymas* or *Elymaus*: and accordingly we find in the Syriac, ὁ μαγος Βαρσουμα, οὗ το ονομα μεθερμηνευεται Ελυμας.

Nor has the other corruption of *Paratus* for *Parthus* been suffered to remain a dead letter. It has been translated into Greek ετοιμος, and ad-

2. A second advantage of this hypothesis is, that it would obviate the objection, that from the character of the Greek style of the New Testament, and the great intermixture of Latin words, it could not have been written so early as the times of the Apostles. Mr. Evanson, as we saw [p. 4.] contends that "this single circumstance of the language"—the intermixture of Latin words—induces him "to suspect every passage and writing wherein it is found, to be either an interpolation or fiction of no earlier date than the middle of the second century." Mr. Falconer, from whom I learn this objection, replies: "At what period certain Latin words began to be introduced into the Greek it may not be possible to ascertain; particularly the names of things which were not common in the usages or habits of Greece and Italy. . . . Are we not then to expect to find such words as *Σουδαγία* and *Σιμικινθία* where the manners and habits of the people did not furnish the things themselves? And yet it is upon the authority of these, and similar words, that we are to pronounce to be forgeries any books which contain them before the time of Trajan¹⁰⁰." It does not appear to me that this is a sufficient answer. The things which are expressed by Latin words in the New Testament, are often (like the two which are above quoted) things common and familiar, and for which vernacular words were to be had long before the sway of the Romans. It is, as I formerly remarked, a problem whether a text, so full of hybridous Latin words (and in its want of a Dual, and some other circumstances having an affinity with

mitted into the text. In the *Cod. Bezae* [a prima manu] instead of *Ελυμας ὁ μαγος* (*ὅντω γὰρ*, &c. as quoted above), we find *Ετοιμας ὁ μαγος*; and although this has been altered in the Greek, we find *Etæmas magus* in the Latin text, as also in Lucif. Calar. *Paratus* for *Parthus* has thus occasioned *Ετοιμος*, and this has been re-translated *Etæmas*. What a mass of various readings and gloss does the above simple elucidation melt away; and had it occurred to Scaliger or Heinsius, how much voluminous disquisition might it have saved! See Heins, *in loc.*, *Poli Synops.* &c.

¹⁰⁰ Falconer, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 269.

the Romaic), could have existed, except in a slavish version, before the days of Constantine; and consequently, whether we are not compelled to suppose a translation or re-translation from the Latin, in order to avoid a more painful alternative¹⁰¹.

S. In the third place, I may, when speaking of the style of the Books of the New Testament, remark, that the hypothesis of a translation or re-translation from the Latin would put a stop to such objections as the following, by the author of the *Characteristics*: "It is no otherwise (says Lord Shaftesbury) in the grammatical art of characters and painted speech than in the art of painting itself. I have seen in certain Christian churches an ancient piece or two, affirmed on the solemn faith of priestly tradition, to have been *angelically* and divinely wrought by a supernatural hand and sacred pencil. Had the piece happened to be of a hand like Raphael's, I could have found nothing certain to oppose to the tradition. But having observed the whole *STYLE* and manner of the pretended heavenly workmanship, to be so indifferent as to vary in many particulars from the truth of art, I presumed within myself to beg pardon of the tradition, and assert confidently, that if the pencil had been heaven-guided, it could never have been so lame in its performance: it being a mere contradiction to all divine and moral truth, that a *celestial hand*, submitting itself to the rudiments of a human art, should sin against the art itself, and express falsehood and error instead of justness and proportion¹⁰²."

¹⁰¹ See *supra*, p. 220, the note on Σιμικτιβιον and Συδαριον. See also the remarks of Dr. Townson, *supra*, p. 75.

¹⁰² *Characteristics*, vol. iii. p. 230. I much regret that such a critic as Porson should, in referring to this passage, introduce it in the following manner: "Lord Shaftesbury thus blasphemously derides the language of the Holy Scriptures," &c. *Letters to Travis*, p. 258. How different is this from the calm and even courtly mode of its introduction by Warburton—a theologian, and not the most mild or moderate one! "I shall chuse (says he) to close this first part of my Discourse with an examination of that still more ingenious objection of the noble

This allusion is obvious, and I think the objection is not without force. It was said by Cicero, that if Jupiter were to speak Greck, it would be in the language of Plato; and this, at least, we might expect, a style free from solecisms and blunders. Bishop Warburton, in his attempt to answer the above objection of Shaftesbury, says: "On the whole then, all the conclusion we can reasonably draw from this noble author's remarks on heavenly workmanship in painting and in speech is only this; that if an inspired author were to give us a picture, it would indeed equal or excel the pencil of Raphael; because here was a real archetype to work by, that is to say Nature: but if we may credit Reason, whose dictates I am sorry to say are not always those of his Lordship, an inspired writer would receive no more assistance from Heaven in his expression, *than* what was necessary to give his speech the essential qualities of all language, namely, **CLEARNESS** and **PRECISION**; because here was no real archetype to follow; the various modes of eloquence being mostly fantastic, as existing only in capricious custom, and therefore unworthy the notice of a divine inspirer¹⁰³." Now here the Bishop seems to me to be mistaking or conceding the question. We find, in the writings of Paul, a vast deal of eloquence, but a great deficiency of those "essential qualities of all language, namely, clearness and precision," which the Bishop confesses may be expected in an inspired writer¹⁰⁴. The same learned prelate—in reply to a remark of Dr. Middleton, that "so far from ascribing the Apostolical language to God, we shall scarce think it worthy of man, that is of the liberal and polite, it being so utterly rude and barbarous"—makes the following strange assertion: "I will be bold to affirm, that were the style of the New Testament exactly such

author of the *Characteristics*, who hath employed all the powers of his wit and eloquence to expose the want of these qualities in the sacred volumes." *Doctrine of Grace*, p. 60.

¹⁰³ Warburton, *Doctrine of Grace*, p. 63.

¹⁰⁴ See *supra*, pp. 150, *sqq.* 200, *sqq.*

as his very exaggerated account of it would persuade us to believe, namely; that it 'is utterly rude and barbarous, and abounding with every fault that can possibly deform a language,' this is so far from proving such a language not divinely inspired, that it is *one certain mark of this original*¹⁰⁵. Twells also, in speaking of the *Book of Revelations*, remarks that the *Apocalypse* "is not the less likely to have been the work of St. John the Apostle for its abounding with *improprieties* and for having some *solecisms*¹⁰⁶." In reply to the above, I would quote a remark of Dr. Campbell. "That a writing (says he) be perspicuous in any language, much depends on the observance of propriety; and, the beauty of the work (at least as far as purity is concerned) contributes not a little to its utility. What is well written, or well said, is always more attended to, better understood, and longer remembered, than what is improperly, weakly, or awkwardly expressed¹⁰⁷." Is there not, in fact, an incongruity in supposing that, in addressing his will to man, Almighty God would not make use of those forms of expression which would render it intelligible? As well, perhaps, might we suppose that an Angel supernaturally guiding a pencil should produce a daub, as that in revealing a divine message, he should not use the idiom and grammar of those to whom he spoke; but that, in speaking English for example, he should mix it with French or Flemish idioms. In fact, the very efforts which

¹⁰⁵ *Doctrine of Grace*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁶ Twells' *Critical Examination of the late New Text and Version of the New Testament*, Part III. p. 115. Lond. 1732.

¹⁰⁷ Campbell, *Prelim. Dissert.* X. P. I. vol. ii. p. 144. See *supra*, p. 201. Photius, on one occasion, writes as follows: 'Ο μὲν μακάριος &c. "Beatus enim et Coryphæus Petrus, nullum in Græcorum nominum electione studium ponens, hanc vocem ἐγκομίσασθαι suis scriptis inseruit. Non enim echo aut artificium verborum, neque vocabulorum sonitum, sed animarum salutem auditoribus inserere curam habuit." ap. Pearson, *Vind. Epist. Ign. ap. Cotclerij Patr. Apost.* p. 416. vol. ii. Ant. 1700. Now surely if Peter, in giving a precept, used a word which was unintelligible to the majority of his readers, he so far diminished the utility of the precept. See on this word, *supra*, p. 194.

have been made, though unsuccessfully, to defend the purity of Scripture Greek, is a proof of a secret conviction in its champions that solecisms are no "certain mark" of a divine original. It is the hypothesis, perhaps, of translation, or re-translation alone, which can obviate the objections of Shaftesbury and Middleton.

4. Nor will this hypothesis only deliver us from the above objections, and from the paradox that a native of a learned and polite city—that a man of genius and eloquence like Paul, could not, as we formerly saw asserted¹⁰⁸, write and speak his own language;—other and more serious objections will be removed. "Objections of various kinds," says Dr. Owen, "have been made to the truth of the Christian religion; but no objections of any kind seem to bear so hard upon it as those which are drawn from the *differences* that occur between the quotations in the *New Testament*, and the passages to which they refer in the *Old*. On these differences, therefore, Jews and Infidels particularly insist, and largely expatiate¹⁰⁹." The fact, indeed, of frequent infidelity of quotation in our Vulgate Greek, can scarcely be denied. Jerome having quoted *Matt. ii. 6. οὕτω γὰρ γεγραπται—καὶ συ Βηθλεεμ γη Ιουδα ουδαμως ελαχιστη ει, &c.* proceeds thus: "That this testimony agrees neither with the Hebrew, nor with the LXX, is evident, though I myself were silent on the subject.... Nor are there wanting some who assert that in almost every quotation from the Old Testament some error of this kind is to be found. Either there is a transposition; or the words and sometimes the sentiments are altered, so that the Apostles and Evangelists seem not to have consulted the Book, but to have trusted to a sometimes treacherous memory¹¹⁰."

¹⁰⁸ See *supra*, p. 200.

¹⁰⁹ Owen, *Modes of Quotation used by the Evangelical Writers, &c.* p. 1. 4to. London 1789.

¹¹⁰ "Quod testimonium nec Hebraico, nec LXX Interpretibus convenire, me quoque tacente, perspicuum est...Sunt autem qui asserant, in omnibus pene testimoniis, quæ de Veteri Test. sumuntur, istiusmodi

I agree with Hody that this was probably Jerome's own sentiment; and, at least, it does more honour both to the Apostles and to himself, than to suppose, as he sometimes does, that they *despised* the task of making a literal version of the word of God¹¹¹; or, as he at other times seems to insinuate, that they imposed upon the ignorance of their readers¹¹². Nor are such shifts and subterfuges on this subject to be found only in the writings of Jerome: and it appears to me indeed that the objections "of Jews and Infidels" are less calculated to give pain on this point to an ingenuous mind, and to lessen the credit of our faith, than the manner in which these objections have been met. Let us take as a specimen some remarks by two very learned divines on *Matt. ii. 6*, the text above referred to. Dr. Randolph in his Annotation says, "Mat. ii. 6 agrees exactly neither with *Heb.* nor *Sept.* the *only material difference* is, that the Evangelist adds the negative *οὐδαμως*, which is in neither of them¹¹³." That is to say, the only material difference is, that the quotation in our Elzevir Matthew is *directly contrary* to what it is in the Prophet: so that Micah says one thing, and our Elzevir Matthew makes him say directly the reverse. The learned and orthodox Dr. John Owen seems also, like

esse errorem, ut aut ordo mutetur, aut verba et interdum sensus quoque ipse diversus sit, vel Apostolis vel Evangelistis non ex libro carpen-
tibus testimonia sed memoriæ credentibus quæ nonnunquam fallitur" &c. [*Comment. in Mich. v. 2*]. The very learned H. Hody, quoting this passage, adds: "Contra Hieronymum objicit Ruffinus solere illum, quæ ipse senserit paradoxa, aliis nescio quibus quos non nominat, attribuire, non audentem ea pro suis divulgare; qua in re Ruffino prorsus assentio, idemque in hoc loco fieri haud addubito." *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* p. 257.

¹¹¹ "Paraphrasim hujus testimonii, quasi Hebræus ex Hebræis, assumit Apostolus de Authenticis Libris in Epistola quam scribit ad Corinthios, non verbum ex verbo reddens, quod facere omnino contemnit, sed sensuum exprimens veritatem." Hieron. *Comm. in Is.* lib. xvii. cap. 64.

¹¹² See *supra*, p. 201.

¹¹³ *The Prophecies, &c. compared with the Hebrew Original, and with the Sept. Version*, by T. Randolph, D.D. Lady Marg. Professor of Divinity, p. 27. Oxford 1782. 4^{to}

Dr. Randolph, to have considered such a contradiction as a matter of very little consequence. "The *only* *εὐαγγιολογῶν* (says he) is in the mode and manner of expression. The proposition in the Prophet seems to be *affirmative*—THOU ART LITTLE; in the Evangelist it is expressly *negative*—THOU ART NOT THE LEAST. But first (adds this learned writer) this difference concerneth not the testimony, as to that end for which it was produced: what ways soever the words be interpreted, the importance of the testimony is still the same." And again he says, "The exceptions of the Jews unto the Evangelist's citation of the words of the Prophet concern not the testimony itself, nor are indeed of any great importance. . . . He took not on him to repeat every word as they were written by the Prophet (which he might *easily have done had he designed it*, and that without the least disadvantage unto what he aimed at); but only to declare how the assertion was proved that the Messiah was to be born in Bethlehem¹¹⁴." Is not reasoning such as this exceedingly dangerous? and what confidence, it might be urged, could we have that Matthew related with accuracy the words or deeds of Jesus, if he could not, or would not, quote without mangling and misrepresentation, a few texts of Scripture, where especially (an event being to be compared with a prediction) it was absolutely necessary to be minutely and literally exact?

Now, by supposing that our Vulgate Greek text is a version from the Latin, we should at once get rid of all such objections as the above; and, what is of still more consequence, of all such answers as those given by Jerome [and Randolph,] and Owen. The blame of inaccurate quotation will be thrown not upon Apostles and Evangelists, but on their Translators; and the ingenuous mind will not be vexed and pained by the disingenuous shifts of the defenders of our faith¹¹⁵. I know, in fact, no one circumstance which is so

¹¹⁴ Owen on the *Hebrews*, vol. i. p. 215, 216.

¹¹⁵ Beza has the following note on *Rom.* ix. 28: "Ex collatione re-ipsa, nemo inficiari potest Græcos Interpretes negligenter admodum,

calculated to lessen the credit of our religion with critics, as the absurd and uncandid methods of reconciling apparent contradictions in our text of the New Testament, and which can only be solved by supposing a mistake of translation or transcription. For example, in the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, x. 8, Paul, speaking of the destruction of the Israelites in the Wilderness, says, that there fell in one day three-and-twenty thousand. By referring to *Numbers* xxv. 9, we find that there fell not twenty-three but twenty-four thousand. Now what in this, and the like cases, is the usual practice of commentators? They defend the genuineness of *both* numbers by the most wretched quibbles, such as that twenty-four thousand contain twenty-three thousand and the like¹¹⁶.

Nor would the establishment of the hypothesis, that our Vulgate Greek text of the New Testament is a version from the Latin, free us only from objections which else apparently seem insurmountable, but it would be attended with various

quod ad voces ipsas attinet, hunc locum convertisse. Quod si quis roget, cur nihilominus Apostolus eâ interpretatione sit usus, respondeo meritò id illum fecisse, cum ad eos scriberet, qui versioni illi assueverant." Surely it was the purpose of the Apostles to set people right, not to sanctify error.

¹¹⁶ See Poli *Synops.* in loc. "Nugas agimus ridiculas, quum in ejusmodi locis utrumque numerum nobis sumimus. defendendum, tamquam genuinum. In his etiam Libris frequenter a Librariis fuit peccatum." Valcken. *Scholæ*, vol. ii. p. 260. "Numeri in Cod. MSS. non raro turbantur." Tyrwhitt *de Babrio*, p. clxi. "Ego vero suspicor (says Montfaucon speaking of numeral letters) numeros, qui plerumque apud veteres Scriptores non quadrare videntur, ex hujusmodi notarum ignorance vitiatos sæpe fuisse." *Palæogr. Græc.* p. xij. F and E reconcile *Mark* xv. 25. *John* xix. 14. So C or E, a hundred in Latin, *John* xix. 39. is *sir* in Greek, and more probable.

Other mistakes beside those of *number* would, on the hypothesis above submitted to the reader, be more easily transferred from the Apostles to translators and transcribers; and we could with more confidence put the question of Huet: "Deinde ut pro Zachariâ, Jeremiâ appellaverit Matthæus; pro Malachiâ, Esajam, pro Achimeleco, Abiatharum, Marcus; pro Jacobo Abrahamum Lucas laudaverit (quod Hieronymo tamen non facile concesserit quisvis) quid inde conflatur?" *De Interpr.* p. 80.

other advantages. It would obviate the doubts as to the genuineness of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, the *Second Epistle of Peter*, and the *Apocalypse*, on account of the diversity of their style from that of the other writings of those authors to whom they are assigned¹¹⁷. It would put an end to the trash composed on dots, articles, and particles; and lead men not to found upon these, but to be less dogmatical and more charitable¹¹⁸. The history of our Saviour and his religion; the evidence upon which it rests; the hopes which it holds out, and the duties which it inculcates; these will remain as clear and as certain as before. We saw [p. 379] that it is remarked by Mr. Middleton, that "if we had at the present day no other Greek manuscript of the *Evangelists* and *Acts* than the *Codex Bezae*, we should still have a record of the same miracles, of the same divine doctrines, of the same death and resurrection of Christ, and of the same miraculous gifts imparted to the first teachers of Christianity. But in the view of criticism, the case would stand very differently; almost every thing which the learned have determined respecting, the style and the language of the *Evangelists* would be wholly unfounded, and Hardouin's hypothesis of a Latin original of the *Gospels* and *Acts*, at least, would not be altogether chimerical."

I have used no greater freedom with the Elzevir edition—the edition of an unknown editor—than the above learned and orthodox writer, and than Mill, Wetstein, and Matthaei,

¹¹⁷ See *supra*, pp. 64, 113, 174.

¹¹⁸ See *supra*, pp. 417, 419. "Scriptura Sacra (says Wetstein) non data est hominibus, præsertim Christianis, ut se invicem perpetuis disputationibus ex ea refellerent et damnarent; paci destinatum opus est, et mutuam caritatem atque tolerantiam ubique spirant atque inculcat. Variationes illæ in tenuissimis plerumque apicibus consistunt, ut vel legatur OC, vel ΘC, KC, vel XC, ut articulus item vel apponatur vel omitatur. Quis autem sanæ mentis credat, sapientissimam atque benignissimam Dei providentiam, ab istis apicibus, qui aciem oculorum fugiunt, res tanti momenti, æternam nimirum salutem, vel perniciem hominum suspendere voluisse?" *Nov. Test.* vol. ii. p. 864.

have with what are usually considered as the most ancient and venerable manuscripts of the Greek New Testament.

But enough of all this. The theological consequences or supposed consequences of the hypothesis, have no connexion with its abstract critical truth. It is a question of *philology*, and can only be decided upon *philological principles*. "But to speak my mind freely *on the subject of consequences* (says Dr. Middleton in one of the noblest passages ever written¹¹⁹, and which Porson in conversation was accustomed to quote with enthusiasm) . . . I persuade myself that the life and faculties of man, at the best but short and limited, cannot be employed more rationally or laudably than in the search of knowledge; and especially of that sort which relates to our duty and conduces to our happiness. In these inquiries, therefore, wherever I perceive any glimmering of truth before me, I readily pursue and endeavour to trace it to its source, without any reserve, or caution of pushing the discovery too far, or opening too great a glare of it to the public. I look upon the discovery of any thing which is true as a valuable acquisition to society, which cannot possibly hurt or obstruct the good effect of any other truth whatsoever; for they all partake of one common essence, and necessarily coincide with each other; and, like the drops of rain which fall separately into the river, mix themselves at once with the stream, and strengthen the general current."

¹¹⁹ *Free Inquiry*, Pref. p. vi.

A P P E N D I X.

NOTE A. p. 12.

I HAVE mentioned [pp. 12, 322.] that Dr. Lardner, though in many respects meriting the panegyric of Dr. Paley, of being "the most candid of all advocates," is partial, and not always candid where the Canon is concerned. As the writings of this venerable man, which contain the largest and most valuable mass of theological learning in our language, are usually appealed to as *a prime source or fountain*, I think it proper to give the reader this caution, which I shall support by one or two examples.

Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, after stating a tradition of Papias concerning Mark, proceeds as follows: "Thus Papias writes of Mark. Concerning Matthew he says, 'Matthew wrote the Oracles in the Hebrew tongue, and every one interpreted them as he was able.' He also brings testimonies out of the First Epistle of John and of Peter."

Such is the evidence of Papias; and, so far as relates to Matthew writing in Hebrew, it is corroborated by the testimony of all the ancient writers who treat of the subject. The following are the remarks of Dr. Lardner on the evidence of Papias.

1. "Here (says he) is an authentic testimony to the genuineness of the Gospel of St. Matthew. It was well known in the time of Papias. No one doubted but it was written by him."

2. "Papias says, this Gospel was written in Hebrew. The same thing we shall hereafter find often affirmed by ancient Christian writers. Nevertheless, some very learned men have disputed this. They think succeeding writers have taken this account upon trust from Papias, without duly considering the matter."

Now I would ask any person of common candour, how it happens that Papias, who in the first of these articles is *an authentic testimony to the genuineness of St. Matthew's Gospel*, dwindles in the

second into a person not to be trusted. "Let it be observed (says Dr. Campbell) that Papias in the words quoted from him attested two things, that Matthew wrote the Gospel ascribed to him, and that he wrote it in Hebrew. These two points rest on the same bottom, and are equally, as matter of fact, the subject of testimony. As to both, the authority of Papias has been equally supported by succeeding authors, and by the concurrent voice of antiquity. Now there has not any thing been advanced to invalidate his testimony in regard to the latter of these, that may not with equal justice be urged to invalidate his testimony in regard to the former. This may be extended also to other points; for that Mark was the writer of the Gospel commonly ascribed to him rests ultimately on the same authority. How arbitrary then is it, when the evidence is the same and exposed to the same objections, to admit the one without hesitation, and to reject the other!"

Dr. Lardner concludes the article of Papias in the following manner: "It may be thought I have been too particular in my remarks upon Papias, a man of small capacity. But I esteem the testimony very valuable which he has given to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and to the First Epistle of St. Peter, and St. John. *If Papias had been a wiser man, he had left us a confirmation of many more books of the New Testament*."

I have formerly mentioned, that one of Dr. Lardner's great weaknesses is, that if a fact is in the slightest degree hinted at by an ancient writer which has a resemblance to any thing stated in the Gospels, this in his opinion is a proof that the Gospels were read by that writer. I alluded, as an example, to his proof that Celsus had read Mark [p. 324], which I shall here exemplify at greater length. Celsus having named Jesus a carpenter, in answer to this "Origen says that Jesus himself is no where called a carpenter in any of the Gospels received by the Church. Whence (says Dr. Lardner) it came to pass that Origen said this is not certain: whether it be a slip of memory, or whether the copies used by him had *carpenter's son*; for in all the Greek MSS. in general Jesus is called a carpenter in Mark vi. 3, as in our version."

¹ Campbell, *Preface to Matthew's Gospel*, p. 14. See also *supra*, p. 467.

² Lardner, *Works*, vol. ii. p. 114.

"I suppose (adds Dr. L.) that *this passage may afford good proof, that Celsus had seen and read St. Mark's as well as the other Gospels.*"

A most lame and impotent conclusion ! Origen, in stating that Jesus is no where called a carpenter *in any of the Gospels received of the Church*, had plainly hinted that he was so called in Apocryphal Gospels, and that *there* Celsus had found it. In fact, Justin Martyr tells us, that Jesus "wrought while he was among men at the carpenter's trade, making ploughs and yokes;" and the ancient Apocryphal Histories contain some curious statements on the subject³. And yet, in spite of all this, Celsus (according to Dr. L.) must have derived his information that Jesus was a carpenter from a verse in Mark, which Origen himself, the greatest of the ancient Scripture critics, had forgotten or overlooked ! Dr. Lardner, in his recapitulation of the canonical writings received by Celsus, refers again to the above proof. "It appears also highly probable (says he) or *even certain*, that he was not unacquainted with the Gospel according to St. Mark ; but he has not expressly mentioned the books themselves, nor the names of the writers⁴."

Origen mentioning an objection of Celsus says, in the version of Dr. Lardner, 'After this he adds, *To the sepulchre of Jesus there came two Angels as is said by some, or as by others one only* : he had observed, I think, that Matthew and Mark mention one only, Luke and John two'—"Origen supposed therefore (remarks Dr. L.) that Celsus had read all our four Gospels, which indeed appears to me to be very probable from the collections which we have made. And their genuineness is here acknowledged." Now, in his version of the original, Dr. Lardner has altogether omitted the negative particle, and made Origen say the very reverse of what he has said. That writer expressly says, that he does not believe that Celsus derived his remark from our four Evangelists ; and yet Dr. Lardner not only makes him say the contrary, but even builds

³ See Jer. Jones, *New and Full Method*, &c. vol. i. p. 543 *sqq.*

⁴ Lardner's *Works*, vol. viii. pp. 16, 58. In like manner Dr. Lardner contends that Celsus had probably "the Books of the *Acts of the Apostles* before him," merely from his having stated that many Jews had become Christians ! *Ibid.* p. 44. as if, in that early age, such a fact had not been notorious.

a structure upon his own erroneous translation⁵. Once more, we have seen above [p. 71], that in mentioning the assertion of Eutychius, that Mark wrote "his Gospel at Rome in the Roman language," Dr. Lardner adds, "by the *Roman* probably meaning the *Greek* language, which then very much prevailed in the Roman empire, as Selden has observed." One should suppose from this, that, according to Selden, Eutychius really meant that Mark wrote not in Latin but in Greek, and yet I strongly suspect that the learned commentator (whose work, however, I have not an opportunity of consulting at present) may be found to affirm directly the contrary⁶.

I have offered these remarks, not for the purpose of diminishing the reputation of this laborious and, upon the whole, candid writer; but to show the danger of *implicit reliance even upon him*, without scending to the sources. This has been indolently done

⁵ *Works*. Dr. Lardner has translated ΟΥΚ οίμαι τηρεῖας, *He had observed, I think*, instead of *He had NOT observed, I think*. Origen. *contra Celsum*, p. 268.

⁶ Lardner, *Works*, vol. vi. p. 90. Baumgarten, at least, arguing that no Protestant had been of opinion that Mark had written his Gospel in Latin, writes thus: "Io. Seldenus enim, qui id fecisse nonnullis secure dicitur, loco ab iisdem allegato Commentarii ad Eutychii *Origines*, p. clxi, verborum autoris sui significatum disputat, quem perhibuisse tuetur Marcum *Latine* scripsisse, atque Io. Cantacuzenum, Baronium, et Ciacconium excitat, sententiam suam prorsus non pronunciat." I take this opportunity of mentioning that Michaelis having said in his chapter on "Hardouin's extraordinary Hypothesis," that "the late Baumgarten has written against this incredible supposition a treatise published in 1742, and entitled *Vindiciæ Textus Græci Novi Testamenti contra Harduinum*," I was at pains to procure the book from Germany. It is a mere *Thesis* or *Programma*, consisting of 32 pages, 4to, not written by Baumgarten, but defended under his auspices by one M. Christianus Fridericus Curtius. To the *Thesis* is added a letter of Baumgarten to Curtius, consisting of seven pages, in which speaking of it he says, "In qua conscribenda, præter consilii librorumque communicationem, partes meæ fuerunt nullæ." p. 2. It matters not, indeed, who wrote it, as it is a very poor production. The *confutation* begins at p. 13 of the *Thesis*, and consists of a few generalities, as the universality of Greek, &c. The letter of Baumgarten himself chiefly relates to the once celebrated autograph of Mark at Venice.

by Dr. Paley, a writer possessed of great sagacity and candour, but who was contented to be a second-hand theologian, and often to form conclusions from very uncertain premises.

NOTE B. p. 39.

The following is the passage from the work of Mr. Dodwell, referred to in the text: " Illud tamen in hac universa Disputatione Paschali mirum, cum Traditionem *Apostolicam* præ se ferrent *Asiani*, *Majorum* autem, nec ante *Xysti* Pontificatum, *Romani*; cumque adeo morem tuerentur *Romani* nec acceptum ab *Apostolis*, nec admodum, cum ferveret Disputatio ista, *vetustum*; morem, contra, *Asiani* et *originalem*, et *Apostolorum*, auctoritate commendatissimum, tam paucos tamen reppererint *Asiani* astipulatores, tam multos autem, et in ipso quoque Oriente, *Romani*. Victoris enim partes tuebatur cum Gallis suis noster *Irenæus*, Græcus tamen ipse, et Ecclesiæ Præfectus e Græcis plerisque conflata. Eidem favebant Episcopus Cæsareæ Palæstinæ *Theophylus*, Hierosolymorum *Narcissus*, grandævus admodum traditionis primævæ testis, nec forte nostro inferior *Irenæo*. Favebat *Cassius* Episcopus Tyri, et *Clarus* Ptolemaidis, alique qui cum illis in Synodum convenerant Episcopi Provinciæ nimirum Palæstinæ universæ. Favebant etiam, illis Palæstinæ Episcopis testibus, *Alexandrini*, adeoque *Ægyptii* universi, quibus Episcopus præerat *Alexandrinus*. Favebant et Episcopi Pontici, quibus præfuit ætatis jure *Palmas*. Favebant et Ecclesiæ *Osroenæ*, et Episcopus *Corinthe* *Bachyllus*, cum aliis etiam multis quorum nomina prætermisit *Eusebius*. Contrarios Victori solos legimus *Asianos*, *Asiæ* nimirum *Lydiacæ* seu *Proconsularis*, quibus tamen etiam astipulatos esse *Syros*, et quidem usque ad ætatem *Constantini* ex *Epiphanio* intelligimus adversus *Audianos*. Nempe *Mesopotamēnos*, unde oriundus erat *Audius*. Victori enim astipulatus videtur *Serapion* *Antiochenus* Episcopus, et cum eo proinde etiam *Syros* *Antiochenos*. Causam esse puto novas illas *Romanorum civium Colonias* ab *Hadriano* deductas, post immensam illam *Judæorum* *Stragem* quæ regionem illam populis infrequentem reddiderat, locumque adeo fecerat novis *Coloniis*. *Marcum* certe quamvis Græcum appellet *Eusebius*, eo tamen sensu Græcum, ni fallor, appellavit, quo non-Judæos omnes Græcos censebant *Palæstini*. *Romanum* certe potius fuisse prodit vel ipsum nomen, qui et successores etiam habuit nominibus plerosque *Romanis*,

Cassianum, Publium, Maximum, Julianum, Caium, &c. Ergo cum *Romani* essent novi illi plerique Hierosolymorum Christiani quoque *Coloni*, non erit proinde quod miremur *mores* etiam secum attulisse plerosque *Romanos*⁷."

NOTE C. p. 114.

I have remarked in the text, that such retranslations as that of the *Aldine Simplicius* seem to have been much more common than is yet suspected by Philologists. Peyron, after demonstrating that work to be a version from the Latin, says, "Neque ulli fraus tanta miraculo esse debet, quum ex omni memoria ætatum corruptores auro obnoxii extiterint. Ut enim omittam libri Tobię, et Evangelii Matthęi Hebraicos textus Munsteri et Fagii, Græcum Aristotelis *De Plantis*¹, *Epistolę Polycarpi ad Philippenses*², *Orationis XII. Themistii*³, Latinum Confutationis Legis Saracenicę Richardi Dominicanı⁴ qui omnes ex versionibus, licet non omnes per fraudem, reficti fuerunt, ad hæc tempora *κρίτικωτερά* festinans persimile proferam exemplum, etsi memoratu incredibile, amplissimis tamen testimoniis indubium⁵." This is an account of a He-

⁷ Dodwell, *Dissert. in Irenæum*, p. 474. Oxon. 1689.

¹ "Sic quidem nonnulli putant, ex quibus Huetius *De claris Interpretib.* lib. ii." [p. 170.] See also Jourdain, *Recherch. Critiq. sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traduct. Latines d'Aristote*, p. 187. An old writer affirms that the Emperor Frederic II. sent store of Latin versions of Aristotle, &c. "Athenis legendam." *Ibid.* p. 175.

² "Græcum textum ex versione Latina confictum in Germania delituisse testatur ejusdem Epistolę editor Halloixius in notat. ad cap. 17. Vitę Polycarpi. Vid. *Patres Apostol.* ed. Clerica, t. ii. pag. 186. [184] in notis." [This seems a mistake of Peyron, originating in a mistranslation of the words of Halloix. "*Integram S. Polycarpi Epistolam Gręcę in Germaniā fuisse, constat ex Versione Latinā, multis abhinc annis Basileę in lucem editā.*" Now what Halloix affirms in these words, is not that there was a Greek copy of Polycarp's Epistle translated from Latin into Greek somewhere lurking in Germany; but that, from the circumstance of a complete Latin edition of the Epistle being published at Basle, there must have been a complete Greek copy, not now to be found, from which it was derived. See Usher's remark, *Pat. Apost.* p. 184. ed. 1700.]

³ "Hanc a Latina Interpretatione Andreę Dudithii Petavius Gręcām fecit."

⁴ "Confer Huetium *cit. loc.*" [p. 177.]

⁵ *Empedoclis*, &c. ab Am. Peyron, p. 61 sqq.

brew inscription, which one Heydeck, a Professor of Oriental languages, pretended had been discovered at Toledo, but which was proved to have been translated by himself from Spanish into Hebrew.

This list of books which have been translated from Latin into Greek, and have passed for originals, might be greatly enlarged. There is, for example, an *Expositio totius Mundi et Gentium*, written originally in Greek (it is supposed about A.D. 347), but of which only a barbarous Latin version, and that, too, mutilated, remained. Salmasius having presented a copy of it to James Gothofred, this learned man translated it into Greek, gave a Latin version of his own Greek, and published it with a Dedication to Salmasius, Geneva, 1628, in 4to. From this Preface I shall extract a passage as confirming what is stated in a preceding part of this work [p. 438] of the advantage of a barbarous literal version in reconducting to the original. "Græci Scriptoris *ἐπιστάσις* isthæc est, quæ ab insulso literione, Græcæ Latinæque linguæ juxta ignarus, in Latinam linguam transfusa fuit, tam inepte, ut jacuisse tamdiu non mirer, potius enatasse . . . Quinimo (quis putet) et hæc ipsa versionis barbaries in bonum vertit. Nam quia Interpres verbum verbo curavit reddere, Græcanicæ etiam ubique constructione servata, quæ vitium Latinis auribus sonaret, facile fuit, Græca saltem mediocria ex Latinis *FACERE* non bonis⁶." It appears that, notwithstanding the care of Gothofred to state in his Preface that the Greek text was merely a version made by himself from the Latin, some considerable scholars have been deceived by supposing that the Greek version was the original text of the writer. Similar misconceptions have been very frequent. Scaliger published an *Ολυμπιαδων αναγραφη*, "which he collected from all the notes of time that he could meet with in any authors . . . after this (says Dr. Bentley) comes Meursius, who mistakes that *Ολυμπιαδων αναγραφη* for an ancient piece, first published out of MS. by Scaliger" . . . "though Scaliger had expressly owned

⁶ ap. Fabricii *Bibl. Græc.* lib. iv. p. 81. "Sane vel ex his verbis (add. Fabricius) ut Latinismos in Græca hac *περιηγησι* à Laur. Normanno observatos omittam, constat falli eos qui Græcâ Gothofredo edita putant esse antiquum et originarium contextum, quod videtur etiam sensisse Jac. Palmerius Grentesmenilius."

*it to be of his own composing*⁷." Nor has Meursius, as appears from the note below, been singular in this mistake. The *Aldine Simplicius* passed for two centuries as an original, though one should suppose that the slightest examination of its quotations might have occasioned a detection⁸. It were easy to accumulate a number of examples of this and a similar nature. A letter of Petrarch on the subject of Cicero, found its way into some MSS. of Cicero's Epistles. "Petrarch's own letter (says Tunstall), though it declares itself to have been written by one of Cicero's *posteris*, and bears date 1340, from an era which Cicero did not know, yet getting into the ancient copies and very early editions, was taken for an unquestionable monument of the purest antiquity, and imposed upon the ablest critics for a time, being sometimes ascribed to Atticus, sometimes to C. Nepos; and possibly might have imposed upon them for a much longer time, had not Paulus Æmilius, who flourished about 1520, had the fortune to detect the cheat by meeting with the letter in Petrarch's own works⁹."

It appears, from these examples, how easily very considerable critics have been deceived, even where there was no design to deceive them, nay even where they were cautioned and put upon their guard. Much scope has, accordingly, been given for the designs of the crafty and interested. It is remarked by Gulen,

⁷ Bentley, *Phalaris*, pp. 113, 203. The same mistake of the *Ολυμπιαδων αναγραφη*, for an ancient work, has been made by many others as well as by Meursius. See Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* lib. ii. cap. 15. p. 533. lib. iv. cap. 13. p. 399. It has lately also been committed by the celebrated Angelus Maius, in the preface to his recovered Fragments of Dionysius Halicarnassus, p. xii. Milan, 1816.

⁸ Upon this subject Peyron makes the following remarks: "Univerſam Græculi fraudem uſque tum Philologos omnes ita ſefelliffe, ne quidpiam ſuboleret, equidem ſummopere demiror. Iis enim, quorum ſtudia integrum Simplicium luſtraffe cogebant, Io. Alb. Fabricio imprimis, pro-num erat, necdum Empedoclis, verum et Platonis, Ariſtotelis, Homerivulgatiſſima loca obſervare tanta depravatione ſœdata, quantam vel a Simplicio, vel a Librariis perquam oſcitantiffime conſcribillantibus profectam nulli unquam credulo ingerere potuiſſent. Inde in ſuſpicionem adducti, locum aperuiſſent ad fraudem detegendam." p. 49.

⁹ Tunſtall, *Observations on the preſent Collection of Epistles between Cicero and M. Brutus*, p. 35. Lond. 1744.

that "When the Attali and the Ptolemies were in emulation about their libraries, the knavery of forging books and titles began; for there were those that, to enhance the price of their books, put the names of great authors before them, and so sold them to those Princes¹⁰." I have a strong suspicion, that the zeal of several Popes and Princes, or wealthy men, as of Nicholas V., and the first Cosmo de Medici, and others, gave rise occasionally to frauds of the same kind; and that of various ancient works of which the Greek originals were wished and could not be obtained, their place was supplied by modern Greek versions made from Latin MSS., and sold at a high price as originals. It appears, for example, that besides the Greek version from W. de Möerbeka, published by Aldus as the Greek original of Simplicius, there is in the Medici Library at Florence, a MS. of the same retranslation; and it might be a subject worthy the examination of a critic, whether other instances of the same kind may not have occurred¹¹.

¹⁰ Galen, *Com. ii. in Hippoc. de Nat. Hom.* ap. *Dissertation upon Phalaris*, p. 9. by Bentley, whose version I give. Sometimes this might be done by persons who could only in this way obtain attention. Adelard of Bath, who wrote about 1112, makes the following complaint, which was the case also in many preceding ages: "Habet hæc generatio ingenitum vitium ut nihil quod a Modernis reperiatur putent esse recipiendum, unde fit ut si quando inventum proprium publicare voluerim, personæ id alienæ imponens, inquam quidam dicet non ego." ap. Jourdain, p. 301. See *supra*, p. 198.

¹¹ "Exemplaria Möerbekæ, Græco Simplicii textu exolescente, obvia fuisse ipsa fraus demonstrat, quæ non aliunde, quam ex Græci defectu, et Latinæ versionis faciliore comparatione orta videtur; ex codicibus pseudo-Græcis non unicum laudari posse Venetum, a quo Aldina editio fuit, cum ex fraude eruditæ omnibus hucusque incomperta augurari liceat, tum Codex Mediceo-Laurentianus xxvii, Plutæi lxxxv, ea, quam præ se fert, lectione evincit... Alios fortasse codices addere possem, si editi Bibliothecarum Catalogi pari accuratissima diligentia cimelia sua describerent." Peyron, *Empedoclis*, &c. p. 65. In a letter of Politian to Lorenzo de Medici, dated Venice, 20 June, 1491, he mentions, among other MSS. which he had procured at Padua, Simplicius *De Cælo*.

¹² The name of Möerbeka's Greek translator is uncertain, but Peyron supposes that he lived in the fourteenth century. As to the genuine Codex of Simplicius in the Turin library, it has no inscription, mark, or note of sale; but Peyron says of it, "Ejus ætas medio sæculo xv facile de-

Let us take, for example, the Epistles attributed to Ignatius. In the year 1495 three Epistles in Latin, ascribed to this Father, were published at Paris, one addressed to the Virgin Mary, and two to the Apostle John. Eleven others, also in Latin, were published in 1498 by J. Faber Stapulensis. Soon afterward Symphorianus Champerius collected these fourteen epistles, and added another *ad Mariam Cassolobitam*. There were now fifteen *Latin* Epistles of Ignatius, of which there were several editions; but hitherto no *Greek* copy had appeared.

At length, about sixty years afterwards, two Greek MSS. of the Epistles of Ignatius were found, after much anxiety had been expressed for their discovery. One of these was published by And. Gesnerus, A.D. 1559, with a Latin version by J. Brunnerus, the other about the same time by Valent. Pacæus. These Greek editions contained only twelve of the Epistles of Ignatius; for the two to the Virgin Mary and that to the Apostle John, though quoted by St. Bernard, had been given up as spurious, and were not found in the Greek. The genuineness of these twelve Epistles (not of the Greek text, which has never been suspected of being translated from the Latin, so far as I know) was a subject of much debate. Eusebius and Jerome had mentioned only *seven* epistles of Ignatius; and it came to be the general sentiment, that of the twelve epistles now attributed to that Apostolical Father, five were spurious, and the others considerably altered and interpolated¹².

terminari potest....Scriptura Italum potius quam Græcum librum redolet." p. 66.

I have already, p. 488, alluded to, and shall here quote, a passage of Aventinus. "Fredericus [II. Imp.] libros Aristotelis omnes, pleraque alia in sacris et profanis Litteris universam suppellectilem philosophiæ, ex Græco atque Arabico sermone per interpretes doctissimos vertendam curavit, Athenis legendam exhibuit." *Ann. Bojorum*, lib. vii. p. 670. ap. Jourdain, p. 175. About this period, 1232, Athens had become a Latin city.

¹² See Bishop Pearson's *Vindiciæ Epist. S. Ignatii* in the second part of the second volume of Le Clerc's edition of the Apostolical Fathers. Amst. 1698. fo. The edition in my possession has the Catholic title-page of Antverpiæ 1700. The facts above stated will be found p. 248. As to the assertion of Baronius, that there were "vetustissimos Græcos co-

Such was the state of the matter, when the venerable Usher, having remarked that three English Theologians had quoted a passage from the Epistles of Ignatius which was not to be found in the common editions, but which had formerly been quoted by Theodoret, began to investigate whether any copy of the Epistles of Ignatius existed in England different from those already published, and better corresponding with the quotations of the Fathers. In this search he was successful. Two ancient *Latin* MSS. were found, containing the seven Epistles of Ignatius, mentioned by Jerome, corresponding with the quotations of the Fathers, and much shorter than the text hitherto printed. These were now published by Usher, and he printed in red the interpolations of the Greek text in the larger copies, which interpolations he discovered by means of the shorter ones¹³.

Nothing was now wanting but to obtain a Greek MS. of these shorter Epistles; and this was soon afterwards discovered by Vossius in the Medicean Library at Florence. Of one Epistle only, that to the Romans, there was no Greek copy, and probably the person who translated the others thought it was more natural to suppose that Ignatius had written to them in their own language. In order, meantime, to supply the deficiency, Vossius, as he himself tells us, manufactured a Greek Epistle to the Romans from the Latin version, with the aid of the interpolated Greek Epistle and of Simeon Metaphrastes¹⁴. And yet Bishop

dices (qui non in urbe tantum in diversis Bibliothecis habentur, sed et alijs ubique locorum") of these XII Ignatian Epistles, Usher affirms that after every research the Papists "nullum omnino Manuscriptum exemplar *Græcum* nacti sunt, quo in textu Ignatii emaculando juvarentur, præter unicum *Augustanum*: nostris etiam unum tantum aliud adhibentibus, quod ex Bibliothecâ Gaspari a Nydprugck ab Andrea Gesnero typis est excusum." *Ibid.* p. 193. See also p. 226, where *Vatican and English Greek MSS.* dwindle into *two Latin ones*; the latter, which had been held forth as "miræ vetustatis," containing a version of a life of Greg. Naz. by Ambrogio Traversari, written by the same scribe. Ambrogio died in 1439, not (as Usher supposed) in 1490. There are some good remarks on exaggerations respecting Manuscripts in the *Edin. Review*, vol. xvii. p. 218.

¹³ See the account given by Usher himself, *Clerici Petr. Apost.* vol. ii. p. 188. P. II. and by Pearson, *ibid.* p. 252.

¹⁴ "Ex veris, et genuinis Ignatii Literis sola hæc requirebatur in Co-

Pearson complains that so distinguished a critic as Daillé has argued from this Vossian Greek version of the Epistle to the Romans as if it were a genuine text¹⁵. It appears, from this, and from the examples cited at the beginning of this article, how little cautious critics have been in matters of this kind, even when expressly warned; and consequently how very easy it was to deceive them. Mr. Gibbon, speaking of some arguments of Hume, founded on a passage of Cæsar, respecting the population of Gaul, says: "In the same place, Mr. Hume observes that the numbers in Cæsar are to be depended upon, as the Greek translation checks the original. Mr. Hume must know, that this version (which is a very indifferent one) is attributed by the learned to Gaza or Planudes, and consequently no older than our most

dice illo optimo Bibliothecæ Medicæ. Utinam etiam hanc dare potuissem, quam *ad Romanos* scripsit Sanctissimus Martyr...Mihi non licuit esse tam felici, ut illam Græce invenirem. Alii forsan fortunatiores me, et diligentiores in perscrutandis Bibliothecis, illud præstabunt. Interim multum debemus Reverendissimo Armachano, qui nobis veterem dedit hujus Epistolæ versionem...Age itaque, videamus an non et hujus, et Simeonis Logothetæ subsidio, qui integram citat, adulterina a genuinis possimus discernere." Vossius ap. Cleric. *Patr. Apost.* II. p. 26.

Blondel, who was at first delighted with the discovery of the six Greek Epistles by Vossius, copied them with his own hand, but afterwards considered them as of little value. *Ibid.* P. II. p. 253. This MS. of Blondel, with that of Vossius, would form two MSS. supplementary to the Medicean one. It was not uncommon, after the invention of printing, to transcribe even printed books, and hence the comparatively little value of modern MSS. An editor of Phile accuses Arsenius, Bishop of Monembasiæ, of temerity, "quia ille narrat, *unicum et quidem Archetypum exemplar* Philæ penes se fuisse: Nam (dicit corrector ejus) adhuc hodie præter librum Anglicanum, Romæ in Bibliotheca Vaticana et Lutetiæ in Bibliotheca Regia extat Philes MS." This sounds high; but it appears from a subscription in the Vatican MS. that it was written in Paris in the year 1560, and consequently 27 years after the edition of Arsenius. The other MSS. of Phile are by the same Scribe. See *Misc. Observ.* vol. II. tom. III. p. 444.

¹⁵ "Hic enim eam hoc loco edidit, quam Isaacus Vossius ex Versione Usseriana confecit." Pearson, *ut supra*, p. 424. Mosheim, though he knew that the α 11th oration of Themistius was translated into Greek by Petavius from the Latin of Dudithius, quotes part of this Greek with the Latin text, *Diss. ad Hist. Eccl. pert.* vol. I. p. 171. Altona 1743.

recent MSS.¹⁶ Planudes (*supra*, p. 399) was an unwearied translator from the Latin, and could have himself supplied a number of re-translations¹⁷. In fact, it was not necessary to have recourse to Greeks for this purpose. Smith when a young man, and in indifferent health, translated in six weeks Bishop Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* into Greek, and mentions in his Preface to the reader several other Greek translators¹⁸.

To return to the Epistles of Ignatius, it appears to me exceedingly probable that the Greek text was manufactured from the Latin copies. The first Latin edition of the twelve Epistles preceded the discovery of the two Greek MSS. nearly sixty years.

¹⁶ Gibbon, *Misc. Works*, vol. iii. p. 554. 4to.

¹⁷ This laborious and distinguished man certainly did not deserve Bentley's unjust and cruel epithet, "Idiot of a Monk," *Phalaris*, p. 437. See, for example, *Edin. Rev.* vol. xviii. pp. 189, 208.

¹⁸ In defending himself from the charge of innovation in translating into Greek, Smith says, "Næ isti nondum vidisse videantur Erasmus a Caversino, a Gaza Ciceronem, a Scaligero Catonem, Cæsarem ab Anonymo quodam Græce versos," ap. *Classical Journal*, No. xxiv. p. 462. In a subsequent paper, in the same Journal, concerning Smith's version, No. xxv. p. 183—187, mention is made of various other Greek writers and translators who have lived in the last three centuries, as Daniel Heinsius, Jos. Scaliger, Joshua Barnes, and James Duport. And again, No. xxviii. 360, it is said, "To the names of the modern Grecians must be added those of some celebrated Frenchmen, Pétau, Huet, Boivin, Chivot, and others." From a work in my possession entitled M. G. Litzellii *Historia Poetarum Græcorum Germaniæ a renatis Literis*, &c. 8vo. Francofurti 1733, I might easily enumerate various German Greek writers.

Fabricius, in his account of Irenæus, says, "Quod autem Petrus Halloixius instituit *Irenæum* e Latino Græcum reddere, id merito parum utile visum Richardo Simoni et Dupinio." *Bibl. Lat. Med. et inf. Latin.* Feuardent tells us, "Testentur denique nonnulli pii et docti viri se Græcum exemplar [Irenæi] in Venetiana Bibliotheca legisse, alii quoque in Vaticana visum ferant, quæ tamen ibi postea frustra quæsita sint." ap. *Max. Bibl. Patr. Vcl.* tom. ii. P. ii. p. 217. Lugd. 1677. It is odd, indeed, that no Greek copy of Irenæus has been discovered; but most of the subjects of which he treats were either obsolete, or had not, like those of Ignatius, become matter of controversy. Had any of the Medici been anxious to acquire a *Greek original of Irenæus*, and offered a sufficient sum, I have no doubt that it might have been speedily procured.

They had become subjects of interest and inquiry; and this was a sufficient motive for some one to translate them. Again, soon after the publication of Usher (whose honour is unquestionable) of the seven shorter Epistles, a Greek version of six of them was found in the Medici Library, and which I strongly suspect was got up for the occasion. The style of these Epistles is full of Latinisms. Grotius has the following remark on *Mutt.* xxvii. 26. *φραγελλωσας* . . . "est autem hæc vox e Latina translata in usum Græci sermonis, ut *κουστωδια*, et quæ apud Ignatium leguntur *δεσερτορ, δεποσιτα, ακκεπτα, εξεμπλαριον*." All these seem to attest a version from the Latin. The opponents of the genuineness of the Epistles ascribed to Ignatius were less moved with these than with the "nomina varie composita et mirifica quibus Epistolæ ad fastidium scatent." Bishop Pearson, in reply to this, says that we find "voces non minus varie et mirifice compositas" in the New Testament. It is remarked by Col. Leake, (p. 48) that compound words "are in very general use in Romaic, and often composed for the occasion with a very expressive effect."

There is a mode, besides Latinisms in style, by which we may detect a retranslation. If in two different MSS. the text be, to use the expression of Griesbach, "totally different in habit and colour," and if quotations from ancient writers differ in one of them greatly from the usual text, we may suspect that the text in this MS. is a retranslation. It is true that a change or diversity of text in works written in the Greek language may sometimes have originated in different causes. During the era of the dialects, it was customary to transdialect, or transfer a work from one dialect to another, and, after the dialects became obsolete, into the *κοινή* or common language¹⁹. Another source of change of text originated in the substitution of modern for obsolete words. "In their lowest servitude and depression (says Mr. Gibbon) the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key

¹⁹ *Supra*, p. 212. See an oration of Xerxes as it exists in Herodotus, (*Polymn.* 7, 8, p. 243.) and transferred from Ionic into Attic by Dionys. Halic. printed on the same page in two parallel columns in Maittaire's *Græc. Ling. Dialect.* p. 178—182. Lipsiæ 1807. In Italy, which resembled Greece in the variety of its states and dialects, the *Jerusalem Delivered* was transferred into nine different Italian dialects. See Scassai *Vita del Tasso*, p. 562. *Childs Harvold*, canto iv. note on stanza 3.

that could unlock the treasures of antiquity ; of a musical and prolific language that gave a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy²⁰." It is very often forgotten that the Greek language underwent similar changes and vicissitudes as others ; that there was an old and new Attic, an old and new Doric, &c., and that this new Attic became antiquated in its turn²¹. A modern Greek was obliged, in reading ancient authors, to have constant recourse to Glossarists and Scholiasts. This must have greatly diminished his pleasure, and must often have occasioned a substitution of modern for ancient words. In poetry this could not easily be done ; and hence, probably, the neglect of so many of the ancient poets, who must have appeared equally obscure and even uncouth to a modern Greek reader, as Chaucer and Gawin Douglas to ourselves²².

²⁰ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. LXVII. vol. xii. p. 115.

²¹ See Maittaire, *G. Ling. Dialect.* p. xxxv. xli. and the authors there cited "rectissime fortasse sentiunt (says Sturz) qui...tres Dialerti Atticæ ætates fuisse sentiunt." See also Salmasius *De Hellenist.* p. 432. Bentley, *Phalaris*, p. 285 sqq. Sturz. *ap. Maittaire et De Dialect. Maced.* p. 25. I suspect that several even of the plays of Menander had undergone modernization, as some of the words cited from him, and condemned by the grammarians, have a Latin aspect.

²² See *Quart. Review*, vol. xvi. p. 325. This article on the *Ambrosian Manuscripts* contains some valuable remarks on the subject of the loss and mutilation of ancient MSS. Profess. Wyttenbach, in his preface to Plutarch, speaking of the capture of Alexandria by the Saracens in 641, puts the question, "Whether the learned world sustained as great a loss as is commonly imagined, and whether, if that library had not been destroyed, we should have had at present either the books it contained or copies of them. I am not (says he) of this opinion. In the first place, it is highly probable that before the invasion of the Saracens many of the ancient Manuscripts contained in that library had perished through the neglect of transcribing them ; and that great part of the MSS. at the time of its destruction were new, and on ecclesiastical subjects. Besides, it is very likely that there were copies in Greece of most of the Alexandrian MSS., which might have been preserved if proper care had been taken in transcribing them. The sloth of the Greeks, and the inattention which was then, and for long afterwards, manifested towards literature, were the causes of the loss of more works than all the barbarians : so that if the Saracens had either not taken Alexandria, or had

But neither the transference of a work from some peculiar dialect, nor the substitution of modern for obsolete words, can satisfactorily account for such phenomena as the following.—In the *Sibyllina Oracula*, ed. Paris. 1607, we find the following verses, p. 344 :—

Κυματα πεζευσει, νησος δ' ανδρων απολυσει
 Στησει τεθνεωτας, κλπασεται αλγεια λυγρα
 Εκ δε μινς ριζης αρτα, κορος εσπεται ανδρων.
Pacabit fluctus, a morbis eruct ægros :
Vitam defunctis reddet, pelletque dolores,
Et panis de fonte hominum satias erit uno.

These verses are thus given in a MS. written by Sedulius Scotus in the ninth century, ap. Montfaucon, *Pal. Græc.* p. 245.

Κυματα πατησει, νοσον ανθρωπων απολυσει
 Ζησει τεθνεωτας, απωσεται αλγεια πολλα
 Εκ δε μινς πηγης αρτα, κορεσις εσαι ανδρων.

Upon the whole, the subject of *re-translations* and of *rifacciamenti*, &c., has by no means yet received that attention which it merits ; and it is in this way only, perhaps, that we shall be able to account for some singular literary phenomena, as for example the strange

sent all the books into Greece, we should not have been more fortunate," p. 57. ap. *Edin. Review*, vol. ii. p. 220. In fact, one circumstance has long weighed with me in this matter. We possess the voluminous writings of Philo, of Ptolemy, of Athanasius, of Cyril, &c. all *Alexandrines*, and all most likely to have perished in the supposed Saracenic destruction of the library, while the works which *have perished* are the comedies of Menander, of Philemon, &c. works which were once in the hands of the reading public. Their destruction, therefore, has been owing to the ignorance, sloth and fanaticism of the Greeks. A modern Greek Geography, printed at Vienna in 1791, contains an account of Mount Athos, in which it is said that the Europeans have taken the best MSS.; the Holy Fathers care very little about such things," *οι αγιοπατερες μικρα φροντιζυν δια παρομοια πραγματα*, Leake, p. 184. See *supra*, p. 85. In a few ages more, had not a taste for Greek literature been excited in the West, nothing would probably have remained but the Psalter, Gospels, and a few ecclesiastical writings. Col. Leake makes some very just observations in speaking of the charge of ingratitude often made against the enlightened Europeans by the modern Greeks. "While it is admitted (says he) that we are still under obligations to the Greeks, the accusation of ingratitude can hardly be allowed in the extent to

style of Vitruvius, so unlike the elegance of the Augustan age. [See *Quart. Review*, vol. xxi. p. 29.] It has been suspected that some of the writings of even very late writers may have undergone a *rifacciamento*. Ducange, speaking of the pompous and inflated style of Nicetas the Choniate, and of George Pachymer, says, "Tametsi in controversiam venit an primitus ii pompatico isto scriptionis caractere commentarios suos emisierint, cum Nicetæ præsertim in Bibliothecis iidem habeantur humiliori longè ac communi sermone descripti, vocibusque interdum vulgaribus aspersi. Sed et testatur Petrus Possinus Historiam Pachymeris, vel certe illius compendium, stylo multò depressiori conscriptum haberi in Bibliotheca Vaticana, ita ut incertum maneat an Barbarascripti isti commentarii primarii sint ac authentici, quos nescio qui Græculi in exquisitæ alicujus, ac reconditoris doctrinæ specimen, novâ illâ facie donaverint: præsertim cum cætera quæ ex iis Scripto-ribus prostant monumenta, diversâ prorsus scriptionis ratione exarata legantur."—*Gloss. Græc.* Præf. p. xvii.

NOTE D. p. 218.

I have stated above (p. 218) that, notwithstanding the dissertation of Mr. Bryant, I agree with Grotius, Bentley, and some others, in thinking that the true reading, *Acts* xxvii. 14, is *Ευρακυλων* as in the *Alex. MS.* and Latin Vulgate. Indeed Mr. Bryant seems to have written his *Essay on Euroclydon*, as preparatory merely to his absurd theory that the Apostle Paul was shipwrecked not on Malta, but Melite, far north in the Adriatic. As this discussion is in some degree calculated to confirm the Latin origin of the com-

which they prefer it. They are too apt to forget the advantages they have derived from Western Europe, during the period wherein, by the consequences of their own unworthiness, they have ceased to exist as a nation. The oblivion into which the literature of antiquity had fallen in Greece, is proved by the extreme rarity of MSS. of Hellenic books now to be met with in that country: and Italy has not only already repaid the debt of learning which she received from the fugitives from Constantinople in the fifteenth century, but Western Europe has preserved for the Greeks, during the darkness in which they have been involved for several centuries, those works of their ancestors, which without this assistance would have been entirely lost to them." Leake, *Researches*, p. 232.

mon Greek copies of the *Book of Acts*, I shall mention some circumstances bearing upon the subject.

In the first place (and which has been totally overlooked in this discussion) we have a similar coalition of points of the compass two verses before, where we are told that the port of Crete, which the ship, in which Paul was, had reached, not being commodious to winter in, they thought it advisable to endeavour to reach Phenice, which (says Luke) is an haven of Crete, *βλεποντα κατα Λιβας, και κατα Χωρον, portum Cretæ respicientem ad Africū et ad Corum*, Vulg.¹ Here now, at verse 12, the position of the port of Phenice is determined by the junction of a Greek and a Latin point of the compass, perfectly analogous to *Euro-Aquilo*, a few lines afterwards. Dr. Bentley had remarked that “the wind *Euroclydon* was never heard of but here; it’s compounded of *ευρος* and *κλυδων*, the wind and the waves;” and Mr. Bryant owns, “It is true I should have taken the word *Euroclydon* to have signified an eastern swell or a deep sea from the east; but as the sacred writer tells us it was the name of a wind, it certainly implies a wind that makes such a swell from the east².” Here Mr. Bryant begs the question that the Sacred Writer had used *Euroclydon*. He afterwards goes on to tell us that Grotius, Bentley, and Bochart, “proceeded on a wrong principle, for they think that as the Greeks compounded the two winds *Eurus* and *Notus*, and formed a third that was a medium to the extremes, so *Eurus* and *Aquilo* might have been blended in the same manner, and a third called *Euro-Aquilo* have been constituted from them. But they do not suffi-

¹ That *Λιβας* is rightly translated *Africus*, appears from Pliny, who says, “Ex adverso *Aquilonis* ab occasu solstitiali *Africus* flabit quem Græci *LIBA* vocant.” Again, enumerating winds as denominated by the Greeks and by the Romans, Pliny says, “A meridie *Auster*, et ab occasu solstitiali *AFRICUS*, *Noton* et *LIBA* nominant. Ab occasu æquinoctiali *Favonius*, ab occasu brumali *Corus*: *Zephyron* et *ARGESTEN* vocant.”

———*victus violento Navita Coro*

Dat regimen ventis. LUCAN.

In this same verse Luke uses the expression *εβεντο βυλην*. “Videtur Latinismus (says Price): vertas ad verbum ex Petronio *consilium posuerunt*.” in loc.

² Bentley, *Remarks upon a late Discourse of Freethinking*, p. 102. Lond. 1737. Bryant, *Observations*, &c. p. 8. 4to. Cambridge 1767.

ciently consider that in the former case the Greeks joined together two winds of Greek original, in doing which there was no impropriety ; but there is a manifest impropriety in the latter case, where a Greek and a Roman wind are unnaturally combined : for *Eurus* is a Greek name, *Aquilo* a Roman, and they are for that reason incompatible, and inconsistent with each other. It is true Seneca does say in his pointed and witty manner, that both *Eurus* and *Zephyrus* were in his time admitted into the Latin language." Surely Seneca is very good authority, and were it otherwise we have an example, at ver. 12, of a similar combination.

In adopting the word *Eurus* from the Greeks, the Romans generally used this word to signify the due æquinoctial east. "The Latins (says Dr. Bentley) had no known name for *καίριος* : quem ab oriente solstitiali excitatum Græci *καίριον* apud nos sine nomine est, says Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* v. 16. *Καίριος*, therefore, blowing between *Aquilo* and *Eurus*, the Roman seamen (for want of a specific word) might express the same wind by the compound name *Euro-Aquilo*." In fact, we are told by Pliny that there was no end to such compounds : "Item inter *Liba* et *Noton* compositum est ex utroque medium . . . *Libonoton*. Nec finis . . . et inter *Eurum* et *Noton*, *Euronoton*³."

Dr. Bentley concludes by remarking that the "*Euro-Aquilo*" is the very wind that would directly drive the ship from Crete to the African Syrtes, according to the pilot's fears in the 17th verse." In the hypothesis of Mr. Bryant his *Euroclydon* "blew upon shore, and must have come from the south or south-east," p. 22. Had this been the case, the ship must have been stranded on the shore of Crete instead of being driven out to sea, which we are told it was ; and it is amusing to observe that in Mr. Bryant's own map he is obliged to make the wind come from the north-east, in order in the first place to get quit of Crete, and to pass Clauda.

The reader will have remarked that Luke defines the position of the port of Phenice by *Corus* a Latin word, and he here makes use of *Euro-Aquilo* a Latin compound. Accordingly Dr. Bentley speaks throughout of the ship from Alexandria as manned by Roman sailors. "But the Doctor (says Mr. Bryant, p. 7.) has a strange presumptive notion that these were Roman sailors ; and the whole

³ Bentley, *Remarks*, &c. p. 103. Bryant, *Observations*, &c. p. 12. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* lib. ii. c. 47.

of his argument turns upon it. But this he takes for granted without the least foundation. The mariners were doubtless Greeks." And, again, he thus remarks, p. 14 : " I have already observed that through the whole course of Dr. Bentley's reasoning, the mariners are supposed to be Romans. This is without any hesitation taken for granted, though there is not the least show of evidence to countenance the opinion. Are we to imagine, because the Romans conquered all the world, that they navigated every ship upon the seas ? The Evangelist does not tell us that this was an *Italian* ship coming from *Alexandria*, but an *Alexandrine* ship going to Italy. It is therefore wonderful that Cluver, Bochart, Grotius, and, I believe, every writer upon the subject, should overlook this circumstance that entirely subverts their hypothesis. There is not the least reason to imagine that the mariners were from Italy. Alexandrine ships were navigated by people of Alexandria, as appears by a ship from that place which Lucian, in a serious Platonic Dialogue, gives a very particular account of." How, from *one* ship mentioned by Lucian, a conclusion can be formed with respect to all other ships of Alexandria, it is not easy to see. But let us suppose the mariners were Greek, a thing exceedingly probable ; this would only render the present Greek text more inexplicable, unless we suppose it a translation or re-translation from the Latin. It seems impossible otherwise to account for the use of *Corus* and *Euro-Aquilo*, for the name of *Adriatic* given to the *Ionian* sea, which was much more likely to be done by a Latin than a Greek writer in the age of the Apostles, and for several Greek words in the narrative which seem to be corruptions of Latin ones⁴. Indeed Jerome himself supposes the *Book of Acts* to have

⁴ For example, in the very verse in which *Euroclydon* occurs we read ΕΒΑΛΕ ανεμος τυφωνικος, &c. I suspect ΕΒΟ has given rise to this strange use of Βαλλω, as B and V or F were often confounded, *supra*, p. 225, 294. I may remark, too, that the observation of Markland, *Acts* xxvii. 9, that "την νηστειαν must be something which increased the danger of sailing, to which the Fast of the Jews has no more relation than circumcision has," is not so "ridiculous" as Middleton, *Greek Article*, p. 434, would represent it. I had conjectured that as σημεια had by metathesis occasioned *hiemes* in the *Vercelli* MS. *Luke* xxi. 11. [*supra*, p. 376.] so νηστειαν was a metathesis for *autumnus*. I found afterwards in Griesbach *in loc.* that *autumnus* is actually the reading of the Toledo

been composed in Rome ; and (as we have seen above) Luke presumes his reader to be acquainted with the vicinity of Rome, while he supposes him to be unacquainted with Greece and Judæa⁵.

NOTE E. p. 249.

In treating of the mistake of *Parthos* for *Parvos*, of *nominum* for *hominum*, &c. in the fourth Disquisition, I had written as follows : “ I strongly suspect that the common term *UNCIAL*, for *capital letters*, has arisen from a similar mistake. Habeant qui volunt (says Jerome, Præf. in Job) veteres Libros, vel in membranis purpureis, auro argentoque descriptos, vel *VNCIALIBVS*, ut vulgo aiunt literis, onera magis exarata, quam codices. I suspect *VNCIALIBVS* to be a corruption of *INITIALIBVS*’.”

It was with considerable satisfaction that, some months after writing the above, I found on procuring the *Ars Critica* of Le Clerc that some MSS. have *initiales* instead of *unciales*, though that critic, with great want of perspicacity, shuts his eyes to the light thus afforded : “ Monent Monachi Benedictini (says he after quoting the above passage of Jerome) duos aut tres MSS. Codd. habere *INITIALES*, et quidem *eodem*, ut aiunt, *sensu* ; qua in re graviter falluntur, nam *unciales literæ* sunt majusculæ quævis non *initiales*, qualibus, ut dixi antea, integra volumina scribebantur, et quales hîc intelligit Hieronymus, ut liquet ex eo quod iis descriptos Codices vocet *onera*, quia non poterant illis Literis, in exiguis membranis, integra Biblia scribi. Forte Monachi, qui *initiales* pro *uncialibus* scripserunt, crediderunt Hieronymum spectare consuetudinem *initialium* literarum majori formâ, et elegantius scribendarum quam cæterarum, imo auro, et pigmentis ornandarum, quæ consuetudo ab aliquot sæculis usitata est. At Hierony-

MS. At v. 17. *αγαυτες βοηθειας* seems a corruption of *orantes*, i. e. *praying* for the assistance of the people of Clauda, to whom the boat belonged. See Bede in Griesbach's *N. T.*

⁵ *Supra*, p. 110 et seq.

¹ Montfaucon in his *Palæogr. Græca* remarks that, so far as we know, the term *Literæ Unciales* was first used by Jerome ; and after mentioning two ridiculous etymologies he adds, “ Utut vero sit de prima vocis origine, *Vnciales* literis, hodierno usu dicimus eas in vetustis codicibus, quæ priscam formam servant, ac solutæ sunt nec mutuo colligantur,” p. xii.

mus de integris libris loquitur, nec umquam omnes majusculæ literæ dictæ sunt *initiales* ab Hieronymo, aut a quoquam non prorsus barbaro²." Now surely the term *initial* is just as natural and proper as that of *capital*, to denote those largest letters which were commonly set at the head and beginning of books. Mr. Turner, describing a MS. of the Latin Gospels which once belonged to Athelstane, and which is declared to have been used for the coronation oath of our Anglo-Saxon kings, tells us that the verses of Matthew "containing the genealogy are in gilt capitals on a lilac ground. The first verses of the three other Gospels are in gilt capitals on the uncoloured parchment. To each a painting of the Evangelist is prefixed. The rest is written in ink without abbreviations. In the beginning of the Gospels is a page with *Incipit evangelium secundum Matthæum* in large gilt capitals³." Now if in this MS. the *initial* gilt letters made use of in the genealogy of Matthew had been carried on throughout (and several such MSS. exist), it would have completely suited the description of Jerome above, "in membranis purpureis, auro argentoque descriptis, vel INITIALIBVS, ut vulgo aiunt literis, onera magis exarata quam codices⁴."

While on this subject, I may remark that it seems to me also that, in the following instance, an easy Latin abbreviation, mistaken and mis-interpreted into Greek, has given rise to great doubts and some absurd suppositions among philologists. Many Greek MSS. were written like a Pindaric ode in lines of different lengths or *στίχοι* [sticks, staves,] or verses, a word adopted in our language in *Di-stich* meaning two *stichoi* or verses. A list of the number of these *στίχοι* was given at the end of the book, and these lists were sometimes the same, sometimes differed, in different MSS. What happened in Greek took place also in Latin MSS.,

² Clerici *Ars Critica*, tom. ii. p. 79. Lond. 1698. The various reading *initialibus* could scarcely, one should think, have been unknown to Montfaucon.

³ Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 361.

⁴ While this work is passing through the press, I find that I have been anticipated in the conjecture that *Literæ Unciales* is a mistake for *Literæ Initiales*, by Mr. Astle in his *Origin and Progress of Writing*, p. 81. Lond. 1784.

where a summation of the *VERSUS* or *στιχοι* was also given. I shall here set down the commencement of one of these summations of verses from P. Simon *Hist. Crit.* p. 423.

Matthæus	ver. ιβδς,	i. e. 2600
Joannes	ver. ιι,	i. e. 2000
Marcus	ver. ιδς,	i. e. 1600
Lucas	ver. ιβδςςςς,	i. e. 2900, &c.

Now it seems to me that in such summations as the above, the abbreviation *VER.* for *VERSUS* (which ought to have been translated *στιχοι*) has been mistaken for an abbreviation of *VERBA*, and so translated *ῥήματα*. In looking, for example, into Griesbach's edition of the Gospels, we find, at the end of each, different enumerations both of the *στιχοι* and *ῥήματα*, which latter designation has given rise to the most absurd conjectures⁵. It is merely an

⁵ " Simon (says Michaelis) in his *Hist. Crit. du Texte du N. T.* [p. 422] detects a strange error of Croius in his *Observ. Sacr. in Nov. Test.* notwithstanding Rumpæus transcribes from Croius, that these *ῥήματα* were words. It is surprising that these men could, without being astonished at what they wrote, affirm that St. Matthew contained 2522 words, and 2560 verses." vol. ii. p. 526. Simon himself says, *ibid.* p. 423: " On doit donc entendre par le mot de *ῥήματα* le nombre des sentences; et par celui de *στιχοι*, les anciens versets qui étoient mesurés selon les lignes, ou quelque autre sorte de versets." Montfaucon, *Palaogr. Græc.* p. 306, says: "'Ρήματα, quæ numerantur, puto esse verba ore Jesu Christi prolata, Στιχοι; autem versiculos esse, in quibus a linea semper resumebatur jam sæpe diximus." Michaelis says: "'Ρήματα were lines which were measured by the sense...According to an ancient written list which we have in Simon, p. 423, there were of these *ῥήματα* in

St. Matthew	2600
St. Mark	- 1600
St. Luke	- 2900
St. John	- 2000," &c.

ut supra, p. 526, 527. This is the very list given above (with the Gospel of John altered from the Latin to the Greek arrangement), and we see that Michaelis has committed the very error which I have attributed to the Greek translators of considering *Ver.* as *ῥήματα*. This is the more remarkable in him, as he might have been put upon his guard by what Simon says of this very list. " St. Matthieu selon cet ancien Catalogue qui est écrit en Latin, contient 2600 versets, St. Jean 2000, St. Marc 1600, St. Luc 2900," &c. The learned translator of Micha-

erroneous evolution of the abbreviation *ver.* supposed to be *verba* instead of *versus*. At the end of the Gospel of John in Griesbach, we find *εχει δε στιχους ατλ* [1330] . . . *ρηματα ατλα* [1331]. By another enumeration its *ρηματα* amount to *βχ* [2600], and immediately is added *versus* 2600. Nothing, in short, can be more evident than that the *ver.* (mistaken for *verba*) were merely the *versus* in Latin MSS. corresponding with *στιχοι* in Greek ones, and that *ρηματα* like *uncialibus* is a barbarism. I once suspected that *ρηματα* might be used in modern Greek for *rhymes*, and thus given as a translation of *versus*, but the conjecture offered above seems most plausible.

I may here add that I agree with the conjecture of Potter, that *Itala* is a mistake for *Usitata* in the passage of Augustin : " In ipsis autem INTERPRETATIONIBUS ITATA ceteris præferatur," &c. See Marsh, Michaëlis, vol. iii. p. 623. *Itala* like *uncialis* is an error. See *supra*, p. 287.

NOTE F. p. 391.

Of the Antiquity, &c. of the CODEX BEZÆ.

I have remarked in a note that, as the *Codex Beza* is usually considered as the most ancient MS. of the New Testament, I determined to make it a subject of discussion in the Appendix. When I reflect on the many distinguished men by whom the extreme antiquity of this MS. has been asserted [*supra*, p. 374], and that it is usually, indeed, considered as the most ancient of all our MSS., it is not without hesitation that I venture to express my suspicion that it was written by some Gallo-Grecian or French-Greek, during the sway of the French in Greece in the thirteenth century. My suspicion is founded partly on what Valckenaer calls

elis (in a note on "*these ρήματα*" in the passage last quoted from him) says : " Our author should have called these divisions, not *ρηματα*, but *στιχοι*. The latter name is expressly applied to them by Wetstein, vol. ii. p. 6." In fact, Wetstein introduces Simon's catalogue thus :

" *Versus Scripturarum Sanctarum ita :*

Evangelia IIII.

Matthæus 2000,

Ioannes . 2000, &c."

But no critic, so far as I know, seems to have conceived the easy solution which I have given.

the *Alexandrianisms* of the Greek text of the *Codex Beza*, partly on some phenomena in its Latin version.

I. With regard to its *Alexandrianisms*, Valckenaer, who often inveighs against the writer of the *Cod. Beza* as an interpolator, and as a "homo certe impudentissimus," has the following remarks on *Acts* xvi. 19, which in our Vulgate Greek runs thus: Ἰδοντες δε οἱ κυριοι αυτης, οτι εξηλθεν η ελπις της εργασιας αυτων. "Lucæ sententiam (says Valckenaer) his verbis expressit Interpolator in *Cod. Cantabrig.* Ὡς δε ειδαν οἱ κυριοι της παιδισκης οτι απεστηρησθαι της εργασιας αυτων, ης ειχαν δι' αυτης. Quales vero formas (continues Valck.) hic præbet *Cod. Cantabrig.* Alexandrinas ειδαν et ειχαν tales habet permultas, non in ceteris tantum Evangeliiis, sed et in utroque Lucæ libello, qualem ego saltem a Luca nullam arbitror profectam: in Lucaneis istius *Cod.* reperiuntur hujus generis præter ista duo, nonnulla sæpe repetita ειπαν, εφυγαν, συνεπνιγαν, ηλθαν, εξηλθαν, προσηλθαν, επηλθαν, ευραν, ελεγαν, ενεπαιξαν, υπεστρεφαν, εξαλαν, παρειχαν, συνεσχαν, ηθελαν, et paulo diversa, etiam Alexandrina εθορυβουσαν, *Act.* xvii. 5. ψηλαφησαισαν, *ibid.* § 27; et ευροισαν, *ibid.* § 27. Hæc et horum similia in isto *Cod.* reperta mihi quidem persuadent Interpolatorem istum esse antiquissimum quod hic commode demonstrari non potest¹."

In spite of my deference to the authority of Valckenaer, which in questions connected with Greek philology is doubtless very great, I cannot help remarking that the forms εφυγαν, ηθελαν, &c., so far from proving that the Interpolator (if we may so name him) of the *Cod. Beza* was very ancient, seem to me to argue the contrary; and that whatever may be the antiquity of that MS., so far as concerns its agreement with ancient versions &c., the *present copy* of it may be more modern than has been supposed. I know not whence Valckenaer derived his information, that for εφυγον, εξαλον, &c., the Alexandrians said εφυγα, εξαλα, &c. in the first person, and εφυγαν, εξαλαν, in the third. Eustathius, indeed, quotes

¹ Valck. *Schediasma* ap. Hemsterh. *Orat.* p. 391. In his *Scholæ* also, vol. ii. p. 467, Valckenaer says: "Pro εφυγον, εξαλον, ειδον, ευρον, ηλθον, ειπον, Alexandrini pronunciabant in *prima pers.* εφυγα, εξαλα, ειδα—in *tertijs* autem *personis* εφυγαν, εξαλαν, ειδαν, ευραν, ηλθαν, ειπαν. Talia reperiuntur ubique in *Vers. Gr. V. T.* nusquam occurrunt ap. *SS. veteres Græc.* nisi quod ειπα et ειπαν Iones quoque adhibuerunt Herodotus et Hippocrates."

a passage from Heraclides, in which he tells us that this was a practice of those Cilicians who spoke Greek ; and from them, says Sturz, it *might* easily pass to the Alexandrians². It is possible that it *might*, but of this we have no evidence. We know, however, that whether these forms were *Alexandrian* or not, they are *now Romaic* ; and that in modern Greek the imperfect of *θελω* is in the first person *ἤθελα*, and in the third person plural *ἤθελαν* : *εχω* has in the first person *εἶχα*, and in the third person plural *εἶχαν*³. I have no copy of a Romaic New Testament, and cannot at present compare with it the above text in the *Cod. Cantab.*, which gave occasion to the remarks of Valckenaer ; but as Col. Leake, p. 57, has given an extract of seventeen verses from a Romaic version of the New Testament, I shall select one of these verses as an illustration. Our Vulgate text of *Luke* xix. 7. is as follows : *Και ἰδόντες ἅπαντες διεγογγυζον, λεγοντες ὅτι, &c.*, which

² "A quibus ob Commenciorum communionem facile transire potuit ad Alexandrinos." Sturz, *De Dialect. Maced. et Alex.* p. 62.

³ Leake, *Researches in Greece*, p. 24. 4to. Lond. 1814. So of *γραφα* the *Imp.* 1 *Pers. Sing.* is *εγραφα*, 3 *plur.* *εγραφαν*, *ibid.* p. 25. At p. 103, in an extract from Cornaro's poem *Erotocritus*, we find *ὡσαν πουλακια εφυγαν*, they fled like little birds, *πουλακια* being from *pullus*. At p. 187, *ἤθελαν* occurs twice in an extract from a Romaic preface by Korai. In a quotation, p. 166, from an anonymous poem on the wars of the Franks in the Morea (written about the year 1300), we have the following verse:

"Μεγαν κυριν τον ελεγαν, οὕτως τον ανομαζην"

where we have the supposed Alexandrian form *ελεγαν*. In the same page we have the following verses quoted from the same poem :

"Ορησαν και εφορτσαν σαμαξηα και μυλαρια.

Εἰς Μορεαν εφθασαν στην πρωτην τη Μαΐου

Εκεισε απεσκαλωσαν στην Αχαιαν το λεγουν."

Here in *εφορτσαν* and *απεσκαλωσαν* we seem to have the other Alexandrian form mentioned above, p. 299. And in a passage from a Romaic geography formerly mentioned (p. 248), it is said, speaking of the monasteries of Mount Athos, that "in these monasteries they not only lived, but lived luxuriously on the labours of others:" *εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ μοναστηρια οχι μονον εζυσαν αλλα και ετρυφυσαν με τους κοπες των αλων*, p. 185. In short, in the extracts from Romaic writings published in the work of Col. Leake we may find examples of almost all the supposed Alexandrian forms of Valckenaer.

in the Romaic runs thus : *Και ὥσαν τον ιδαν ὅλοι εγογγυζαν και ελεγαν, ὅτι, &c.* Now here, in the compass of half a short verse, are three Alexandrian forms, *ιδαν* [*ειδαν*], *εγογγυζαν*, and *ελεγαν* ; and, according to Valckenaer's mode of reasoning, we ought to conclude that the above Romaic version was made at a very remote period in the ancient Greek capital of Egypt. In the verse which gave occasion to Valckenaer's remark, we find (instead of the *Ιδοντες δε οι κυριοι* of the Vulgate text) *Ὡς δε ειδαν οι κυριοι, &c.* in the *Cod. Bezae*, and a similar resolution of the participle into a verb is common throughout the MS. In like manner, in the Romaic verse quoted above, we find the *και ιδοντες απαντες* of the common text converted into *και ὥσαν τον ιδαν ὅλοι*. In a subsequent verse [14] instead of *οι δε πολιται αυτου εμισουν αυτον . . . λεγοντες*, we read in the Romaic version *και οι πολιταιστου τον εμισουσαν . . . και ελεγαν* [*ibid.* p. 58]. Here, in *εμισουσαν* for *εμισουν*, we have the other famous Alexandrian form of Valckenaer and Sturz. It is remarked by Col. Leake (p. 27), that circumflex verbs, "when in *εω*, *ῶ*, and *αω*, *ῶ*, in Hellenic are most commonly used in Romaic in the contracted form, as *πατῶ*, *πατεῖς*, &c., *τιμῶ*, *τιμᾶς*." These have constantly their third plur. Imperfect in *ουσαν*. Thus *κινῶ*, 1. Imp. *εκινουν*, 3. *εκινουσαν*. *βαστῶ*, 1. Imp. *εβαστουν*. 3. *εβαστουςαν*," &c. [See also Ducange, *Gloss. Græc.* vol. i. p. xxx]. Valckenaer's Alexandrian form *εθρουξουσαν* is thus, it appears, a Romaic one. Sturz, mentioning some peculiarities, says that they are rightly called *Alexandrian*, "cum in nullo Scriptore æque sæpe legantur, ac in versione Alexandrina. Talis autem est interpositio syllabæ *σα*, conspicua in tertiæ personæ numeri pluralis terminationibus. Et primo quidem de Imperfecto dicamus, cujus hæc forma non modo sæpissime legitur in eadem illa versione, verum etiam *semel* apud Lycophrone⁴." Sturz adds in a note as

⁴ *De Dialect. Maced. et Alex.* p. 58. As to Lycophrone, it is impossible that the *Cassandra* could have been written by Lycophrone of Chalcis in Eubæa, one of the Pleiades at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Universal empire is there (ver. 1226 *sqq.*) attributed to the descendants of Romulus and Remus, so that Greece must have become a Roman province prior to the composition of this poem, which perhaps is a very late production. See *Classical Journal*, No. xxv. p. 2.

I once conjectured that *εγραφοσαν*, *ελεγοσαν*, were merely *εγραψαν*, *ελεξαν*, ill spelled, and the former with the Syriac pronunciation. See *supra*, p. 100,

specimens of Alexandrian Imperfects, *Exod.* xxxiii. 8, κατενοουσαν. *Num.* i. 18, επιζηνονουσαν. 2 *Reg.* xx. 15, ενουσαν. *Nehem.* iv. 18, ακιδουσαν. *Job* i. 4; ποιουσαν. *Ps.* v. 9, and xiii. 3, εδολιουσαν. *Jer.* xli. 10, εωσαν. *Ezech.* xxii. 11, ηνομουσαν. All these supposed Alexandrian forms are in fact Romaic ones. I may add this further conformity, that "the Romaic has no Dual" [Leake, p. 9]; and, as we have seen, there is no Dual in the LXX. or New Testament. It appears to me indeed that the title of *Palæo-Romaic*, or Old Romaic, is more suitable than *Alexandrian*, *Hellenistic*, or any other denomination which has been made use of to characterize the style of the Greek text of the Old and New Testaments.

It has already been remarked [*supra*, p. 221], that the Latin language was the source of the first great corruption of Greek. "With regard to the term *Romaic* (says a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, whom I have there quoted), Constantinople was called in the time of the Greek Emperors *Νέα Ῥωμη*. The Greeks termed themselves *Ῥωμαῖοι*, and their language *Ῥωμαϊκή* . . . Athanasius Christophulus, in the prolegomena to his Grammar, undertakes to prove that the Romaic is but little altered from the Æolic and Doric dialects, and accordingly he terms it the Æolo-Doric⁵." We have seen above (p. 19), that by many writers the Æolic has been considered as the parent stock of the Latin; and, conversely, when Greek assumed a Latin tinge, it would put on an Æolic or Doric appearance. The earliest written Romaic, so to speak, would thus appear in literal versions from the Latin, since in such literal versions as we have seen above [p. 295], the language from which the translation is made constantly exercises a strong influence on the translated text. It is possible that some of the Romaic forms in the *Codex Bezae* may have had their origin in this way, and that, as the Latin Imperfects end in *ebant*, the translator from a kind of echo or sympathy may have converted *dicebant*, *fugiebant*, *habebant*, &c. into *ειπαν*, *εφυγαν*, *ειχαν*. Dr. Mill, speaking of this MS., remarks: "Illud enim apparet in Græcis *Cant.* Ἡρώδης, Ἰωάννης, Σαμαριτανῶν, aliaque id genus ad Latinorum formam confecta sunt. *Matth.* v. 24, cum Latinum esset *offeret*,

⁵ *Quart. Rev.* vol. xi. p. 464. Maittaire, in his *Græcæ Linguae Dialecti*, does not make a separate class of the Æolic, but comprehends it under the Doric.

προσφερε mutavit Librarius in προσφερεις, ea enim ipsi erāt secunda persona futuri. Καταβαινον factum Καταβαινοντα, ob Lat. *descendentem* ⁶." And as it is not impossible that the Romaic forms ειδαν, ειχαν, &c. were moulded on the Latin Imperfect, so it is possible also that the interposition of σα in ελεγοσαν, &c. might be occasioned by the chime of *locuti sunt*, and sometimes by that of the Latin Preterite Subjunctive in *issent*. In Spanish, which, like Romaic, is often corrupt Latin, a change is undergone, having some analogy with that in the Greek. Thus in the *Cid*,

Mandò que con el VINIESSEN

Doze Cavalleros juntos

Para que con el JURASSEN

Cada qual, uno por uno.⁷

We have now seen that what Valckenaer, Sturz, &c. consider as *Alexandrian* forms are in fact *Romaic* ones; and in like manner it is worthy of remark, that what Woide, Kipling, &c. represent

⁶ Mill, *Proleg.* No. 1283. In the supposed Alexandrianism quoted by Valckenaer from the *Cod. Beza*, Acts xvii. 5, we find in the Greek text εδορυζουσαντηνπολιν, and in the Latin *turbabant civitatem*, p. 784. ed. Kipling.

⁷ Romance, 38. See *supra*, p. 299. In leaving this obscure subject, I may remark that Valckenaer, in a passage of which part has been given Note 1, writes thus: "Legat quis Libros, qui dicuntur *Maccabæorum* reperiet in 1 *Libro* προσηλθαν, ειπαν, ιδαν, εξηλθαν, alia et plura: nihil horum reperiet in *Libro* II. III. IV. cur non? quia *Lib.* I. scriptus veteri ista dialecto Alexandrina, at *Libri* II. III. IV. unum habent Auctorem ab Auctore *Libri primi* diversissimum, qui sermonis genere fuit usus elegantissimo, et multum dissimili normæ scribendi obviæ in *Libro primo*." *Scholia*, vol. ii. p. 467. It appears from the preface of Luzac to the posthumous work of Valckenaer, *De Aristobulo Judæo*, p. vii. that Valckenaer had selected *Maccab.* I. as a subject of Annotations, "universe de Lingua Hellenistica seu Alexandrina;" which Luzac, p. x, gave hopes of publishing, but was prevented by death. It is much to be wished that this work were published. I may here remark, that Hardouin has the following observation: "Judæi in Canonem Scripturæ Sacræ recipere noluerint, non modo Libros *Latine* scriptos, cujusmodi est *Liber primus Machabæorum*, quamvis ab Hebræo Scriptore conditus," &c. *Comment.* p. 4. May not this have been the source of its supposed Alexandrianisms?

as *Alexandrian* and *Archaic* orthography is either *Romaic*, or seems owing to ignorance or carelessness in the scribe. Thus Woide, speaking of the *Alex. MS.*, says: "Hoc autem Orthographiæ vitium in singulis foliis *Cod. Alex.* recurrit, ubi εμα pro αιμα, et υμεις λεγεται pro υμεις λεγετε reperiens. Quid facilius erat Ægyptio, quam labi in hisce, dictantis verba excipienti?" [p. 30. ed. Spohn]. Dr. Kipling also remarks, that in the *Cod. Bezae* we find παιδες for παιαις, and ετεραι for εταιρε [*Præf.* p. xiii.]. Now we are told by Col. Leake [*Researches*, p. 219], that "the modern Greeks give to ε and αι the same sound;" and in a few extracts from old *Romaic* poems in the same work we have αιδωκεν for εδωκεν, πολαιμον for πολεμον, p. 166. Woide remarks of the *Alex. MS.* that "Ny vero εφελκυστι:ον semper fere additur, sive vocalis, sive consonans sequatur" [*Notit.* p. 107], and urges this as a proof of an Archaism and *Alexandrianism*. This is at least plausible, as the N εφελκυστικον before a consonant is found on the Rosetta stone, *lin.* 3. 8, 9. 13. 16. 19. 24. 26. 28, &c.; but this, and many other peculiarities which Sturz, *De Dialect. Maced. et Alex.* p. 117 sqq., assigns to Egypt, is to be found among the modern Greeks. Col. Leake observes, that "the use of the paragoge ν is very common, and is sometimes used even before a consonant, as δεν παρω for δε παρω, *I shall take.*" (p. 51.) We find, *ibid.* p. 168, εχει το νομαν καλον for ονομα. Once more: Woide, endeavouring to prove the extreme antiquity of the *Alex. MS.* from its orthography, says: "Addam adhuc exempla Græcarum vocum repetitarum ab ultimis et oblitteratis temporibus. Scribit αποκτενοντες, *Marc.* xii. 5. *Luc.* xii. 4. xiii. 34; αποκτενεσθαι, *Aroc.* vi. 1; εκχυνομενον, *Marc.* xiv. 24. *Luc.* vi. 38. xi. 50. εναυγαγησαν (vid. *Du Cangi Glossarium*, p. 9). "Upon this passage there is an excellent note by Spohn⁸, who justly remarks that this erroneous orthography

⁸ Woide, *Notit. Cod. Alex.* p. 107. ed. Spohn. "Hæc exempla (says this learned editor) esse e remota antiquitate, nemini facile persuadebit Rev. Woid. Pleraque enim nihil aliud indicant, quam alium modum pronuntiandi atque scribendi. Quo tandem jure ad εναυγαγησαν in rem suam laudaverit Du Cangiū, qui contra eum pugnat, me ompino latet; 'Hodierni, inquit ille, Græci—addunt et interserunt litteram ν in παλευγειν, κααγειν, ερμηνευγειν, sicut et in *Codice Cantabr.* scribitur παρασκευγη, δαυγιδ.' [*Præf.* ix.] Non igitur hoc de vetustate Codicis testatur." Col. Leake also, p. 50, mentioning the carelessness of Orthography among

proves nothing as to the remote antiquity of the MS., and that the last of the examples above cited should seem to imply the very contrary of antiquity.

With respect to the supposed Archaic orthography of the Latin text of the *Codex Bezae* stated by Porson [*supra*, p. 375], no test of antiquity can be more fallacious. Bandini, mentioning a *Codex* containing twenty-eight orations of Cicero, written A.D. 1415, and now in the Laurentian library, says: "Etsi non antiquissimus sit Codex, ut ex adlato monumento intelligimus, redolet tamen primævam antiquitatem quod quidem ad orthographiam pertinet: sunt enim illa frequentissima *adulescens*, *existumare*, *intellegerere*, *luxoria*, *neglegere*, *maxumæus*, *revolsus*, *volgus*, aliaque ejusdem generis. Eum igitur vel ex antiquissimis membranis religiose Librarius non admodum antiquus descripsit, vel in eum antiquissimum scribendi rationem arbitrio suo induxit." In fact, ignorance or carelessness will of themselves give an appearance of great antiquity to orthography. Bandini, mentioning some *Codices* in the Laurentian library written by Petrarch, observes that this illustrious man was careless of his orthography. "Orthographiam (says he) non adeo Petrarcha custodiit. Itaque frequentissima tam in illis Codicibus, quam in hisce Scholiis sunt illa, *michi*, *utilitas*, *attullit*, *conparare*, *secondus*, *circonspicere*, *apellare*, *erripere*, *jocondus*, *filosofus*, aliaque id genus plurima."

the modern Greeks, and taking notice of "some of the most customary corruptions in writing," observes that "γ is often added in this manner, as γυιος for υιος, κλαιγω for κλαιω, γιανινα for Ιωαννινα." Whoever will take the trouble of comparing the specimens given by Col. Leake, p. 50, 51, of the corrupted Orthography of the modern Greeks with those given by Sturz, *De Dialect. Alex.* p. 119 *sqq.*, of supposed Alexandrian Orthography, will find that the latter is in fact Romaic, or bad spelling owing to ignorance and modern Greek pronunciation.

⁹ Bandini *Catal. Codd. Latt. Bibl. Laurent.* tom. iii. p. 92. Yet Petrarch thus complains of other copyists: "Quis Scriptorum inscitiae medebitur, inertiaeque corrumpenti omnia, ac miscenti?...Nou quæro jam aut queror orthographiam, quæ jam dudum interiit, qualitercunque uſinam! scriberent, quod jubentur—An si redeat Cicero, aut Livius, ante omnes Plinius Secundus, sua scripta relegentes iatelligent?" ap. Mehus. p. 292. In one of his Epistles, Petrarch writes as follows: "Circa quintum et vigesimum vitæ annum inter Belgas, Helvetiosque festinans, cum Leodiam pervenissem, audito quod esset ibi bona copia

A like appearance of Archaism will be produced in the text of a Greek MS. by an ignorant or careless scribe. Nor does the want of accents or marks of aspiration in the *Codex Bezae*, or its being written in capital letters, appear to me such unequivocal proofs of its antiquity as is usually supposed. The former circumstance may have been owing to the neglect or ignorance of the copyist, or to their non-existence in the copy from which he transcribed. Montfaucon considers the characters or form of letters in a MS. as a surer test of its age than the presence or absence of marks of aspiration and accents¹⁰. Yet even these seem to be not absolutely unequivocal; and it appears to me that there is much good sense in the following remark of Dodwell, in speaking of an ancient missal and sacramentary: "Nor do I deny (says he) but that the character may be allowed to be a *conjectural* proof where other things concur agreeing with it. But where it is alone, it is not so certain as to determine critically. Some countries, as well as men, are more tenacious of antiquated customs than others, so as to keep to old fashions long after their disuse by others; and that for several ages... Our Law-Latin and French, and our Court hand, are to us no standards of our age, either for stile or writing. And I remember the late excellent Dr. Isaac Vossius told me how he had been imposed on by MSS. in Italy of the time, for which I am concerned at present, of Charles the Great. And I do not know any who, by his travels, had more advantages for seeing a great variety of MSS., or by his great sagacity for judging con-

librorum substiti, comitesque detinui donec unam Ciceronis orationem manu amici, alteram mea manu scripsi, quam postea per Italiam effudi, et ut rideas, in tam bona civitate barbarica, atramenti aliquid, et id croco simillimum reperire magnus labor fuit." If the paper was like the ink, Petrarch's copy (considering his orthography) would soon seem very ancient.

¹⁰ "Nam ubi primum consuetudo illa Accentus ac Spiritus annotandi invecata fuit [septimo circiter sæculo] non statim ab omnibus usurpata fuisse creditur, ut fere fit in rebus hujusmodi; sed paulatim invaluisse putatur. Quamobrem etsi Codices illi characterc unciali, qui accentibus ac spiritibus carent, aliis antiquiores habeantur; possunt tamen in eis notatos accentibus occurrere, licet raro, qui accentibus non notatos ætate præcedant. Id vero ex characteris forma *probabiliter* internosci potest." Montf. *Pal. Græc.* p. 215. See also *ibid.* pp. 223, 224.

cerning them, than he. It might be from a great exactness in copying their originals, if that exactness was then thought creditable, and would recommend them to judicious buyers to considerable more advantage But, whatever was the occasion, it is sufficient for my purpose that the fact was indeed so, that later ages did often imitate the hands of ages elder than their own¹¹.

With regard to the inference of the antiquity of a Greek MS. from its being written in capitals, I observe, in perusing Bandini's catalogue of the Laurentian library, that in Latin MSS. of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, with Greek quotations interspersed, these are either written in the large Greek character, or the space is left blank for their future introduction. For example [*Tome iv. p. 147*], mentioning a MS. of Suetonius, *in fol. Sæc. xiii.* he says: "Græca verba, quæ in textu majoribus litteris, et parum castigate conscripta." The very next MS. which he mentions is also one of Suetonius, *Sæc. xv.*: "Spatia ad Græca verba supplenda relicta sunt." See also in the same *Tome* several *Codices* in *Plut.* *xxii. p. 162 sqq.* What are named *uncial letters* must

¹¹ Dodwell, *Discourse concerning the Use of Incense in Divine Offices*, p. 211. Lond. 1711. Lupus Ferrariensis writes thus: "Præterea Scriptor Regius Bertcaudus dicitur antiquarum Litterarum dumtaxat, quæ maximæ sunt et unciales a quibusdam vocari existimantur, habere mensuram descriptam." *Epist. v. p. 23.* edit. Baluz. "Nec Scripturæ antiquioris forma (says Ernesti) satis certum semper judicium facit, quod satis constat Librarios, vel propter incitiam scribendi, vel ut Codicibus majus pretium esset, veterem scripturam imitatos, et non tam descripsisse veteres libros quam depinxisse: de quo genere est notabilis apud Io. Gersonum de libris scribendis, locus." *Inst. Interp. N. T. p. 206.* Montfaucon describing a copy of the Gospels, "scripta anno Christi 1336 ut in nota fertur ad calcem," says, "Characterem undecimi sæculi imitatus est Amanuensis, at ii qui Codices Manuscriptos evolvere solent, vel primo conspectu discrimen internoscunt." *Pal. Græc. p. 326.* Either the imitation was not designed to be a copy, or more probably the note put critics on their guard. See Harduin. *Proleg. p. 203 sqq.* In fine, Maffei, mentioning a very ancient document on Papyrus, says, "Secondo le regole, che finora corrono, il secolo dovrebbe esserci additato dal carattere, ma questo è un de gli errori, che nell' arte critica si sgombreranno." *Istor. Diplom. p. 147.* See also Lanzi *Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, tom. i. p. 197.

have been favourites with the Latins, from their resemblance to Latin ones. In opening Kipling's edition of the *Cod. Bezae*, the Greek page, at the first glance, can scarcely be distinguished from the Latin one.

It is much to be wished that we had an enlarged and improved *Palæographia Græca*. That of Montfaucon was excellent for the time ; but the Herculanean MSS., the Egyptian Inscriptions, &c. have supplied many new and valuable materials. I confess, however, that I have less confidence in the definiteness (if I may so speak) of Palæography than I once had, of its accurate preservation of peculiar provincial idioms and orthography, and of the means it thus furnishes of determining the age and country of an inscription or manuscript. As an illustration of my meaning I would refer to the Travels of Burckhardt in Nubia, in different parts of which he gives a few Greek inscriptions, which he had copied in that country. Having mentioned, for example, a ruined temple at Kardassy, he says, p. 122—"To the S.W. of the hill on which the above temple stands, and close to the river, are some very extensive quarries of sandstone. . . . In walking through the quarries I came to a spot where a niche is cut in the levelled side of the rock ; within it is a stone bench which may have been the pedestal of a statue ; small winged globes are sculptured above it. This niche seems to have been used by the ancient Egyptians, and subsequently both by the Pagan and Christian Greeks, as a shrine at which they offered up their prayers to the Deity for the preservation of their own health and that of their friends. . . . The adjoining rock is covered with a great number of Egyptian and Greek inscriptions. Of the latter, which are much more numerous than the Egyptian, I selected the following [five] as being the most interesting from their purport."

M. Burckhardt then proceeds to give the inscriptions :

No. 1 is of the 13th of Severus and Antoninus.

— 2 has no date, but was written about the same time.

— 3 is of the 4th of Antoninus [Carcalla].

— 4 is of the 2d of Gordian.

— 5 is of the 6th of the Philip's.

Now here, on the same rock, are several inscriptions written in the first half of the third century, and in an interval of less than forty years ; and yet we should in vain attempt to derive from them any

general conclusions with respect to Nubian Orthography or Palæography. For example—

In No. 1, 4, 5, we have ΠΡΟΚΤΝΗΜΑ.

In No. 2, 3, we have ΠΡΟΚΤΝΙΜΑ.

In No. 1, ΘΗC CYMBIOT. No. 3, THCCYTNBIOT.

No. 4, THCLHMBIOT. No. 5, THLLYMBIOT.

In No. 1, ΙΕΡΕΤC ΓΟΜΟΤ, in Gen^{ve} 3, ΙΕΡΩΛ.

No. 4, ΙΕΡΕΤΛ. No. 5, ΙΕΡΕΩΛ ΤΟΥ ΓΟΜΟΤ,

whereas ΓΟΜΟΤ is without the Article in Nos. 1, 2, 4.

It may appear from the above, that no accurate conclusions can be formed from them with respect to Nubian pronunciation or Palæography. We find indifferently C and E; and E though commonly C. We have no where the Coptic *ⲉ*, but always M; nor do the characters differ in appearance from those in other countries. Various other inscriptions may be found in Burckhardt, which, by the mixture of characters in the same inscription, as of A and Α, of Σ and C, of H and h, of Ω and ω, seem to prove that the conclusions founded on Palæography may often be erroneous¹².

II. But to return to the *Codex Bezae*. Even its editor, Dr. Kipling, himself allows that no certain conclusions concerning its age can be founded on its characters¹³, and I shall now mention the circumstances which seem to prove its Gallic origin. Wetstein, who affirms that it is perhaps the most ancient MS. of the *New Testament* now extant [*supra*, p. 374], gives this account of it: "Nonnullis locis etiam Græcas literas Latinis, et aliis Latinas

¹² Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, pp. 100, 106, 122, *et seq.* In a list of the Muses in the Herculean collection we have ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΗ ΑΥΡΑΝ, ΕΡΑΤΩ + ΑΑΤΡΙΑΝ, &c. *Hercul.* p. 169; with the Ε and Ε, the Ψ and +, apparently of different ages and countries.

¹³ Dr. Kipling, in the preface to his notes on the *Cod. Bezae*, mentioning its supplementary pages, periods, &c. which, though of different ages, have the same form of character, says: "Quippe ex forma literarum sola nequaquam colligi potest, quæ sit scripturæ ejusvis antiquitas...atramenti quoque coloris habenda est ratio...Quanquam, quidem, si in Palæographia vel mediocriter versatus fueris, non primum nunc monendus es, quam incerta fere sit illius opinio, cui nihil suppetat, ut hic mihi, ad judicium faciendum, præter atramenti colorem, et literarum formas," Kipling, *Cod. Bezae*, p. 831.

Græcis admiscuit, ut *τυβλοι, απέσταλκεν*, et *dicentéc*. Characteris quidem forma atque orthographia similis est atque in vetustissimis Codicibus, nisi quod contra morem Græcorum Librariorum vocales *η* et *ε*, et consonas *τ* et *θ* confundat: in Latino scribit *temptatio, quotiens, thensaurus, intellegitis, calciamenta, mercennarii, anticus, locuntur, unicus, secuntur*, frequentissime etiam confundit *u* consonans [v] et *b*. *μεριμναις* vertit *soniis*, quod Gallicum est *soins*, *καταλυμα* *refectio* *κυλλας* *sideratos* *κλεψη* *involet*, *διατριβειν* *demorari*, *κολυμβηθρα* *natatoria piscina*, *κηδεμονειν* *tædiari*, *ῥησσει* *applotat* *διίσχυριζετο* *certabatur* *εσθητα* *λαμπραν* *opertorium candidum* *αργυρις* *μυριαδες* *πεντε* *σεσιερτιω* *dacenta*; pro Græco *δηναριον* in Latino habet signum ✕ et quod inprimis notandum *της* *σεβομενης* *caelicolas* vertit in *Actis*¹⁴.

There is one very curious remark made by Wetstein in the above passage, which neither himself nor any other critic has followed up, and which seems to me to prove the late Gallic origin of the *Codex Bezae*. This is the remark: "*μεριμναις* vertit *soniis*, quod Gallicum est *soins*." In fact, it seems to me that a reference to the French language will explain all the anomalous versions in that MS. Let us take, for example, without selection, the instances adduced by Wetstein. It is quite evident, in the first place, that *κλεψη* *involet*, and *διατριβειν* *demorari*, are the French *voler*, *en voler*, and *demeurer*; *καταλυμα* *refectoire*, *κυλλας* *estropiés*, read *astropiés*, and translated *sideratos*; *κηδεμονειν* *tædiari* from *ennuyer*. The word *ennui* *εννοια* signified *care* and *vexation* in old French. *ῥησσει* was perhaps translated *applotat*, from its similarity to *raser*, *prosternere*, or *abbatre rez terre*. *Διίσχυριζετο* *certabatur* from *certifier*, to *assure*, *assert*. It is possible that *opertorium candidum* was used as a version of *εσθητα* *λαμπραν*, from *robe blanche*. As to the use of ✕ for *δηναριον*, this is no way uncommon¹⁵.

¹⁴ Wetstein, *Prolegom.* vol. i. p. 31 = 85. ed. Semler.

¹⁵ In an ancient inscription at Ancyra in Galatia, we find ✕ β φ [denaria bis mille quingenta], *Palæogr. Græc.* pp. 158, 162; and Montfaucon, in the same work, giving a list of marks of abbreviation, says: "✕ vel frequentius ✕ *δηνάριον*, *denarius*, ita dictus quod decem asses haberet." *ibid.* p. 359. I may remark, however, that in the *Cod. Bezae*, p. 101, we have *ταλαντων* translated *denariorum*, that is *deniers*. At *Luke* xvi. 6. we have *καδης* translated *siclos*, that is *seaur*; *Luke* xvii. 3, p. 467, *επιτιμησον*, *emenda*. "Illud *emenda* (says Semler) videtur ali-

It appears, if I mistake not, from the above remarks, that the *Codex Bezae* seems to have been written in France, or in Greece by a French Greek, and in an age not very remote. I have taken no notice of the concluding remark of Wetstein, concerning the *Cælicolas*, and to which he peculiarly calls the attention of the reader—"Et quod inprimis notandum (says he) τὰς σεβόμενους *cælicolas* vertit in Actis; unde lux affulget verbis constitutionis Honorii, quam Gothofredus operosa Dissertatione explicare non potuit, intelliguntur autem illi qui Judæis olim Proselyti portæ."

The reader will perhaps excuse me if I take occasion, from the term *cælicolas* thus brought forward, to offer a few remarks on the subject of the *Culdees*, a subject still much shrouded in mist, though it has exercised the ingenuity of many able men, and though lately a quarto volume has been published expressly upon the subject by a most respectable Scholar and Antiquary.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote at the close of the twelfth century, mentions *Culdees* in Wales. "The isle of Bardsey (says he) is inhabited by religious monks, quos *Cælicolas* vel *Colideos* vocant¹⁶." If Giraldus is right (as there seems no reason to doubt) in this synonyme, we have a gleam which disperses a little of the mist. In the code of Justinian there is a title *De Judæis et Cælicolis*, L. 3 and 12, in which it is said "*Judæis et Cælicolis et Majoribus [Presbyteris] eorum, et Patriarchis volumus intimari, quod,*" &c. Mention is made of the *Cælicolæ* by Augustin, in an Epistle *ad Eleusium*, &c. as follows: "Jam enim miseramus ad Majorem *Cœlicolarum*, quem audieramus novi apud eos Baptismi

quid Gallicum sonare." Wetstenii *Proleg.* p. 612. This writer (Semler), whose work I was unable to obtain till my own was finished, says of the *Codex Bezae*: "Mihi fit verosimile Græci cujusdam episcopi aut principis eruditi auctoritate institutum fuisse, ut vulgatus Græcus textus conferretur ad *Latinam* vetustam recensionem; in Græco textu autem tum demum phrases mutatae ad *Latinam*, ubi *Latina* discederet a Græco vulgato. Ceterum mansit textus Græcus vulgatus, si *Latina* conveniret cum eo." *ibid.* p. 593. The transcriber of part of the *Cod. Bezae* seems to have had for his basis a Latin MS. like the *Vercelli* or *Corbey* ones. The Gallicisms might arise from crasures in the Latin MS., or from negligence or impatience.

¹⁶ ap. Jamieson, *Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees of Iona*, p. 359. Edin. 1811. 4to.

institutorem instituisse," &c. Baronius, who quotes these passages, remarks: "Igitur quantum colligere fas est ex dicta Honorii sanctione ad Jovinum Præfectum Prætorio data, illos apparet appellatos esse Cœlicolas, qui ex Christiana fede transirent ad Judaismum; ita tamen, quod cum scirent Judaicum nomen abominabile cunctis esse, non Judæi sed Cœlicolæ dici potius voluerint, nec sub Judæorum degerent Patriarchis, sed aliis sibi propositis magistratibus, quos *Majores* nominabant, ut ex S. Augustino apparet, nec non Rescripto Constantini ad Eugarium¹⁷."

In fact, it appears to me probable that the Culdees were as it were *Chaldæi*, persons who retained the primitive Jewish form of Christianity. It is asserted by Tertullian, towards the close of the second century, that the Gospel had penetrated at that time into Britain, and that places which had been inaccessible to the Romans were now subject to Christ¹⁸. It seems evident, indeed, that Christianity had been planted in North Britain and Ireland before the time of Victor, A.D. 193, since, had the Scots and Irish been converted by Latin Missionaries subsequently to this period, they would naturally have adopted the Roman regulation concerning Easter. On this point, however, the North-British and Irish were in bitter hostility with the Roman church; and, in fact, it was the great controversy between them during the middle ages¹⁹. Persecution and flattery were alternately employed, and by these means the Roman method having for a short time gained the ascendancy over the Jewish, the return to the old mode is marked in the Ulster Annals, A.D. 726, "The Law renewed." With indisputable piety the Culdees seem to have had a Jewish strictness. Laurence, who succeeded Augustin as Bishop of Canterbury, complains in a letter that Dagan, an Irish Bishop, "non

¹⁷ Baronius, tom. 5. *Ann. Dom.* 408, et ap. Trigland, *De Tribus Judæorum Sectis Syntagma*, vol. i. p. 195. In speaking of the *Majores Cœlicolarum*, I may remark in passing, that Dr. Jamieson makes an unnecessary concession to Archbishop Usher, that the passage in the *Ulster Annals*, "711 Coide Episcopus Iæ pausat," means "A.D. 711 Coide Bishop of Hii decesses." It probably means, "Bishop Coide dies Hii." See Jamieson, pp. 49. 68.

¹⁸ "Et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita." *Adv. Jud.*

¹⁹ See Jamieson, *Historical Account*, &c. p. 222.

solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescebamur sumere voluit²⁰." Like the Priests under the Law, the Culdees succeeded by inheritance. Like them they abstained from their wives when it came to their turn to minister. In each college of the Culdees there were twelve Brethren and an Abbot; and Aidan, the second missionary sent from Iona to Northumberland, chose *twelve* young disciples of the nation of the Angles to be instructed in the doctrines of Christianity.

I have entered into this digression concerning the Culdees, partly from the circumstance of having once conjectured that to Iona and its dependencies, Irish and British, we are indebted for the *Codices Græco-Latini*. It appears from an Irish inscription in the *Boernerian Manuscript* (p. 24 ed. Matthæi), that this Latin-Greek MS. was written by a native of that country; and from some circumstances, which I need not now mention, I suspected the same of the others²¹. There is some mystery hangs over the History of the *Codex Bezae*. Wetstein accuses Beza of telling a falsehood upon the subject; and Dr. Marsh, while he defends

²⁰ ap. Jamieson, p. 221, from Bede.

²¹ Bengel, speaking of these MSS., says: "Patria eorum est Britannia. Certe Codicem Cantabrigiensem [Bezae] illic esse conscriptum, singularis convenientia ejus cum Versione Anglo-Saxonica quatuor Evangeliorum demonstrat. Et quidem ubi versio Anglo-Saxonica ex idiomismo suo concisius loqui solet, Cantabrigiensis eam sæpe imitatur: Quo ipso simul antiquitatis suæ opinioni haud parum detrahit." *Appar. Crit.* P. I. § 28. Of this conformity see also Simon, *Hist. Crit.* p. 28. In Britain and Ireland, owing to different causes, what is called the *Italic* had become triumphant long after the Vulgate or recension of Jerome had become triumphant on the continent. From the many Gallicisms in the *Codex Bezae*, if written in Britain, it must have been subsequent to the Norman conquest. I suspect, however, as already stated, that it was written by a Gallo-Greek who had for his model or basis a Latin MS. written in the West. As to the opinion of Kipling, p. xiii.—xv. (on account of its orthography, *ειπαν* for *ειπον*, *ηυδοκησα* for *ευδοκησα*, *τα.δες* for *πειδαις*, "et N *φελκυστικον*, sequente etiam consonante litera,") that the *Codex Bezae* was written in Egypt, we have seen that these are mere Romaicisms. As to the augment *η* for *ε*, for example, we are told by Col. Leake that "the *ε* augment is sometimes converted into *η*, and in poetry very commonly, as *ηφερα* for *φερα*." *Researches*, p. 34; "*ηυγαλι* for *ευγαλι*," p. 50.

him against this charge, thinks it not improbable that "he was guilty of a literary theft, and appropriated to his own use what belonged to the Monks of St. Irenæus²²." It certainly is an extraordinary circumstance, that Beza, who was by no means rich, should have been possessed of two such MSS. as the Cambridge and Clermont, the two most remarkable MSS. in the world, and long believed to be the first and second parts of the same whole. I once suspected that Beza received these MSS. from his friend Knox, or some one of the Scottish Reformers, and that they were the plunder of some Scottish Canons, to whom they had descended from the Culdees, who had in a preceding age been deprived by them of their possessions and property. Now, however, I have no doubt of the truth of Beza's assertion, that these two MSS. were found in French Monasteries. They were probably presented to him by Henry Scrimger, who had been employed by Ulrich Fugger to collect rare books and MSS.²³

²² Marsh ap. Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 699. See also the remarks of Griesbach, *N. T. Prolegom.* sect. i. vol. i. p. xxxvii.

²³ Dr. Macrie, in his *Life of Andrew Melville*, says of Beza: "That reformer was uniformly partial to Scotsmen...He had long maintained an intimate friendship with two of the most illustrious individuals in that nation, Knox and Buchanan. And there was at that time in Geneva another Scotsman, a relation of Melville, with whom he had lived many years as a colleague, and whom he revered for his talents and virtues: this was Henry Scrimger." vol. i. p. 38. It appears that, after having studied at St. Andrews, Scrimger attended the Bishop of Rennes to Italy. Subsequent to this, "being invited to Augsburg by the Fuggers, a family who had raised a princely fortune from the mines of the Tyrol, and expended it in the advancement of literature, Scrimger furnished the library of Ulrich Fugger with the rarest books and MSS. During his travels in Italy he had collected ample materials for correcting the works of the ancients, and particularly those of Greece. He published an edition of the *Novellæ Constitutiones* in Greek [Henr. Steph. 1558], which was prized by the first lawyers of the time: and the editions of several of the classics published by Henry Stephens were enriched with the various readings and remarks which he liberally communicated to that learned printer." pp. 38, 40. It appears from a letter of Casaubon, that "Scrimger was allied to Henry Stephens by marriage." *ibid.* p. 422. I suspect it was Scrimger who gave the collation of the now Cambridge MS. to Robert Stephens for his edition of 1550, and

But to return from this digression : it appears from the French Latin of the *Codex Beza*, and from its Romaic Greek, that it was probably written by some Gallo-Grecian during the sway of the French in Greece in the thirteenth century. It is affirmed by Erasmus, that owing to a *Fœdus cum Græcis*, various Greek Codices of the New Testament had been altered from Latin copies²⁴. Michaelis supposes that this alludes to some agreement at the Council of Florence in 1439 ; and remarks that it does not appear whence Erasmus has taken his account, as no traces of it are to be found in the history of that Council. In one passage, however, of his long discussion upon this subject (though he again returns to the supposition that Erasmus meant the Council of Florence), Michaelis remarks, that " he must have understood by the title *Fœdus cum Græcis* something different from the proposed union between the two churches at the Council of Florence ; for he writes, ' quasi nesciamus post Græcos in concordiam Romanæ sedis receptos, et Codices illorum ad Latinorum exemplaria fuisse emendatos. Quorum de numero multis argumentis fuisse colligo Codicem illum literis majusculis descriptum.' Now it appears, on comparing this passage with that in his *Capita*, that he means the famous *Codex Vaticanus* ; but this was written undoubtedly many ages prior to the Council of Florence, being one of the most ancient MSS. now extant²⁵."

It appears to me exceedingly probable that Erasmus, by the *Fœdus cum Græcis*, alluded to circumstances which took place after

which he calls " vetustissimum exemplar in Italia ab amicis collatum." It is stated by Senebier that Scrimger was elected Professor of Philosophy and Colleague of Beza at Geneva in 1561 ; and it was in 1562 that Beza obtained the MS. Scrimger left his library to Peter Young, his nephew. Patrick Young, son of Sir Peter Young, sent a collation of the *Codex Beza* to the brothers Puy, Mill, *Prolog.* No. 1268 ; and, what is very remarkable, the *Clermont* MS. also came into their hands, *ibid.* No. 1284. Had it been restored to Scrimger, and was it sent by Young? One can perceive a reason why the name of Scrimger was not mentioned by Beza, as it might have given scope for suspicion that he had acted unfairly by Fugger his employer. With regard to the fortunes of the *Cod. Beza*, see Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 235 *sqq.* and the notes of Marsh.

²⁴ *Supra*, p. 84.

²⁵ Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 170.

the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins. Soon after the elevation of Baldwin to the throne of Constantine, he wrote to congratulate the Roman Pontiff Innocent III. on the restoration of his authority in the East, and entreated him to send missionaries to Constantinople to consolidate the fabric of religion. Innocent, in his turn, wrote to the Prelates of France; and, after having stated to them the request of Baldwin, he thus proceeds: "Universitatem vestram rogamus attente et hortamur, per Apostolica vobis scripta mandantes, quatenus pium ejus [Balduini] desiderium, quantum in vobis fuerit, promoventes, de singulis ordinibus viros moribus et scientia commendandos, ac in religione ferventes, ad partes illas destinare curetis, per quos novella illa plantatio, in disciplina Domini erudita, fructum reddat suis temporibus opportunum, et quod in eis mirabiliter est inceptum, ad laudem et gloriam redemptoris mirabilius consummetur. Memoratos quoque libros [scil. Missalia, Breviaria, cœlestesque libros S. Officii] quibus non solum abundare, sed superabundare vos novimus, ad partes illas, saltem pro exemplaribus, mittere procuretis, ut et vestra abundantia illorum inopiam suppleat, et Orientalis Ecclesia in divinis laudibus ab Occidentali non dissonet."

This letter is dated the 8th of the Kalends of June 1205; and another letter of the same date was addressed to the University of Paris:—

"Magistris et Scholaribus Parisiensibus . . . supplicavit [Balduinus] ut vos inducere ac monere apostolicis Litteris dignaremur, quatenus in Græciam accedentes, ibi studeretis Litterarum studium reformare, unde noscitur exordium habuisse . . . Universitatem vestram rogamus . . . quatenus diligentius attendentes, quanto majores vestri difficultates et gravamina sunt perpassi, ut adolescentiæ suæ primitias imbuerint litteralibus disciplinis, non tædeat plerosque vestrum ad terram argento et auro gemmisque referatam, frumento vino et oleo stabilitam, et bonorum omnium copiis affluentem accedere, ut ad illius honorem et gloriam, a quo est omnis scientiæ donum, sibi et aliis ibidem proficiant, præter temporales divitias et honores æternæ gloriæ præmia recepturi²⁶."

²⁶ ap. Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote*, p. 51, 52, from the *Diplomata, Chartæ, et Epistolæ*, by Brequigny and L. du Theil, pp. 712, 713.

When we consider the thousands of scholars with which the University of Paris then swarmed, it is not to be doubted that this invitation by an Emperor and powerful Pontiff to migrate to a land abounding with gold and gems, with corn and wine and oil, was hailed with the utmost gladness. It is affirmed by an author who wrote about the year 1300, that in his time French was as familiar at Athens as at Paris ; and, in fact, the Romaic contains many forms and expressions derived from the French²⁷. We now see an occasion for a probable demand for Greek-Latin MSS. as one method of facilitating the acquisition of the Greek language to the Western clergy. The Roman church gained an ascendancy in Greece ; its decrees, as those of the Lateran Council held under

²⁷ "Testetur Raimundus Montanerijs sua ætate, hoc est circa annum mccc Gallicum sermonem perinde ac in ipsa Parisiorum urbe obtinuisse Athenis. Qua tum quidem tempestate, exacto Athenarum Duce Gualtero Briennio Franco, in Catalanorum, ac deinde in Acciavorum ex Florentia Procerum jus potestatemque concessit, uti in Historia nostra Gallo-Byzantina fusius enarravimus. Ita Athenarum urbe non a Francis modò, Catalanis, Italis, sed etiam ab omnium gentium eò commean-tium colluvie, habitata, quidquid ex eleganti illa Attica lingua supererat, penitus intercidit ac interiit." Ducange, *Gloss. Græc.* vol. i. Præf. p. ix. The author is accounting for the circumstance that the language of modern Athens is the most corrupt in Greece. See also Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. chap. LXII. *ad fin.* Hobhouse, *Travels*, &c. vol. ii. p. 557. Leake, *Researches*, &c. p. 63. This latter writer, speaking of Trebizond (Romaice, Τραπεζούντα), says, that there "is still to be found a large population of Greeks, the descendants of those who were collected there during the two hundred and fifty years that Trebizond formed a principality under the Comnenian family. I have been informed by persons who have conversed with these Greeks at Constantinople, that, mixed with a dialect remarkably harsh in sound, they employ in common discourse several Hellenisms, not found elsewhere, as the pronouns possessive *οφεί-τερος, ήμετερος*, &c. In its general construction, however, the dialect is the same as the common Romaic, and proves that the leading corrup-tions of the language were universal, and spread from a common centre; and cannot, therefore, be attributed to a very late period even of the lower Empire. Lazia, as the Greeks call the country about Trebizond, deserves more attention from travellers than it has yet received." Leake, p. 228. This last remark deserves notice. It is possible that some unedited MS. may yet lurk in that region.

Innocent III, in 1215, were translated into Greek ; six Latin Patriarchs successively filled the ecclesiastical throne of Constantinople during the sway of the Latin Emperors, and we need not doubt of their efforts, "ut Orientalis Ecclesia in divinis laudibus ab Occidentali non dissonet." Even after the recovery of Constantinople by Palæologus, that prince, alarmed at a crusade forming in behalf of the expelled Latin Emperor, thought proper to propitiate the Roman Pontiff. "An embassy (says Mr. Gibbon) was composed of some trusty ministers and prelates ; they embarked for Italy with rich ornaments and rare perfumes for the altar of St. Peter, and their secret orders authorized and recommended a boundless compliance. They were received in the general Council of Lyons [A.D. 1274] by Pope Gregory the Tenth, at the head of five hundred bishops. He embraced with tears his long lost and repentant children ; accepted the oath of the ambassadors, who abjured the schism in the name of the two Emperors ; adorned the prelates with the ring and mitre ; chaunted in Greek and Latin the Nicene Creed with the addition of *filioque* ; and rejoiced in the union of the East and West which had been reserved for his reign²⁸." If Erasmus, by his *Fœdus cum Græcis*, did not allude to circumstances which took place after the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, it is probable that he referred to this union at the Council of Lyons in 1274. I may add that Beza repeatedly affirms that his MS. was found in the monastery of St. Irenæus at Lyons ; and I think it exceedingly probable that it had been brought to that city from Greece by some one of the Græco-Latin prelates at this very period. I have dwelt so long upon the *Codex Beza* because this MS., as we have seen [p. 373], is usually considered as the most ancient of all the MSS. of the New Testament. Whatever may be its antiquity, it is incontrovertibly more ancient than the MSS. made use of by Erasmus ; and the discussion may at least show that, in spite of what has been done, much yet remains to be effected in sacred criticism.

Before concluding this note I may remark, that Charlemagne had attempted, but apparently with not much success, to awaken a taste for Greek studies²⁹. After the capture also of Constanti-

²⁸ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. chap. LXII. vol. xi. p. 334.

²⁹ See ap. Jourdain, *Recherches*, p. 46. How rare the study of Greek

nople by the Franks, Philip Augustus established a Constantinopolitan college on the Seine, where the children of the Greeks might be taught Latin, and an intimate intercourse be formed and 'cept up between the two nations³⁰. In spite of this new impulse given to Greek studies in the thirteenth century, two of the most illustrious men of that age who lived much at Paris, and devoted their lives to the elucidation of Aristotle, seem to have been ignorant of Greek. I mean Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas. Albert, for example, speaking of the insect called *εφημερον*, says, *dicatur a Græcis girgiz et efymera*, the former of which words is Arabic, from Avicenna; and Aquinas had versions made for him by his brethren in Greece³¹. In fact, in the want of Grammars and Dictionaries, a residence in Greece seems to have been necessary, in order to obtain any thing like a knowledge of that difficult language. Robert Bishop of Lincoln, for example, who is politely named by an eulogist "reverendus pater magister Robertus grossi capitis sed subtilis intellectus," seems to have been chiefly indebted for the versions attributed to him to John of Basingstoke, who had travelled into Greece; had there learned Greek, and had even the honour of having received lessons from a daughter of the Archbishop of Athens, a young lady, who according to Matthew Paris could predict pestilences, thunders, eclipses, and earthquakes³².

had very early become in France appears from a passage *Cod. Theod.* XIII. iii. 11. relative to the establishment of schools and salaries of Professors: "Trevirorum vel clarissimæ civitati uberius aliquid putavimus deferendum: Rhetori ut triginta, item viginti grammatico Latino; Græco etiam, *si qui dignus reperiri potuit*, duodecim præbeantur annonæ."

³⁰ Jourdain, *ibid.* p. 53.

³¹ Jourdain, pp. 376, 393. Albert also, misconceiving Michael Scot in a passage of his version of Aristotle's *History of Animals*, says: "sicut lupus et turtur, quæ Græce secundum aliquos *fechid* vocatur." *ibid.* p. 374. Aquinas frequently says: "ut habetur in Græco;" but this merely means in the Latin versions from the Greek as contrasted with those from the Arabic. In his *Comment. Physicor.* he writes thus: "Ponit [Aristoteles] quædam ad manifestationem præmissorum, quæ tamen in exemplaribus Græcis dicuntur non haberi, et Commentator [Averroes] etiam dicit quod in quibusdam Exemplaribus Arabicis non habentur." Jourdain, p. 441.

³² See Jourdain, pp. 60, 151. Robert died 1243, John in 1252.

IN concluding these notes, and the present work, I would express my hope that whatever defects the *Disquisitions* which I now offer to the public may have, (and doubtless they have many,) I trust that they may furnish scholars more favourably situated than myself with matter for reflection, and incite them, by renewed research and deeper meditation, to correct the mistakes either in fact or argument which I may have ignorantly or inadvertently committed. I profess with Augustin, “me ex eorum numero esse conari, qui proficiendo scribunt, et scribendo proficiunt. Unde si aliquid in-
cautius vel indoctius a me positum est, quod non solum ab aliis, qui videre id possunt, merito reprehentatur, verum etiam a me ipso (quia et ego saltem postea videre debeo si proficio) nec mirandum est, nec dolendum, sed potius ignoscendum atque gratulandum, non quia erratum est, sed quia improbatum.”

FINIS.

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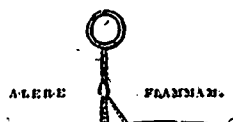
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